

VOL. XXIV

JANUARY, 1946

NO. 1

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.



चित्रं वटवृक्षे बृद्धः शिष्या गुरुणा । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु चिन्तनशयः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.
Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign, 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign, 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
THE NEW YEAR, By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore	1
'THE OTHER HARMONY', By Mr. K. Chandrasekaran, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore	4
CONGRESS, ELECTION MANIFESTO	5

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Ramesam, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge).
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, M.A.

Hony. Editors.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge.*

THE BHARATA DHARMA.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE

Bharata Dharma



VOL. XXIV]

JANUARY, 1946

[No. 1

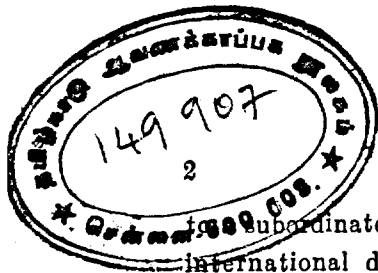
THE NEW YEAR

BY

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

We wish a happy and prosperous New Year to all our readers and well wishers. The year that has been just wrung out has been momentous in many respects for the whole world. The titanic struggle against the forces of reaction and unreason, both in the West and in the East, has been won. Nazism and Facism in the West and in the East have been ended in the form in which they sought to dominate the world. The Great War fought for the safety of democracy by the United Nations has been won by the united efforts and sacrifices of all the United Nations and the responsibility therefore is all the greater on the part of the Victor Nations to translate into action all their promises made in the Atlantic Charter and other public documents for the ushering in of a new World Order. The new World Order must definitely mean the end of colonial exploitation and the promotion of universal peace and good will without any nation making any effort, secret or open, to play over again the game of power—diplomacy which is bound to lead to an armed struggle, which if it comes, will mean the utter collapse of civilisation.

India has played a most notable part in the winning of this triumphant victory. We have made enormous sacrifices in the shape of men, money and enterprise in every important theatre of the Great War and it is only right that India should attain her legitimate and proper place in the councils of the Nations. India's authentic voice represented by patriotic Indians owing their choice to a National Government and not



subordinate limb of a foreign Government should have its say when international decisions are taken and a new World Order is brought into shape.

To us in India the year 1945 has not been as good as it might have been. The failure of the Simla conference and the consequent postponement of the formation of a National Government has undoubtedly retarded the progress of reconstruction and planning. Much leeway has to be made up in the field of education, industries, commerce, social betterment. Enormous work has got to be done and only a National Government can be equal to the heavy tasks that the Nation will be called upon to shoulder.

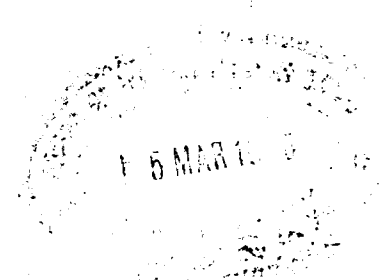
It has now been made definitely clear that the Congress which has been fighting the Central and Provincial elections on the issue of immediate transfer of power to the people of India has the backing of the whole Nation including the other organised political parties so far as this issue is concerned. Even Mr. Jinnah has been obliged to state as the result of the march of events that the Muslim League is not fighting the Hindus but they are fighting British Imperialism and solicit the support of Hindus in that struggle. Every shade of opinion in the country is pronouncedly in favour of a real, true and immediate transfer of power to the people of India.

The Parliamentary Delegation will be soon in our midst to see for themselves how deep and firm is this yearning for immediate freedom in every shade of opinion in this country. The great conferences that have recently been held of women, educationists, industrialists and commercial men have made it unmistakably clear that they are all for the immediate formation of a National Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces, to meet adequately the immediate needs of the country.

The New Year will be even more eventful than the old one. In the early part of the year, Provincial elections will be held and from among the chosen representatives of the people, the Constituent Assembly will be formed. Whether the proposals in the Cripps's scheme for the formation of a Constituent Assembly will be followed up, or whether any modifications thereof will be made, it is too soon to say. But there can be no doubt that some sort of Constitution making body will be set up, and the Constitution of India will be framed for a single undivided India with the necessary adjustments for realignment of boundaries and residuary powers in the federating units.

The great report of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's committee has given a wise lead in this direction. It is necessarily a report framed in a spirit of compromise. It may not please doctrinaire faddists wedded to particular schools of political thought, but the average citizen and all wise men who care more for the country than for the party they belong to, will generally subscribe to the principles enunciated in that report, as a basis to work upon. We feel hopeful that the country will be wise enough and patriotic enough to send the right type of representatives, so that the Constituent Assembly that will be formed will be equal to the great work to which they will be called.

Nearly 70 per cent. of the population of India are Hindus. They are profoundly interested in the working of the Indian Constitution in which they and their children will have to live and the ancient Dharma of this land will have to prosper and continue to give solace and satisfaction to 300 millions living in one compact area which forms the largest single cultural unit in the world. Seen in this perspective, we are most deeply interested in the immediate formation of a satisfactory constitution making body which will frame the constitution under which our country will live and prosper and take its legitimate place in the comity of Nations.



JL
R4 m2, N23SD
N410.23.10-11

* 'THE OTHER HARMONY'

By

Mr. K. CHANDRASEKARAN, M.A., B.L., *Advocate, Myslapore.*

Sastri is really a great letter-writer. The value of letters gets infinitely enhanced when there is a string of them. Realising this perhaps, T. N. Jagadisan brought out, more than a year back, a volume of Sastri's letters, which in their cumulative effect show the "long leisurely, unfolding of a character and a life".

Sastri deserves also our consideration as an artist in the harmony of prose. And again Jagadisan, with rare dedication to the task, has enabled us to possess a tiny and well-got up volume of selections of Sastri's prose. It leads one to believe that the book should have been planned mainly with a view to enabling students of English literature to understand the essentials of good prose.

Really rhythm is essential to fine prose. A good writer does not dump all his words down and leave them there like stacks of bricks. Nor does he merely pounce upon the first phrase or expression that comes to the tip of his pen. He avoids the evil habit of tacking on an adjective to a noun, or an adverb to a verb, where qualification is unnecessary. It is the region of the inexperienced writer, no doubt, to find it frequently almost heart-breaking to expunge the redundant qualifications. Yet it is by such trivial impurities that the most promising material can be wrecked.

Sastri does indeed care for all these and maintains always his own high level. He knows what he is writing about; he writes in as simple words as possible, cuts out purple patches and eschews that 'slick, self-satisfied smugness' which easily disqualifies much of modern writing. In short there is in him a certain purity of style which is achieved by not expressing in a way out of the ordinary.

The selections here represent his manysidedness. You have bits of philosophy, politics, biography, autobiography, sketches and essays on abstract themes, not to speak of telling little pieces of enjoyable reading, as the one on the Mahatma, which at once preserve directness

*'The other Harmony' by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.O., C.H., (From his speeches and writings) edited by T. N. Jagadesan. Published by S. Visvanathan—Price Rs. 2—4—0.

with perspicuity. No doubt readers of this volume may not all agree entirely as to the arrangement of topics or their order of merit. For instance 'A confession of faith' holding the place of honour in this series may come in for criticism or comment from deep thinkers. They would naturally expect from one of Sastri's enlightenment and learning more sustained reasons for his convictions. But none can escape the liveliness and effective powers of portraiture in 'Sir P. S. Subramania Aiyar' that certainly lift one to regions of naturalness in contrast to the somewhat dragging heaviness in 'Rishi Ranade.' In final we cannot for one moment deny Sastri his sincerity marking every one of these pages, though his sincerity does not by itself assure us of freedom from a certain amount of dullness in the reading.

One cannot also leave these pages without feeling that Sastri does not produce for the liberation of his soul. It is not his nature to create. There is nothing like an organic thing that develops, not of course only in his brain, but in his heart—nothing that the creative instinct evolves out of the experiences of his soul. Hence perhaps that we feel in him only occasionally the deliciousness that comes of understanding the heart-beats of a great artist.

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO—FULL-TEXT

[Our critical article on this Manifesto will follow in our next issue.—EDITOR.]

For sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this long span of years, its history has been the history of the Indian people, straining at the least that has held them in bondage, ever trying to loose themselves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages. From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organisation, the living and vibrant symbol of India's will to freedom and independence. From generation to generation, it dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner, innumerable countrymen and countrywomen of ours have laid down their lives and undergone suffering in order to redeem the pledge they had taken. By service and sacrifice it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people; by its refusal to submit

to any dis-honour to our nation it has built up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule.

The career of the Congress has been one of both constructive effort for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom. In this struggle, it has faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great empire. Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts, but has gained strength from them. After the recent three years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and become more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress.

Equal Opportunities for all.

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and good will between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius. It has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger frame work, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis. It has stood for the rights of all those who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the Constitution. This Constitution, in its view, should be a Federal one with autonomy for its constituent units, and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise. The Federation of India must be a willing Union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units, there may be a minimum list of common and essential Federal subjects, which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desire to do so.

Fundamental Rights.

The constitution shall provide for fundamental rights, among them the following.

1. Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to

assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

2. Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

3. The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

4. All citizens are equal before law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

5. No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

6. All citizens have equal rights in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools, and places of public resort, maintained out of State or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

7. Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

8. No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

9. The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

10. The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

11. The State shall provide for free and compulsory basic education.

12. Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

Safeguards for Backward classes.

The State shall further provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and development of the backward or suppressed elements in the population, so that they might make rapid progress and take a full and equal part in national life. In particular, the State will help in the development of the people of the tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the education and social and economic progress of the scheduled classes.

A 150 years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution. Intensive exploitation of the country and the people

during this period had reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation. The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation. During the years of war this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority in utter disregard of Indian interests and views, and incompetence in administration reached a new height leading to terrible famine and wide spread misery. There is no way to solve any of these urgent problems except through freedom and independence. The content of political freedom must be both economic and social.

Co-operative Commonwealth.

The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of the masses. It is to the well-being of these masses that the Congress had directed its special attention and its constructive activities. It is by their well-being and advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefiting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level, removing unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the individual. For this purpose it will be necessary to plan, and co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that Free India may develop into a co-operative commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance, must be regulated in the national interest.

Improvement of Agriculture.

Though poverty is widespread in India, it is essentially a rural problem, caused chiefly by overpressure of land and lack of other

wealth producing occupations. India, under British rule has been progressively ruralised, many of her avenues of work and employment closed, and a vast mass of the population thrown on the land, which has undergone continuous fragmentation, till a very large number of holdings have become uneconomic. It is essential, therefore, that the problem of land should be dealt with in all its aspects. Agriculture has to be improved on scientific lines and industry has to be developed rapidly in its various forms—large-scale, medium and small, so as not only to produce wealth but also to absorb people from the land. In particular, cottage industries have to be encouraged, both as wholtime and part-time occupations. It is essential that in planning and the development of industry, while maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at, it should be borne in mind that this is not done at the cost of creating fresh unemployment. Planning must lead to maximum employment, indeed to the employment of every able-bodied person. Landless labourers should have opportunities of work offered to them and be absorbed in agriculture or industry.

Reform of the Land system.

The reform of the land system, which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should therefore be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of co-operative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental co-operative farms should be organised with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.

In the development of land and industry, there has to be a proper integration and balance between rural and urban economy. In the past, rural economy has suffered, and the town and city have prospered at the cost of the village. This has to be righted and an attempt made to equalise, so far as possible, the standards of life of town-dwellers and villagers. Industry should not be concentrated in particular Provinces, so as to give a balanced economy to each Province, and it

should be decentralised, as far as this is possible, without sacrifice of efficiency.

River Commissions.

Both the development of land and of industry, as well as the health and well-being of the people, require the harnessing and proper utilisation of the vast energy that is represented by the great rivers of India, which is not only largely running to waste but is often the cause of great injury to the land and the people who live on it. River commissions should be constituted to undertake this task in order to promote irrigation and ensure an even and continuous supply of water, to prevent disastrous floods and soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, to develop hydro-electric power, and in other ways to help in raising the general standard of life, especially in the rural areas. The power resources of the country have to be developed rapidly in this and other ways in order to provide the necessary foundation for the growth of industry and agriculture.

Adequate arrangement should be made for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically, culturally and morally, and to fit them for the new forms of work and services which will open out before them. Public health services which are essential for the growth of the widest scale and in this and other matters the need of the rural areas should receive special attention. These should include special provisions for maternity and child welfare.

Conditions should thus be created in which every individual has an equal opportunity for advance in every field of national activity and there is social security for all.

Science in its innumerable fields of activity has played an ever-increasing part influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defence, depend upon it. Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State and should be organised and encouraged on the widest scale.

Minimum wage for Labour.

In regard to labour, the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country

permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

Rural indebtedness has, in the past, crushed the agricultural population and though, owing to various causes, in recent years this has grown less, the burden still continues and must be removed. Cheap credit must be made available through co-operatives. Co-operatives should also be organised for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular, industrial co-operatives should be encouraged as being especially suited for the development of small-scale industry on a democratic basis.

While the immediate and urgent problems of India can only be effectively tackled by a joint and planned attack on all fronts—political, economic, agricultural, industrial, and social—certain needs are of paramount importance to-day. Owing to the gross incompetence and mismanagement of the Government, an incredible amount of suffering has been caused to the people of India. Millions have died of starvation, and scarcity of food and clothing is still widespread. Corruption in the services and in all matters pertaining to the supply and control of the vital necessities of life is rampant and has become intolerable. These urgent problems require immediate attention.

Foreign Policy.

In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of a world federation of free nations. Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations and particularly with her neighbours. In the Far East, in South East Asia and in Western Asia, India has had cultural relations for thousands of years and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations. Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand closer contacts with these regions. India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples for only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established.

149 907

52

12/1/46
12/1/46

August Resolutions stands. .

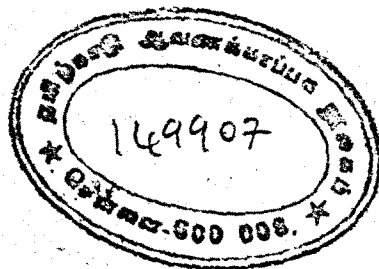
On the 8th of August 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's story. By its demands and challenge the Congress stands to-day. It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that the Congress faces the elections.

The Congress, therefore, appeals to the voters all over the country to support Congress candidates in every way at the forthcoming elections and to stand by the Congress at the critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities. In these elections, petty issues do not count, nor do individuals, nor sectarian cries—only one thing counts: the freedom and independence of our motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people. Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of independence; that pledge has yet to be redeemed and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us. The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full. This election is a small test for us for preparation for the greater things to come. Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence and march together to the free India of our dreams.

JL

Klone, 1/12/23 BD

N46. 23. 12. 11



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR, 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 nut shell 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burmah, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

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.

5 MAR 1946



चित्ते वदतरोमूले वृद्धाः शिष्या गुरुयुवा । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु छिन्नसंशयाः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.

Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign. 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign. 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
THE CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO, A Critical Estimate By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore ...	13
MY PILGRIMAGE TO SABARI MALAI, By Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Ayyar, M.A., L.T. ...	20

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.O.S.I., O.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Ramesam, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge).
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, M.A.

Hony. Editors.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books
for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge.*

THE BHARATA DHARMA.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE



Bharata Dharma

VOL. XXIV]

FEBRUARY, 1946

[No. 2

THE CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

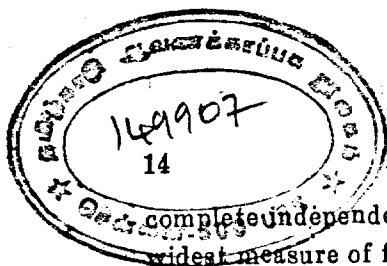
A Critical Estimate

BY

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

The Congress election manifesto, the full text of which we reproduced in our January issue for the benefit of our readers is a document that deserves careful and critical study. Very soon, the Congress will be called upon to take office and in most Provinces it will be in a position to accept Ministerial responsibility either as a single party group, commanding the largest majority in the Provincial Legislatures or as a powerful element in coalition with other political parties. It is the essence of an election manifesto that it provides the general public the yard-stick with which to measure the achievements of the party while in power. It is only a platitude to say that any yard-stick will be useful only if it is definite for a reasonable stretch of time and does not involve or exhibit any telescopic tendencies to shrink or to elongate according to the whims or the wishes of the person electing to use the yard-stick to measure a party's political achievements, while in power.

When the Congress High Command decided to contest the Central and Provincial elections, it was clearly made manifest that they propose to do so only on a single political issue viz., the transfer of real power immediately to the people of India. On this central issue all other parties are at one with them and there is nothing very unique about the ideology of obtaining immediately and completely real transfer of power to the people of India. Whether this process is called



complete independence, or Purna Swaraj, or Dominion Status with the widest measure of freedom of the kind enjoyed by the Irish Free State, it really makes no difference in substance. The Muslim League has definitely asked for complete independence though for Pakistan which it dreams to carve out of India as it is to-day. The Hindu Maha Sabha and the National Liberal Federation have been asking for nothing less, though they may employ a slightly different terminology based on historical considerations and the expediency of evolutionary progress in political institutions.

So far as the issue of transfer of power is concerned, the Congress manifesto truly interprets and correctly expresses the Nation's wish and determination to obtain immediately and effectively complete transfer of power. On this issue, there can be no political campaigning among the different political parties contesting the elections, for there is really no contest on this issue. This part of the manifesto will have universal support and any party that puts forward this view before the electorate will be entitled to solid support from the electorate.

It is common knowledge that the Constituent Assembly that will be shortly formed for the framing of the future Constitution of India will be largely based on the Provincial Legislatures that will come into existence, as the result of the ensuing Provincial elections. The manner in which the Constituent Assembly will be formed is still in a fluid condition. It may be that as the result of the Provincial elections the intransigent elements in the country may adopt a non-cooperative or obstructive attitude due to shortcomings and weaknesses, numerical and otherwise, revealed by the elections, and correspondingly the success of other elements may lead them into a position of consciousness of success leading to the not uncommon concomitants of pride and prejudice. British diplomacy notwithstanding all that has happened has not shown its hand and it is difficult to predict with any certainty that they will give up their traditional and tried policy of divide and rule and decide to base their India policy on a genuine desire of keeping India united and free, and a great ally of the British Commonwealth, a part of it by willing choice and not by compulsion. In the very delicate negotiations and conversations that are bound to ensue in connection with (i) the Constitution of the Constituent Assembly, (ii) the procedure to be adopted by the Constituent Assembly, (iii) the manner in which His Majesty's Government will imple-

ment the decisions of the Constituent Assembly, (iv) the treaty or other provisions which will have to be worked out to establish the new relationship between Indian and Great Britain, what the attitude of the Congress will be has not been defined or indicated in the Congress Manifesto. To this extent there is no doubt, the manifesto is not as full as it might have been.

One welcomes the objective of "a free democratic State with fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the constitution." It is also refreshing to note the assurance that this Constitution "should be a Federal one with autonomy for its constituent units and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise." Are we to take it that the Congress has by what it has said in the election manifesto unambiguously and explicitly expressed itself against the Muslim League's objective of Pakistan as an independent, autonomous and Sovereign State, equal in every respect with Hindustan and having no Federal or other constituent tie with it except what may be possible on the basis of international treaty relations between independent sovereign status? Are we to take it that the C. R. Formulae is buried for ever and Mahatmaji's attempt to please Mr. Jinnah will not be renewed in the spacious times of peace? If in the stress and strain put on the Constitution making body and in the course of its deliberations a renewed attempt is made to please the implacables, can we take it that the above statement in the Congress election manifesto is a solemn promise that these attempts will not be countenanced and the ideal of a single united Indian on a Federal basis with full autonomy to the constituent units with the lists of compulsory common subjects and optionally common subjects previously settled by agreement will be pursued with vigour and determination, and there will be no more faltering or hairsplitting or shilly-shallying on the path and progress of India as a united Federal State? I take it that the Congress election manifesto has definitely committed itself to this promise and that it is not open to any member of the Congress party, high or low, to go back upon it, as the election results should be regarded as a mandate to the Congress to pursue this goal and make no departure therefrom.

It will be useful to remember and to realise that the recent elections to the Central Assembly were held under the 1919 Constitution and the Provincial elections are being held under the 1935 Constitution. Both these constitutions are British made and intended to prolong the British exploitation of India economically and other-

JL
R4 m2, 123 B0
N 66. 23. 10-11

wise. The Central and Provincial Legislatures to which elections are being held are in no sense Sovereign Legislatures as the British Parliament is. Ministers assuming office under such conditions can have very little to say in the shape of foreign policy. With no adequate Army, Navy or Air Force which can be claimed to be national in the real sense, foreign countries cannot be blamed, if they do not take seriously any claims made by Indian Nationalists as regards the foreign policy of India. The tragedy is, that in the present political condition of India, a statement of India's foreign policy must necessarily be academic, unreal and ineffective. India has had no experience of international diplomacy. In this respect even China is infinitely better off. To talk of the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations may be a good pastime for doctrinaire faddists, but for politicians contesting the Central and Provincial elections with a view to provide the machinery for the Constituent Assembly to come into existence and with a view to carry on as a transitional measure the Government of the country until the new Constitution begins to function, the enunciation of foreign policy as contained in the Congress Election manifesto is entirely unreal and unnecessary. However, we need not tarry long over this innocuous surplusage in an election manifesto.

We do not know what purpose is served by the reiteration of the August resolution in an election manifesto. This election manifesto is not the occasion or the proper place to invite the verdict of the people on the policies pursued by the Congress for the last two decades. When the debit and credit account is dispassionately settled, no one can say whether the net result will be very highly favourable to the Congress. With the consequence of so many actions of so many parties in India, the parties in England and the American participation on a vast scale in international affairs, and rise and fall of Nazism and Fascism in the West and East, it is difficult to apportion credit or blame for the condition in which millions in India find themselves today. Congress will be advised in leaving questions of prestige or party pride to future historians who will make an impartial appraisal from the right perspective.

Coming now to the Congress programme regarding the internal affairs of the country particularly in the economic field, there is not likely to be much unanimity. The congress manifesto mixes up the issue of freedom with internal questions of an administrative character, and desires to interpret the verdict, which will be over-

whelmingly in its favour on the question of India's freedom as necessarily a verdict in their favour also on the economic policies adumbrated in the election manifesto. This attempt to mix up highly controversial matters with a highly non-controversial matter and obtain a composite verdict from the Nation at a time when it is so passionately moved on the question of national freedom, cannot be said to be a fair way of dealing with the country. It would have been more appropriate if the Congress election manifesto took the line, that it represented the entire nation on the question of national freedom, and that it expected to have the nation's verdict in their favour so that they may pursue their objective of national freedom with vigour and consciousness that the entire nation is at its back. Of course the Government of the country must be carried on without any break or interregnum while these constitution-making parleys are in progress. It is an accepted principle that between the resignation of the existing Government and the formation of a new government, the interim administration would be only of a care taker character, just continuing the administration leaving major changes of policies to be inaugurated and implemented after the new representative administration comes into existence. Any verdict that is given on the issue of national freedom cannot with any measure of safety be regarded as a verdict on the economic policies adumbrated in the congress election manifesto. The better course would have been to call for the united support of the country without any dissentient voice on the question of India's freedom and the main outlines of the Federal constitution that should be framed by the Constituent Assembly, making it clear that it will be the duty of the interim Government just to carry on the administration of the country and to hold full and free elections under the new Constitution after necessary parliamentary legislation in that behalf, leaving it to the legislatures that will come into existence under the new Constitution to place before the country their policies and to implement them. With no external issues to complicate the questions and with no pressure from third party vested interests deflecting the people's will, it will then be possible to have a calm and full consideration of the merits of these questions suited to the genius and the requirements of our country. In not taking this wise course, I think the Congress has lost an opportunity.

Congress ideology and technique must necessarily be of a particular kind when it has to fight the vested interests of British Imperialism. In

that fight it is only right that it should have the general public support. But on this account alone to base a claim that they should be the sole architects of the future of India on the lines formulated by them is a claim that may not be acquiesced in. Congress stands for a democratic Government. Democratic Government must mean the existence of more than one political party, whether the British or American or French or Swiss types of democracy is ultimately adopted in this country. When freedom has been achieved Congress can well imagine that it should have to make a definite reorientation of its policies and methods of work. But if in anything that is done by the Congress the nucleus of an alternative democratic party is destroyed, Congress will be doing an unpatriotic act and will be digging the grave of the very democracy which it has done so much to build up. It is the duty of true friends of the Congress to give this timely caution.

Frankly a progressive thinker cannot view with anything but disfavour the growing tendencies of corruption in public life by making offers and counter offers by way of auction bids to secure the political support of dissident groups, whether based on religious, creedal or social differences. It should be the effort of every one to obliterate wholly and completely all such tendencies for political bargaining. After the new constitution comes into existence I take it that it will be an Indian Constitution with almost Sovereign power including the power to alter its own constitution to suit the changing needs without any outside interference or sanction. When that situation unfolds itself fully, people will appreciate the new needs for realignment of political parties and personnel. With this prospect immediately in front of us, it will not be wise to state in very general and in some instances inconsistent terms, the broad lines of policy meant for the future legislatures that will come into existence after India secures her freedom.

The paragraphs of the election manifesto regarding some of the topics such as the improvement of agriculture, the reform of the land system and the minimum wage for labour, may be appropriate in a book on the economic history of India. But in an election manifesto, one is entitled to expect a different form of treatment indicating in concrete and affirmative terms the legislative steps that the Congress intends to launch in the event of its being returned to power. It is only such concrete and definite statements that can be regarded as a binding mandate from the electorate. Any attempt to influence the electorate by a statement regarding the past sacrifices of the Congress, the present

oweful condition of the masses, and obtaining from the electorate a blank cheque which may be filled in as it pleases the Congress High command for the time being, may be good electioneering propaganda, but cannot be regarded as an act of statesmanship in the interest of the nation as a whole, especially as many of the topics are highly controversial and it is difficult to predicate beforehand what the nation's verdict will be if these matters are dealt with in a calm atmosphere dissociated from the issue of national freedom.

Having heard so much, the puzzled voter may put the question, "well! what should I do with my vote?" I have no hesitation in answering that question emphatically and unambiguously. I will ask the voter to cast his vote for the Congress. On the question of national freedom, the Congress through its election manifesto has voiced forth the united voice of the whole nation. After the new constitution comes into being and real democracy begins to function in this land, the Congress itself will take the lead to review their policies with the then realities of the situation, and when concrete legislative steps are placed before the country it will be time enough to examine them with the meticulous care which those proposals will then merit. For the time being, our duty is clear. We must win national freedom and the Congress is the strongest, the biggest and the most patriotic organisation engaged in that task. Whatever may be our differences on other issues, minor or major, the need of the hour is that we should give the Congress all the support that it needs, to win freedom for India as a whole.

After such a clear statement, I fully trust that Congressmen will not misconstrue or misinterpret the significance of the millions of votes that will be cast in their favour. They will be only votes on the issue of national freedom and not on other issues.

JL

5 MAR 1946

MY PILGRIMAGE TO SABARI MALAI

By

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

Of all the current forms of Hinduism, the Liberal Hindu finds the *Bakthi* cult to be most appealing to him because he can share it with the masses of the land. What is known as *Karma Marga* is open to the few whose qualifications are fixed by the *Vedas* and the *Shastras* and in the performing of the many acts there is considerable trouble involved as well as lot of expenditure. The *Gnana marga* on the other hand is open only to the few, who could stand the dizzy heights of austere philosophy. The *bakthi marga* alone is open to all and sundry, and that, as a matter of fact, is the most popular and the most vital form of our Hinduism.

Of all the forms of *bakthi* such as joint worship, joint singing and so on, joint pilgrimage to a sacred shrine is one of the most appealing and effective. It brings together young and old, man and woman, bent upon the same quest and makes them live at least during the period of pilgrimage, a sort of common life under similar conditions, making away with the distinction between the rich and the poor. It is one such pilgrimage that I had the privilege to undertake in 1942-43 to the sacred shrine of Sabari Malai in Travancore.

People outside the districts of Malabar and Tinnevely and the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin will have generally no idea of the deity presiding in the temple of Sabari Malai. He is called Harihara-putra or Harihara simply and is also known as Shasta. For reasons, we need not enquire into at present, the worship of the deity is confined to the areas mentioned above and it has not spread outside that limited area. Amongst the masses of the people worshipping the deity, He is more popularly known as Ayyappan, and the tradition has it that when Parasurama reclaimed the strip of land in the West Coast of India from the sea and made it available he established for the safety of the land a series of temples to Mother Goddess along the coast from Cape Camorin to Cranganore and another series of temples dedicated to Shasta along the Western Ghats. Five of them are generally named as most prominent. They are—(1) Achankoil, (2) Aryankavu, (3) Kulattu

1946.

MY PILGRIMAGE TO SABARI MALAI

21

Puzha (4) Sabari Malai and (5) Kantha Malai. The first is about 20 miles from Shencottah and is accessible by a cart road. The second is a railway station on the Shencottah-Quilon railway and is very easily accessible. The 3rd is on the main road from Shencottah to Travancore and is also easily accessible. The 5th Kantha Malai has not been located. It is said to be somewhere near Sabari Malai and on the Sacred day of the 1st of Thai, when lights go up in Sabari Malai the pious people believe there is a corresponding illumination in Kantha Malai and the faithful look for it and sometimes see it in a south easterly direction. But very few have gone to that place. The 4th is the Sabari Malai pilgrimage to which place I shall describe shortly.

The Puranic origin of the God Ayyappan is somewhat interesting. When, according to the Puranas, the Devas and the Asuras churned the milky ocean to secure the nectar of immortality, the Asuras being stronger knocked it away and would not share it with the Devas. In this difficult situation, the Devas as usual, prayed to Maha Vishnu to come to their rescue and Vishnu is supposed to have appeared in the form of a young maiden of exquisite beauty as Mohini. The term *Mohini* indicates her captivating capacity. Vishnu thus disguised had no difficulty in inducing the Asuras to part with the nectar on the promise that she would distribute it equally to all and later on when Siva heard of this incident He felt a desire to see Vishnu once again as the bewitching maiden. When he actually saw her in that shape He fell in love with her and the resulting progeny is Shasta who is therefore called Harihara putra or the son of Siva and Vishnu. He is also called Mohini Suta or the son of Mohini.

Students of Hinduism trained along Western lines of study and research explain the Shasta cult as being due to the absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism. They are of opinion that the Hindu Shasta is no other than the old Buddha who is called Shasta in the Sanskrit Lexicon compiled by the famous Amarasimha. Our present knowledge about these matters does not warrant our coming to conclusion either way and hence we leave a subject without committing ourselves to either view.

So far as Sabari Malai is concerned the deity there has got a story of his own. He is supposed to have been brought up as the son of a Pandya, King of Madura, who being childless prayed to God and was lucky enough to come upon a divine child in the forest where he went to hunt. The King was overjoyed and he handed over the child

to his queen to be brought up and the child grew as a prince: but unfortunately some of the courtiers did not look upon the intruder with favour and hence they poisoned the ears of the queen against him. They wanted to do away with him and imposed upon him the terrible task of bringing the milk of leopard (പുഴുപുറം) as a cure for an incurable head-ache of the queen. The prince brought to the capital a vast herd of leopards so that he may milk them to the satisfaction of the queen and her ill advisers. Ayyappan is supposed to be very fond of hunting and Sabari Malai is considered to be a camping station of the God when he went on a hunting expedition starting from the Erumeli and coming to the forest of Sabari and returning back to the plains, viz., a place now known as Talaparakottai. The orthodox pilgrims to this day follow this path to go to Sabari and for returning to the plains though there is another path becoming more popular at the present time. The latter takes one by bus from Kottayam in North Travancore to a place within 11 miles of Sabari and the Pilgrim has to do marching along forest path only for 11 miles whereas the old orthodox path from start to the finish will be about 60 miles. No wonder, the 11 miles path is becoming more and more popular.

(To be Contd.)

THE BHARATHA DHARMA

1945

INDEX

Chandra Sekharendra Saraswati Swami, His Holiness Sri—The Head of the Kanchi Kamakoti Mutt	Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar ...	99
Dance of Gopis with Sree Krishna—Symbolical of True Bhakti	Late Mr. C. Rajagopala Row, B.A. ...	22
Devotion	K. Visvanathan ...	31
Dharma in the Mahabharatha	R. Sreenivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. ...	17
Dharma in the Bhagavata	Do. ...	50
Dharma in the Bhagavat-Gita	Do. ...	85
Draft Hindu Code	K. Balasubramania Ayyar, B.A., B.L. ...	3
Draft Hindu Code	Dewan Bahadur K. S. Rama- swami Sastri, B.A., B.L. ...	9
End of Communalism	Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L. ...	111
God Realisation	K. Visvanathan, B.Sc. ...	94
India and the Labour Victory in England	E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L. ... Do. ...	67
Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute	Do. ...	35
Life Here or Hereafter	D. Ramaswami Ayyangar, B.A., B.L. ...	92
Maintain the Integrity of Hindus- than	Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu ...	14
Parliamentary Delegation	E. Vinayaka Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	119
Pherozesha Mehta, Sir—Life and Times of	K. Chandrasekharan, M.A., B.L. ...	80

Pheroza Mehta, Sir—The Centenary of his birth	K. Balasubramania Ayyar, B.A., B.L. ...	75
Property and Morality	Gnanavisarada M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, B.A., B.L., L.T. ...	43
Rasa Lila	Dr. V. Raghavan ...	73
Reflections on life	R. Vaidyanathan, B.A., M.Sc. ...	106
Sesha Ayyangar Memorial Fund	E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L. ...	97
Travancore Controversy	Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Ayyar ...	101
Wavell Plan	E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L. ...	59

NOTES

India Secretary's Statement ...	...	116
New Year ...	E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L. ...	1
National Liberal Federation of India ...	...	33
Madras Sanskrit College etc.—Founder's Day Celebration ...	...	33
Sir S. Cripps commends proposals... ..	...	58
Viceroy's Statement	...	117
White Paper on India	...	55



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR, 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 nut shell 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burmah, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

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. 5 MAR 1946



चित्रं वटलोर्मले इन्द्राः शिष्या गुरुं वा गुणेस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु चिन्तनशयः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.
Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign. 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign. 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
MY MASTER GOKHALE, By Mr. K. Chandrasekharan, M.A., B.L. ...	23
MY PILGRIMAGE TO SABARI MALAI, By Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Ayyar, M.A., L.T. ...	26
SERVICE IN RELIGION, By Mr. C. Narasimhachari, B.A., B.L., <i>Advocate,</i> <i>Triplicane</i> ...	30
"WHO IS A BRAHMANA?", By Sri K. Viswanathan, <i>Bansda</i> ...	32

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.O.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Ramaswami, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge). } *Hony. Editors.*
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, M.A.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books
for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge,*

THE BHARATA DHARMA.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE



Bharata Dharma

VOL. XXIV]

MARCH, 1946

[No. 3

"MY MASTER GOKHALE"*

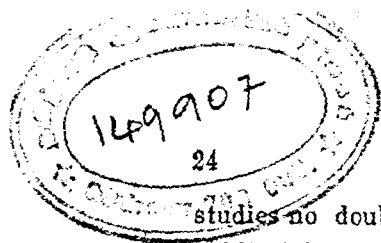
By

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

It will be generally accepted that this is an 'admirable collection' of Sastri's speeches and writings on Gopala Krishna Gokhale. But it will, perhaps, be less generally accepted in what exactly the admirable quality consists. Like most of Sastri's writings and speeches these bear the reader the value of a life's rich experience in public work resulting in an enviable moderation both in thought and expression. Still they cannot fail to attract two types of minds intensely. Readily will there be admirers of Gokhale showing an unflagging interest in the subject, at any rate, in the less well-known aspects of that great leader of men, strewn in these pages. Again persons, whose avidity to devour anything pertaining to Gokhale, the man and his age, will meet here with sufficient food to satisfy their curiosity. Of course these speeches and writings delivered or written at different times and occasions and with fairly long intervals sometimes in between them, have been woven into something of unity in order to preserve the biographical interest for the reader.

Gokhale, the great moderate leader, Gokhale the First member of the Servants of India Society, Gokhale the legislator, Gokhale the scholar-statesman and finally Gokhale, the man, are all interesting

*A selection from the speeches and writings of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D., D.Litt. Edited by T. N. Jagadisan. Model publications, 50, Badrian Street, Madras Rs. 5.



studies no doubt to the young aspirant for fame and usefulness in the public life of this country. However much the active politician of today might demur at the Liberal politics of Gokhale and their efficacy in solving the problems of to-day and to-morrow, still he cannot remain uninfluenced by the burning patriotism and splendid sacrifices of the pioneers who had shaped the organisation of the Congress as a national body. True, that with the appearance of Gandhiji in the Indian struggle for freedom, much of the policy and programme of the Congress have undergone great changes. The spirit of direct action and the gospel of non-violence, so seemingly opposed to each other but yet so well matched in actual experience of the preceding two decades, are indeed a refutation to the old way of thinking. Still to Gokhale alone, of all the earlier leaders, could be traced distinctly the desire for a total change of outlook and a sense of re-orientation in his clarion call for spiritualisation of politics and the partial execution of his dreams into actuality in the founding of the Servants of India Society at Poona. If Mahatmaji feels never tired of claiming Gokhale as his political Guru, it impresses us no less as a truth to say that a real bond of kinship should have existed between the two men in their spiritual urge to chasten politics, though in their methods there yawned such a deep gulf as to induce men of superficial understanding to mistake the real allegiance of the Mahatma for an act of sheer courtesy to the memory of Gokhale.

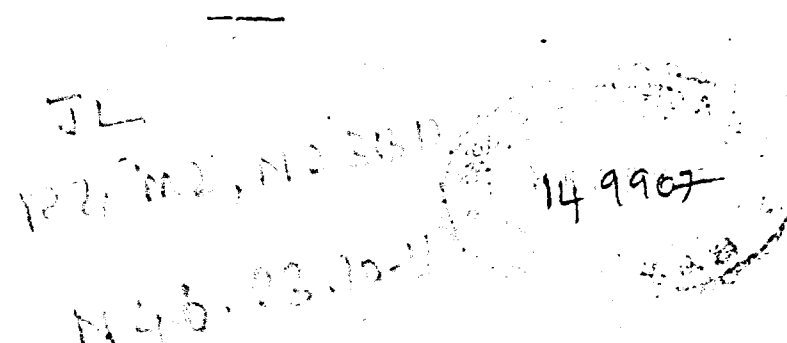
Sri Jagadisan has, by editing these speeches and writings, added a third volume to the Sastri series by himself, and has rightly earned the gratitude of a discerning public for his unswerving loyalty and love to his literary Guru. The volume, as it is, contains all that have to be known of Gokhale from one who moved intimately with Gokhale and who feels in everything he does to further public welfare the guidance of his master both by precept and practice. Sastri reveals the act of the biographer when he delves into the workings of Gokhale's mind in matters even trivial or small of significance. Sastri's first meeting with Gokhale and the story of his admission into the Society are full of human interest to us. Gokhale, the good and the gentle, is painted minutely with such a delicate brush as to evoke our unstinted appreciation.

Some of the chapters like 'Gokhale and Mehta', 'Lessons from Gokhale's career' and 'Gokhale's perorations' retain their freshness,

despite their inclusion already as Chapters in other publications. The Chapter on 'Gokhale's Contemporaries' make us once again live in those times, when the giants of the Congress, the stalwarts of a bygone age, were taking up the younger men by their hands and shaping their character as well as training their intellects for the country's good. We cannot but imagine the statue of a Ranade, a Dadabhai or a Mehta without recalling that of a Bhishma, a Drona, or a Kirpa, who each had everything to do to make of their disciples invincible warriors. And what a disciple of the great Ranade we have in Gokhale! It requires perhaps a separate and lengthier treatment at the hands of this most gifted of writers in English.

Those who wish to draw lessons from a life so rich and varied as Gokhale's will reap a bounteous harvest from these pages. To educate oneself well in the history and political philosophy of the West, to secure thoroughness and accuracy of thought by teaching pupils in his own turn, to cultivate assiduously men of light and leading in public affairs, to emulate their noble examples in service to the motherland, to strive to do the right thing even in the teeth of keen opposition, to develop individuality of vision without tearing away from tradition, to strike out a chosen path of service based on selflessness and lastly to work on and on without waiting for the good results, have been the indelible impressions left on our minds by a perusal of this volume.

Do we need then hesitate in paying our warm tribute to Sastri for the fine work he has produced and Jagadisan for his loving care in collecting these memorable impressions in a single volume?



MY PILGRIMAGE TO SABARI MALAI—II

By

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

Before I begin to give an account of my own pilgrimage I shall give a general account of the pilgrimages undertaken by the people at large. The most important day for a pilgrimage is the first of *Thai* every year, and pilgrims arrange their journey in such a way that they may be at the shrine on that day. For about 41 days before the first of *Thai* i.e., from 20th *Karthigai* onwards, there is a special pooja and many pilgrims go to the shrine even during this *mandala* pooja. We may take it therefore that from the 20th of *Karthigai* upto the 1st of *Thai* it is the pilgrimage season.

It is said that there is no daily pooja in this inaccessible temple and that arrangements are made only for 3 days pooja in a month. The Poojari goes on the 27th of a month and returns on the 4th of the next month having done six days pooja at a stretch for two months together. These periods of pooja are also availed of by pilgrims who visit the shrine, though the more popular season is the one mentioned at first.

The devotee who intends to undertake the pilgrimage goes through a preliminary discipline of regulated life for about 40 days before starting on a pilgrimage. On an auspicious day, he proclaims his determination to go on this pilgrimage by putting on a special rosary for the occasion and from that moment onwards he is to lead a chaste and disciplined life. He has to eschew meat altogether and eat one meal a day and take only light food at nights and be celibate throughout this period of about 6 weeks. He has also to grow hair and he is popularly known as Ayyappan. The devotee is called after the God he worships. All these may be rationally explained as conserving strength for the strenuous mountain trip he is expected to undertake at the end of the period of probation.

The starting for the mountain is marked by a special pooja and the tying of the bundle, as it is called, because every pilgrim has to take with himself all his food requirements for the few days in the mountains and also an offering of ghee, rice and dhol for making *payasam* for the God in the temple. The bundle usually consists of a long bag divided into two sections; the front section contains a cocoanut shell in which ghee is taken properly sealed, and also the rice and dhol to be

offered to the deity; and the back section consists of rice and a little eatable of fried bananas which the devotee may take for himself. The front section is kept over the head and the hind section is allowed to be hung over the back. This bundle is popularly known as *Irumudi* or two knots.

Pilgrims generally form themselves into small groups under an experienced leader who has to his credit many such annual visits. The simple food store taken by the party is generally pooled together and the small party shares the joys and sorrows together.

Every evening the pilgrims halt in some convenient place and as soon as it is dark they light their lamps and begin the evening worship. In most of these camps there would be at least about a thousand groups and each group would have its own lamp so that against a back-ground of utter darkness and the sky-scraping trees, the effect of so many tiny lamps will be unimaginably grand. The scene is made more picturesque by each group having its loud prayers which is called taking refuge or *saranam*. It consists of the leader giving out a name of the deity and all the people joining in a chorus and repeating the refrain, "Saranam Ayyappa". In a worship, with about 1000 groups, the noise produced by the musical prayer against a back-ground of darkness illuminated by tiny lamps and of perfect stillness otherwise will be so soul-stirring that it has to be enjoyed to be appreciated.

Pilgrims start early in the morning and try to reach the next camping station before 9 or 10. There they cook their food and take rest to start again at about 3 in the afternoon to reach the next camp before it becomes very dark. While marching the pilgrims recite the holy names and some times sing songs seeking the help of Ayyappan to get over difficulties on the way. Here also the leader sings half the portion and the followers recite the other half. The leader would say "கல்லும் முள்ளும்" and the followers would add "காலுக்கு மெத்தை" i.e., in walking over the mountainous tracts, pebbles and thorns should be looked upon as pads adding to the comfort of legs and not wounding them. It is an indirect supplication to God to convert those uncomfortable things on the way into aids for the journey. Sometimes the supplication is more direct. The leader would say "தூக்கி விடப்பா" and the followers would add "தள்ளி விடப்பா". That is, oh! God, lift me up; and oh! God, push me on. In this way, pilgrims who generally belong to the age groups of 20 to 60 with plenty of people on both sides of the

group will be rejoicing themselves and trying to forget the tediousness of the journey by these various devices.

The pathway is generally very rugged and on ascents, it is merely the dry channel of a mountainous stream full of pebbles and crisscrossed throughout by the roots of trees on both sides. The sanitary conscience of people is not generally highly developed and hence the neighbourhood of a camp, in spite of its natural surroundings, would be very unsatisfactory from a hygienic point of view. There is scope for considerable improvement in this matter and it is hoped that the authorities of the Travancore Government will bestow more attention to this problem. Especially as years roll on, the number of pilgrims increases almost in geometrical progression.

I shall not weary the reader by any lengthy description of my own pilgrimage, as I am sorry I have forgotten the names of some of the stages on the way. We left Trivandrum early one morning by a bus to Kottarakarai, but unfortunately on the way our bus went out of order and our programme of taking our food at Kottarakarai had to be given up. We had to improvise food in a way side temple a few furlongs from the place where our bus got stuck up. We reached Kottarakarai much later than the scheduled time and from there went to Erumeli, the starting point of the mountain journey, very late that night. This is a place where pilgrims from all over the plains gather together and the Government of Travancore has got an important temple of Shasta in that place, where the pilgrims are looked after. All the open space round about the temple was camping ground and because it was late at night God alone knew where I was spreading my bed; but I found next morning that I had slept in a garden under a tree near the temple. On the 2nd day in the evening our party left Erumeli and went to a camping ground about 6 or 7 miles from the place. Though our own party consisted only of about six people, the camp had at least 1000 and all of us had to sleep under trees on bare ground prepared for the occasion by the clearing of the undergrowth. Each of us of course, had a tiny mat which was spread on the ground but that was all and a coarse shawl was all the protection which the pilgrims had against the severe cold of the season and of the place. The 3rd morning we had a brisk walk of about 8 miles and camped again on the brink of a delightful mountain stream called Azhutha. Here we had to prepare our food and take rest and start again that evening. The afternoon-section of the journey was very tough and difficult to negotiate. We had several

ascents to go up and veterans of many years' experience frightened me by saying that even the strongest will have to take in gallons of water. I decided however not to drink even an ounce of water and I succeeded by doing the journey very quietly and not exhausting myself and therefore not perspiring and requiring water. That night we camped in a very extensive plateau and the number of pilgrims in that camp was nearly 4 times the previous day. We had the same lighting and noise but this camp was more noisy and we could get only a little sleep. The next day the party's stiff march brought us to the brink of the Pamber river, where we camped that day and had a delightful bath in the cool stream. Many pilgrims from the plains known to us met us in that place. That night there was a grand worship of Ayyappan known generally as *panaka pooja* because after the *pooja panakam* or sugared water is distributed to all the devotees.

The next day was the Makara Sankranti day and we finished our bath and performed *tharpana*, and after food, started for the Sabari Malai temple which was just about 2 miles from the river. We reached the holy shrine at about 5 in the evening and great was the joy of all of us to have successfully performed the difficult pilgrimage to this famous shrine. On account of the huge crowd, we with some difficulty managed to get into the temple and had the darsan. But we did it more elaborately next day when there was less crowd. On the 3rd of *thai*, early in the morning, we left Sabari Malai and returning via the other route mentioned i.e., Thalaparakkottai. On the night of the return journey our camping place was said to be the haunt of wild elephants and as our camp was a small one barely 40 strong, we brought plenty of logs of wood from the surrounding forests and kept a perpetual fire, burning around us in a huge circle and slept inside the magic circle. Wild animals are supposed to be afraid of fire and hence this precaution. Plenty of long walk the next day brought us to one of the rubber estates in the plains and we had almost left the mountainous region. The next morning we took bus from the place to Pathanamthitta and from there to Chengannoor and reached Trivandrum at about 10-30 p. m. From Trivandrum and back to Trivandrum it was a week and during the whole of this week we had practically no ghee, milk or vegetables, coffee or tea, or any kind of luxuries to which we are accustomed and yet our health was splendid and we all kept ourselves very fit. It is partly due to the healthy environment and partly to the vigorous life and partly also due to our not loading the stomach with

unnecessary stuff. But above all there was a psychic factor of elation that we are going to a sacred shrine and the sight of the fellow pilgrims young and old, reconciled one to his own condition.

I had travelled all over India and visited many famous shrines from Benares to Cape Comorin and no pilgrimage of mine was so grand and soul-stirring as the pilgrimage to Sabari Malai.

SERVICE IN RELIGION.

By

Mr. C. NARASIMHACHARI, B.A., B.L., *Advocate, Triplicane.*

The idea of service in religion has been developed to a remarkable degree by Sri Satakopa, the famous Vaishnavite Saint of the Tamil Nad. An eminent educationist has recently said that "*Bhakti Marga*" alone is open to all and sundry, and is the most popular and vital form of Hinduism while the "*Karma Marga*" and the "*Gnana Marga*" are open only to the few involving the performance of many troublesome and expensive acts or open only in the dizzy heights of austere philosophy. This is too true. All the saints of the Tamil country, both Vaishnavite and Saivite, belong to the *Bhakti* school of thought which is said to be anterior to the vedic school.

If "*Bhakti*" which is a metaphysical process is translated into action it becomes service. Saint Satakopa developed devotion into service. To him, service is the natural and organic activity of the soul working through its environments not only to attain freedom from births and deaths or "*samsara*" but also to enjoy the eternal bliss in the celestial abode. To him, service is the "*Purushartha*" or *summum bonum* of existence, both here and hereafter. The performance of disinterested service again reacts on the mind and evolves a cosmic consciousness when the self disappears.

Theoretically or metaphysically, the service is to God but Sri Satakopa maintains that God cannot be served directly but only through the creation. He has transferred so to speak the service from God to man. This result flows directly from his conception of the relationship between God and man as similar to the relationship between soul and body in any living organism. The body represents the cosmic creation and the soul represents God who pervades the entire cosmos and gives life to it and controls it. The function of the body which consists of several parts or organs is that each part of it serves the other

part or parts, and mechanically discharges the duty assigned to it. As a result of this co-operative and co-ordinated service, the soul is maintained in the body and the parts flourish. Each part directly serves only the other parts of the body but indirectly serves the soul. This is the process that obtains also in Nature as discovered by Scientists. And so, man must serve his fellow beings and this is true Service to God.

Sri Satakopa also maintains that this service must not be done disinterestedly," "தனக்கேயாக என்னைக் கொள்ளும் ஈதே" or take service from me for your sake is his prayer to God. He derives no personal benefit or pleasure but shares it in common with others as it pleases his God. In theological parlance it is known as "*Parthantharya Bhogiathai*" (பாரதந்தர்ய போக்யதை). It is not the negation of free will or liberty of action but is only the negation of the Self in the discharge of one's duty.

This is "Vaishnavism" pure and simple in a nut shell. One of our great acharyas has said that every one knows for himself if he is a true Vaishnavite or not. He who suffers at the sufferings of others is a true Vaishnavite but one who says "Let him suffer" is not. I use the expression Vaishnavite not in any sectarian sense but mean only a religious minded man. It is the duty of every one to relieve the sufferings of others and this can be achieved only by service in whatever form or shape. Saint Satakopa has thus established the supreme ideal of every religion that service to man is service to God. He says in the words of Sri Bhagavatam "Oh, Lord 'I don't want any kingdom nor heavenly pleasure nor even escape from re-births, but I do want that the affliction of all beings augmented by the miseries of life may cease for ever."

"WHO IS A BRAHMANA?"

BY

SRI K. VISWANATHAN, *Bansda.*

Instead of answering this question directly, I shall first trace an upanishad called *Vajrasuchika* giving an English rendering and then give my observations. While the Vedas comprise cosmogenesis, the pastoral hymns, the ritual, the arts and the sciences, melody etc., the upanishads treat of the philosophy of life and death, the hereafter, evolution, etc. The upanishads are the eternal source of Hindu philosophy which gives peace to those who reapproach their spirit as said by Schopenhaur "they have been the solace of my life, they will be the solace of my death".

Vajra means diamond and *suchika* a needle and the upanishad means a diamond needle. As such the study and practice of the Upanishad will endue one with the hardness of diamond and the sharpness of the needle to penetrate darkness and make man a brahmana. Here is the translation of the Upanishad first:

"I shall tell the Upanishad Vajrasuchi, the science that destroys ignorance; the destroyer of those without knowledge, and the ornament of those with eyes of knowledge." (1)

"Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra are the four *varnas*; of these Brahmana alone is said to be the foremost by the smritis following vedic texts. Hence arises a question "who is a *brahmana*? What is *jiva*? What is the *deha* or body? What is *jati*? What is *jnana*? What is *Karma*? What is a *dharmika*?" (2)

"If it be asked is *jiva*, *brahmana*, it is not. *Jiva* is one alone in many former bodies and will be one in many future bodies; it gets many bodies as a result of *Karma*; all bodies have only one *jiva*; therefore *jiva* is not *brahmana*". (3)

"Is then body *brahmana*? The reply is 'no'. The bodies of persons from a *chandala* to the first class is alike being made of the five elements; decay and death are the same to all. There is no rule as "brahmana is white in color, Kshatriya is red, Vaisya is yellow, Sudra is black": in burning the dead body of the body the son gets the sin of *brahmahatya* or brahman-murder; therefore the body is not *brahmana*." (4)

"Is *jati* then *brahman*? the reply is 'no'. Because many *jatis* are produced by one *jati* on another *jati* (by cross-fertilisation). Many are the maharishis. Rishyasringa was born of a female deer: Kausika was born of a Kshatriya; Jambooka was got of jambuka; Valmiki was born of an ant-hill: Vyasa was born of a fisher girl; Gautama of sasaprishtha; Vasishtha was born of the nymph Urvashi and Agastya of a pot; these are heard. In addition to these, there are many great sages without even *jati* who attained eminence in learning. There *jati* is not *brahmana* or *brahmana* is not so by birth." (5)

"Is *Jnana* then *brahmana*? It is replied as 'no'. Kshatriyas and others also are many who knew the Supreme, well-versed and showed the way. So *jnana* alone is not or does not make a *brahmana*." (6)

"If then it be asked *brahman* is act, it is not so. For all animals acts are the same as *prarabdha*, *sanchita* and *agami*; people perform acts impelled by their *karma*; therefore acts do not make a *brahmana*." (7)

"Is then *dharmika* a *brahmana*? the reply is 'no'. Kshatriyas and others are many who have given much wealth in charity. So *dharmika* is not a *brahmana*." (8)

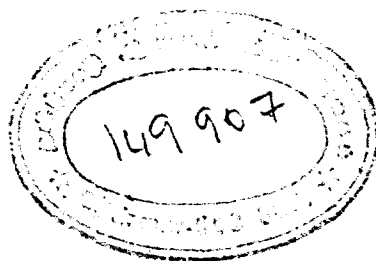
"Who then is a *brahmana*? He is a *brahman* who knows the self to be secondless, free from *jati*, *guna* etc., devoid of the six *urmi*, six *bhava*; the form of Being-knowledge--Bliss, endless; without doubt; existing without support, as the support of all; decayless; continuous as space (inside and outside); nature of undivided bliss; immeasurable; knowable through experience alone; appearing indirectly, not visible to the physical eye: realising it indirectly as an *amalaka* on the palm; who is devoid of the passions as desire, anger etc.; full of the qualities as self-control etc.; devoid of greed etc.; whose mind is not affected by vanity, egotism etc., he is freed; such a person alone is a *brahman*; this is the conclusion by *Sruti*, *Smriti*, *Purana*, *Ithihasa* etc. Otherwise there is no attaining of *Brahma-tatwa*. One should consider the self to be secondless existence--intelligence--bliss. This is the upanishad". (9)

From this it is clear that birth, body, colour, acts etc., do not constitute a *brahmana*. Great saints who can be called *brahmanas* have sprung up from low castes—e.g., Nanda, Namdev, Tukaram. Religious acts alone are not the criterion. There are many examples of good acts being done by all. A *dharmika* is one who is virtuous and does religious acts. In a restricted sense *dharmika* is one who bestows charity. In this many Kshatriyas are known to have excelled all others. Karna

is a household word meaning one who gives charity without limit even his own life knowingly. Rantideva is another well known example. Raghu of immortal fame forced the poor brahmin boy to accept all the wealth that Kubera showered, though it was more than 14 crores of gold asked by the student. Harischandra is another. These were also doing their religious duties.

To counteract *jati* many examples are given. Cross-fertilisation not only among mankind but with other Kingdom is also quoted. The sage Rishyasringa was born of a female deer. Vasistha was born of the celestial nymph Urvasi. Vyasa was born of a fisher girl and a brahmin. Agastya was born of a pot. Narada was the son of a maid servant. There are stories where brahman sages have accepted king's daughters in marriage and good issues born of them. One well known example is that of Sukanya and Chyavana; another is Svetaketu and Suvarchala. There were sages who had for spouses Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra ladies. Thus the outward signs which connote a brahmana are only accidental.

The same life and the same soul reside in all beings, living and non-living, male and female, man and animal. One who understands so and practises it by treating all as equals is a brahmana. The real brahmana is above hate, anger, greed etc., he is controlled in mind, calm, he is not excited; does not lose his balance of mind under any condition—bereft of all extremes. That is the self-contained, equipoised, disinterested, non-affected sage. It is possible for every one of us to attain to such a stage. Let us then strive for it and make the warring hating greedy world a paradise.



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR, 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 nut shell 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burmah, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

Printed by V. C. Vasudevan at the India Printing Works, 2/1, South Mada Street, Mylapore
and Published by T. S. Swaminatha Iyer, M.A., B.L., Asst. Secy. Arya Mata Sabha,
"Moryalaya", 141, Newbrey's Road, Royapettah, Madras.

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.



चित्रं बटवृक्षे मेकं वृद्धाः शिष्या युष्मन्वा । गुणेभ्यु मोनं व्याख्याने शिष्यस्तु छिन्नसंशयाः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.

Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign. 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign. 6d.

130

CONTENTS.

	Page
THE CABINET MISSION, By Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., <i>Advocate</i> , Madras	35
GITA AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, By Mr. K. Kallana Swami, B.A., B.L.	39
SALEM BRAHMANA CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS FULL TEXT	43

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Ramaswami, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge.) } *Hony. Editors.*
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegannarayana Iyer, M.A.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books
 for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge.*

THE BHARATA DHARMA.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE



Bharata Dharma

VOL. XXIV]

APRIL, 1946

[No. 4

THE CABINET MISSION.

BY

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

We have pleasure in extending to the British Cabinet Mission a most hearty welcome. They have come on a grand mission. They have stated in unequivocal terms that they have not come here to adjudicate upon rival and conflicting communal and creedal claims. According to them they have come here quite determined to help the people of India for framing their own constitution without any dictation from England. Considering the very delicate nature of the negotiations and the known and peculiar intransigence of certain elements, if the members of the mission have observed a restraint in their utterances so far, it is only as it should be. In a task like this, patience, restraint in language, a spirit of sweet reasonableness coupled with adamant firmness as regards essentials, must be found assets of inestimable value to all concerned in the negotiations and the march of events that have already commenced with the arrival of the Cabinet Mission.

Experienced and veteran parliamentarians must essentially be realists. They have to base their conclusions and plan their actions on the bed rock of facts. Blowing of trumpets and sabre-rattling from any quarters cannot scare them away or deflect them from the true and inevitable path of political advance. They have timed their arrival bearing in mind that the Provincial elections in all the Provinces will be soon over and popular Ministries will begin to function in all the Provinces reflecting truly and well the verdict of the electorate as

149907
36

expressed through the ballot box. It is of course true that the electorate that has now functioned is one framed under the 1935 Act so far as the Provinces are concerned. It is well known that communal and special interests considerations and a very restricted franchise are all vitiating the basis of the present electorate. Separate compartmental communal electorates have necessarily brought into the Legislatures, persons who in elections on a territorial basis, cannot hope to get returned. Admitting these existing deficiencies, it must be conceded that in the present circumstances, the most representative body of public opinion representing the views of nearly 35 million voters in this country, is to be found only in the Provincial Legislatures in respect of which the elections have been just held.

If the members of the Cabinet Mission have closely and earnestly scanned the elections returns, they have done only the best that can be reasonably expected of them in the existing circumstances. There is no use in looking to the election results in the Assembly, as it is well known that the franchise in the Assembly is based on the 1919 Act and is hopelessly out-moded and out of touch with current conditions to say with any justice that the candidates returned to the Central Legislature in the elections recently held adequately represent current public opinion.

Be that as it may, certain preponderant considerations arrest our attention. The first is the spectacular Congress victories in all the general territorial constituencies. As we have in an earlier issue observed, with reference to the Congress election manifesto, the vote in favour of the Congress has to be interpreted only as a vote in favour of the immediate transfer of real power to the people of India as a whole. The second significant factor is, that in the North West Frontier Province the Muslim League has lost heavily and the Congress has been returned to power in overwhelming numbers and a Congress Ministry functions in the North West Frontier Province. In the Punjab, the Muslim League has failed to secure sufficient numbers to form a stable ministry. In the Sind, if a Muslim League Ministry functions there at all today, it is on account of the alliance of the European group with the Muslim League group, and a policy which is open to serious objection adopted by the Governor of Sind in favour of maintaining a League Ministry in Sind, the only League Ministry now functioning in all the eleven Provinces of India. The episode of a prominent member elected on the league ticket resigning from the

League on the eve of an eventful division, defeating the Government and overnight again recrossing the floor to find himself appointed a 5th Minister under the patronage of a sympathetic Governor determined to keep the League Ministry in power, is to say the least, utterly unsavoury. We should like the Cabinet Mission to examine the matter to see how these incidents conform to the recognised standards of public conduct in a parliamentary democracy. The third significant factor is, that the group represented by Dr. Ambedkar, who by the way threatened revolt following the footsteps of Mr. Jinnah, has witnessed disastrous defeat at the polls.

The economic issues are clamouring for immediate attention and solution. Food and cloth shortages are grave. The Combined Food Board allotment is only 64 per cent. of the food shortage that has to be covered. How the remaining 36 per cent of the deficiency will be made up must be a matter of grave concern to any Government that will come into power. Problems of post-war planning and post-war depression have to be met. A National Government has to be set up immediately to deal with these matters in a way that will inspire national confidence and that will achieve early results. Perhaps the very first task which the Cabinet Mission will have to address themselves to will be, the installation of National and popular Ministries not only in all the Provinces but in the Centre as well. It is very encouraging to find that in the conversations which the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are reported to have had with the Cabinet Mission, they have expressed their willingness to step aside if an interim National Government is to be appointed. The question is what attitude the Cabinet Mission will have to adopt if the arbitrary intransigent elements in our political life threatened not to co-operate in the formation of such an interim National Government on the ground that some of their impossible demands in the form of weightage or a pre-recognition of the pet mirage of Pakistan are not recognised in advance by those concerned. The Cabinet Mission have in a way expressed their inclinations if such a contingency should arise. We feel confident that they will go on with the work of installing a National Government in power at the centre as early as possible, whether particular sections of political opinion are willing to co-operate or not. It is only the presence of such a National Government at the centre that will give the requisite atmosphere for the formation of a

JL

RL 2. 11. 32 BD

N 40. 23. 10-11

constitution making body commanding the confidence of the people at large.

The Cabinet Mission have already indicated that they will look to the Provinces to select the personnel for the constitution making body. We believe that some sort of electoral machinery will have to be devised to elect the personnel from all the Provincial Legislatures treated as a single electoral college. Whatever be the number of the Constitution making body, it should not be too unwieldy. The political parties concerned should see to it that the machinery devised is employed to return to the Constitution making body their ablest representatives so that the best possible constitution may be evolved.

The Cabinet Mission have indicated that they will be staying in this country long enough to see that the transfer of power is completely effected and that the Constitution making body is set on its work so that whatever be the final decision of that constitution making body it will be accepted and acted upon by His Majesty's Government.

It is heartening to find that the Congress High Command has deputed such tried veterans as Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru to deal with the Cabinet Mission to represent the Congress position. We take it that however much the individual opinions of high ranking politicians may be entitled to weight, the principle of elected representatives speaking in the name of India as a united whole, will not be lost sight of. The Constitution of India will have to be made by the people of India as a whole through their elected representatives, and political leaders can take their rightful place in giving a lead and helping the people to make a sound constitution, but the constitution will have to be made by a constitution making body chosen on some basis of elections.

There is one other matter where the Cabinet Mission has cleared up the position already. In the new order of things, it will be open to India to remain by free choice and not by compulsion as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It would be also open to it to be an independent State outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. In either case, there should be a public treaty of friendship and co-operation in the interests of both India and Britain. If things shape well, the Cabinet Mission may give a helping hand in the framing of such a treaty of friendship as well. If the Cabinet Mission plays a helpful part, as we hope they will do, in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the constitutional problems of India, we feel confi-

dent that India will have no hesitation in choosing to remain within the British Commonwealth as a free and equal partner making its legitimate and unstinted contribution to the New World Order, which is just emerging.

We feel confident, that everybody concerned will play a helpful part and, if any one elects to be obstructive, others will not stay behind but will march forward, leaving the intransigent elements for the time being behind, in the hope that they will soon join up and be in the caravan of political progress for a united and free India.

GITA AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

BY

(K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.)

The authoritative scriptures that are held in high esteem by all classes of Hindus are what go by the name of the *Prasthanatraya* consisting of the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Brahma Sutras*. Of these the most widely read and relied on as a guide in all phases of human life is the *Bhagavad Gita* which is the most popular book in Hindu religious literature, usually referred to in its shortened form as the *Gita* or the *Gospel of India*. It is believed to contain within itself the quintessence of Hindu religion and Ethics, typifying as it does the struggle of the individual soul from human imperfection towards divine perfection. It is spoken of as a "treasure-house of Dharma, not only for the Hindus but for all mankind" and as such acclaimed as a world-scripture. That being so, the *Gita* must be looked upon as affording not only spiritual shelter to persons of all classes and creeds, whatever might be their intellectual or spiritual development, but also as pointing out the way for their further progress and evolution into a higher spiritual state than the one in which they find themselves.

Human beings are not born identical differing as they do in their temperaments and constitutions and as Aldous Huxley puts it "within each psycho-physical class one can find people at very different stages of spiritual development" and "forms of worship and spiritual discipline which may be valuable for one individual may be useless or even positively harmful for another belonging to a different class and standing, within that class, at a lower or higher level of development." Such being the actualities of human life, it is perfectly natural that

different men should follow different methods in their endeavours towards reaching the goal of perfection. With the advance of time and the spread of education there is a visible progress in human intelligence and knowledge of things, both secular and spiritual. And people are able by the right use of their understanding and reasoning to sift the true from the false, the passing from the permanent and the unreal from the real, so that what had satisfied their forefathers or their caste or community and which had traditionally come to them by efflux of time in a petrified and hide-bound form no longer satisfies them and much less has it the compelling capacity of forcing submission to it. With the free exercise of one's faculties one is able to see for himself where he stands spiritually and what would conduce to his progress in that line. So, without binding himself to outmoded religious usages and the spiritual restrictions of the caste or religion into which he was born and wherein he was bred up, he tries to break through them and translate himself into that spiritual atmosphere in which he sincerely feels, he would be able more successfully to progress towards his goal.

Leaving aside migrations that are effected from one religion to another out of purely secular or worldly motives and leaving aside forced conversions as well, it must be said that there are always persons who out of sincere conviction and earnest hope that their spiritual progress would be advanced, have become converts to religions other than their own and have led as a result thereof holy and devout lives, without doing violence to their cherished convictions or to their reason.

It may be asked as to what is the teaching of the Gita with regard to the evolution of the souls of such men and women. Reading the Gita as a whole with an unbiased mind, it must be said that it does not deprecate such conversions or view them with disfavour in any way, teaching, as it does, that the goal to be attained is the same in whatever way one tries to reach it. Nor can it be taken to be making any difference when persons, realising that man requires the help of all the truths revealed in the various religions in his path towards perfection and feeling that in every religion there is only a partial manifestation of God's truth inasmuch as God's infinite truth cannot be exhausted through any particular scripture or prophet, determine to follow what may be called a universal religion, by living up to the highest truths that are revealed in all religions, without allying them-

selves to any of the known historic or other religions. Otherwise there can be no meaning in what the Gita says: "However men approach me, even so, do I accept them; for on all sides whatever path they may choose is mine, O Arjuna." Unless this broad interpretation is put on the above words of Sri Krishna, Gita would cease to be a universal scripture, for, any restricted meaning or qualification that may be sought to be imposed on these words would take away whole bodies of men and women out of the pale of his all-embracing grace. And nothing could be a greater blasphemy to the All-Merciful God of the Gita!

But yet there are expounders of the Gita, like Prof: D. S. Sarma, who would attempt to graft a qualification on the broad interpretation of the verse of the Gita referred to above. They say, as does Prof: Sarma, "But those who quote this verse should not forget its counter part repeated with slight alterations twice in the Gita which says;— "Better is one's own Dharma though imperfect than the Dharma of another perfectly carried out. Better is death in one's own Dharma: The Dharma of another is fraught with fear" (Chap. III-V. 35). The word used in the original text was "Swadharma" and it has been translated in different ways by different translators of the Gita.

Edwin Arnold's translation of the above (The Song Celestial, Kitabistan Edn. . pp. 20 & 21):—

"this is better that one do his own *task* as he may, even though he fail,
Than take tasks not his own, though they seem good.
To die performing duty is no ill;
But who seeks other roads shall wander still."

The Gorakhpur Gita Press Edition of the Gita (P.98) translates thus:—

"One's own *duty*, though devoid of merit, is preferable to the duty of another well performed. Even death in the performance of one's own duty brings blessedness; another's duty is fraught with fear."

Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood in their Bhagavad Gita or The Song of God (P. 62) render this verse thus:—

"It is better to do your own *duty*, however imperfectly, than to assume the duties of another person, however successfully. Prefer to die doing your own duty; the duty of another will bring you into great spiritual danger?"

But Prof. Sarma (Vide p. 59 of his Lectures on the Bhagavad Gita) says:—"Now coming back to the subject of *Swadharma*, we have to

note carefully that the author of the Gita explicitly connects it not merely with the caste system but with the individual's own Swabhava or nature."

Whatever might have been the state of society at the date of the Gita which is generally placed by scholars somewhere between the 5th and 2nd centuries B. C., when the caste system might have prevailed in its uncontaminated state and members of each caste were considered to have developed peculiar aptitudes for their caste professions and followed them, it cannot be said now, when any man is free to follow any profession he likes, whatever might be the caste in to which he is born, that Prof. Sarma's interpretation of Swadharma will hold good, if the Gita is to be taken as a universal scripture for all mankind.

The other translations referred to above have clearly interpreted "Swadharma" as meaning one's *duty* or *task* pertaining to whatever situation in which one may be placed, irrespective of the caste or religion into which one happens to be born. In this age when so much of fusion of castes and professions is glaringly apparent, it cannot be taken that that one should live and die within the religion into which he was born, performing the duties that are said to appertain to it. And much less can the words of the Gita be interpreted in such a narrow way as to hidebound persons in the religion of his caste or that of the family to which he belongs without allowing freedom to him to adopt some other religion with the help of which, he sincerely feels he can progress much better in his path towards perfection. If that were so, there can be no kind of migration from one religion to another even by those who sincerely feel that such a change will distinctly enure to their spiritual benefit. But all through the history of the world, there have been such honest and sincere migrations as a result of which men and women had made genuine spiritual progress.

What may be called an almost classical example of such migration from one religion to another is that of the late Dr. Annie Besant who, leaving the Christian faith into which she was born as unsuited to her spiritual progress, had assumed the Hindu religion which she had popularised ever so much by her liberal interpretation of its tenets and by her life in accordance therewith. Though an ardent student and expounder of the Gita, she never felt herself fettered by considerations of caste or caste aptitudes and professions, which Prof. Sarma wants to import into the meaning of "Swadharma."

In this view and giving the words of the Gita the natural, which is also the correct interpretation thereof, in whatever way man approaches

God, He is ready to accept him and as such there can be no restriction to man's choice of faith or religion to help him in his path towards perfection. So, it may be definitely asserted that the Gita gives the fullest religious freedom to man to follow whichever way he sincerely feels would be helpful to him in reaching his appointed goal.

SALEM BRAHMANA CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

FULL TEXT

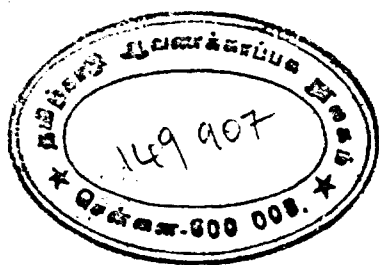
1. That for the purpose of the spiritual, economic and educational uplift of the Brahmana community, an association is hereby formed under the name and style of "The South Indian Brahmana Seva Sangham" composed of all the members of the reception committee and delegates of this conference.

2. That for the purpose of helping young persons of the Brahmana community in the matter of educational and scientific progress and industrial and economic advancement, steps may be taken to collect a fund of at least fifty lakhs of rupees.

3. That for the purpose of carrying out the above resolutions the following members be elected as a working committee with powers to co-opt additional members :

1. Dr Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Dewan of Travancore.
2. Sr. T. V. Sundaram Aiyangar of Madura.
3. Sr. V. Seshasayee of Trichinopoly.
4. Sri V. L. Narasu, Salem.
5. The Mysore Swamigal.
6. Rao Sahib L. S. Parthasarathi Aiyar.
7. Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastrigal.
8. Sri R. Srinivasa Ayyar.
9. Sri Sengalipuram Vaidyanatha Sastrigal.
10. Dewan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Ayyar.
11. Sri S. Subramania Aiyar of Devakottai.
12. Sri S. Narayana Aiyar, Vakil, Pudukottai.
13. Sri V. M. Ramaswami Aiyar, Chidambaram.
14. Sri V. Ramachandra Aiyar of Chidambaram.

15. Sri Balasubramania Aiyar, Salem.
16. Sri S. V. Lakshmana Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Salem.
4. The membership of the South Indian Brahmana Seva Sangham shall be open to all South Indian Brahmins of over 18 years of age.
5. The headquarters of the Sangham shall, at present, be at Salem.
6. The Sangham may open branches in the districts.
7. The Working Committee shall have power to establish district educational institutions for the education of Brahmin children.
8. The Working Committee shall have power to start companies for such purposes and at such places, as they may think fit, in furtherance of the object of the Sangham and for industrial purposes and insurance and banking business.
9. This conference calls on all members of the Brahmana community to discourage and help to eliminate the system of varadhakshina.
10. The aim of the Sangham will be to co-ordinate, supervise and strengthen the existing vedic and sastric padasalas and start new ones and take steps for adequate instruction and training of vaidiks and prohibits and bettering their condition.



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SETHA AIYANGAR, 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 nut shell 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burmah, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

Printed by V. C. Vasudevan at the India Printing Works, 3/1, South Mada Street, Mylapore,
and Published by T. S. Swaminathan Iyer, M.A., B.L., Asst. Secy. Arya Mata Sabha,
"Moryalaya", 142, Mowbray's Road, Royapettah, Madras.

MAY, 1946

NO. 5

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.



चित्रं वटवृक्षे ब्रह्माः शिष्या गुरुणा । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु छिन्नसंशयाः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.
Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign. 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign. 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
THE RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI, By Mr. G. A. Natesan, <i>Editor, Indian Review, Madras</i>	45
THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE GITA, By Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri	62
A NEW WOMEN'S COLLEGE FOR MADRAS, By Mr. K. Kalliana Swami, B.A., B.L.	65

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Ramesam, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge.) } *Hon. Editors.*
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, M.A.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge,*

THE BHARATA DHARMA,

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE

Bharata Dharma

VOL. XXIV]

MAY, 1946

[No. 5

*THE RT. HON SRINIVASA SASTRI

By

MR. G. A. NATESAN, *Editor, Indian Review, Madras*

On this melancholy occasion it is not my intention to give you a biographical, much less a critical account of the remarkable career of the great soul that has passed away from our midst. It is difficult to add to the glowing tributes that have been paid to the distinguished services which the late Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri has rendered to the country. Sastri was, by all accounts, one of the greatest orators of our time. By his eloquence and statesmanship he brought name and fame to our country abroad. As Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa and as a member of the Imperial Conference and other international gatherings, he typified the best traditions of our culture and civilization. Like Gandhiji before him he laboured to put India definitely on the map of the world and win for her her rightful place in the comity of nations. At home, he was a member of more than one Legislature, Provincial and Imperial, and he served on many important committees and commissions. As a member of the Servants' of India Society and as a worthy successor of its honoured President, Gokhale, Sastri added not a little to the prestige of that great institution. We in Madras know how in the days of his retirement, he spent himself as it were, in a critical study of our great epic the Ramayana; and to those of us who have had the privilege of listening to his discourses, his beautiful delineation of the great and outstanding

*Adapted from an address delivered as Chairman of the Memorial Meeting at Lakshmi-puram Young Men's Indian Association, Madras.

149907

characters of the *Ramayana* and the emotion with which he described some of the incidents, are unforgettable.

It has been suggested, that having regard to my friendship with Sastri for over half a century, I should utilise this occasion to give a personal touch and refer to incidents in Sastri's life which the public may not know. I shall therefore confine myself to such incidents which bring out in marked relief, his outstanding characteristics.

I owe many valuable things to my late brother G. A. Vaidyaraman. Not the least of them is my friendship with Sastri. Our friendship, as Sastri himself has said more than once publicly, has been an object of envy to many. That friendship continued uninterrupted to the last. In the nineties of the last century we shared the same house in Triplicane for a long time and I had early opportunities of discovering his superior merits, his innate goodness and greatness. In many fields of public activity I have worked with him—in the Madras Mahajana Sabha, in the Madras Provincial Congress Committee of those days, in the Indian South African League, in the Madras Teachers' Guild, in the Senate of the Madras University and in the Council of State. In all these bodies, he made his mark by the quiet and unostentatious manner in which he rendered useful service.

In those days, it was common knowledge that many a member of the Local and Imperial Legislative Councils and many a public worker, used to indent on Mr. Sastri for help in the preparation of speeches and addresses and in presenting memoranda before various Commissions. I remember on one occasion telling him jocularly that he had been preparing memoranda for so many for an important Royal Commission that I doubted if he could have anything original or very useful to say when the turn came for giving his own evidence before that body.

It is well known that when I founded the *Indian Review* in 1900, the late Mr. K. B. Ramanatha Iyer and Sastri were my main bulwarks. Mr. Sastri toiled hard for the *Review* continuously for two years and though his formal connection ceased, his interest in the *Review* never flagged; and from time to time, on many a topical subject I could almost count on his valued contributions which my readers seldom failed to appreciate. Indeed, till very recently, I used to indent on his services, whenever the occasion demanded a special plea from his pen. Only the other day, a few weeks before his death he took the trouble to expand his thoughtful broadcast on "Books that have influenced me"—an article which, I learn has had a profound influence on readers of the *Indian Review*.

Sastri was a model teacher, taking a great deal of interest in his calling. Like his Guru, Gokhale, he took a personal interest in the welfare of his pupils. As the Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Triplicane, he gave to that institution a new tone and earned for it the name of a model institution. Quite as one would expect, Mr. Sastri had a high conception of the dignity of the teachers' profession, and he did everything in his power to instil in his colleagues a love for their calling. He always stood up, and on several occasions bravely indeed, for the cause of the teacher and for the dignity of the Headmaster. I remember very well, on one occasion he could not possibly agree with the decision of the Managing Committee of his institution and therefore tendered his resignation. When I heard of the resignation I asked him how he was going to face the world with a large family depending on him. The answer came straight: "I will prove to the Managing Committee that I am at least capable of starving." Such was his strength of conviction and his readiness to make sacrifices for it.

Sastri was very keen on fighting for the rights of the schoolmaster. When years ago the Madras Government issued an order forbidding teachers from taking part in politics, Sastri entered a public protest, and he with other influential educationists succeeded in getting the order cancelled.

And here I may mention, that though his own resources were meagre, and he had to maintain a large family and to educate his brothers and nephews out of his own slender income, he did it all ungrudgingly. In this he was an example to others. Many a poor pupil and occasionally a needy colleague enjoyed the benefit of his generosity. On one occasion he got into hotwaters with his father for not handing over to him the full amount of his salary as the Headmaster of the Hindu High School. A needy colleague had applied to him for help on the day he drew his pay and Sastri had given him a bit of his salary. The father who had to manage the household and make both ends meet, naturally was annoyed, and Sastri had to use all his tact in averting a domestic broil.

In fact Sastri's passion for a dedicated life was expressing itself in these diverse ways.

The immediate circumstances that led to his joining the Servants of India Society have been recounted by Sastri himself on more than one occasion. Sometime in the autumn of 1905 I happened to give him a number of papers, cuttings and speeches of Mr. Gokhale who was to preside at the Benares Session of the Indian National Congress that year,

JL
R4m2, N2313D
N66, 23. 10-11

and to request him to write a sketch of Mr. Gokhale. Along with the papers, I handed over a copy of the prospectus of the Servants of India Society. Mr. Gokhale's noble example of public life and his sacrifices and the need of the Servants of India Society as an organization of a band of selfless workers, seem to have made such a profound impression on Mr. Sastri, that he straightway wrote to Mr. Gokhale requesting to be admitted as a member of the Society. No one else knew of it. Later, when he consulted his friends, the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar told him that he would not give his opinion one way or the other, and it was a matter for Mr. Sastri himself to decide. I do not mind publicly avowing now that I was one of those who warned Mr. Sastri of the risk he was running and of the possible consequences to his future and his family, I can never forget the reply he gave me: "Natesan, I have enough trouble and worry at home; my mother and my wife are constantly dissuading me from this step; please do not add to my worry; I have deliberately taken this step because it has been a call to me." No wonder, when the news of his resignation of the Headmastership of the Hindu High School and his joining the Servants of India Society was known to the public, there was a regular chorus of admiration for what in those days, was justly described as an act of renunciation.

On the great work that he has done for the Society and how he proved himself a worthy successor of Gokhale, it is hardly necessary for me to dwell. I may permit myself, however, to narrate one or two more incidents which bring out in strong relief his determination to honour the chief vow which every member of the Society has to take, and that is, not to earn money for himself. Sastri would not accept a salaried appointment. When Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India, pressed him to accept a seat on the India Council Mr. Sastri was firm in refusing it. It was on the same score that he hesitated to accept the Agent-Generalship of South Africa. And it required all Mr. Gandhi's persuasion to make him accept this position in the spirit of pure public service. And Sastri made over to the Society the balance of his salary after meeting his immediate personal needs which indeed were not much.

According to the regulations of the Society, Sastri was to have taken month after month the amount he spent on the education of his son. Gokhale's attention was drawn to the fact that Sastri had not drawn anything in this connection. Sastri, when asked about this, is said to have

replied that he was managing it otherwise, as he felt it was not fair to charge that infant institution with the burden of educating his son. And even when warned by Gokhale that he would place the other members in a delicate position, Sastri was firm in his decision not to avail himself of the opportunity afforded.

Another rule of the Society is that no member could earn anything for himself and if he does in any official or non-official capacity, he is bound to make it over to the Society. Mr. Sastri who was a member of many a Government of India Committee and of more than one Royal Commission and of many delegations outside India, was the recipient of handsome allowances. He was scrupulous in crediting all surplus money to the Society. And those like myself who are regarded as Associates of the Society and have an opportunity of studying its annual reports and budgets, know how often its deficits were made up by such credits as these.

Perhaps this is the occasion to mention that twice he declined the title of "K. C. S. I." offered to him. Like his master Gokhale he chose to remain a commoner.

Sastri was always generous in his gifts to servants and I remember occasions when he showed his meticulous regard for their susceptibilities. Not only did he reward them prodigally but he was known to be habitually so uniformly courteous in his dealings that they deemed it a pleasure to be of service to him.

A man of keen sensibilities, Sastri had always the courage of his convictions. At the instance of the Madras Hindu Association of which the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar was the President and I the Secretary, he was asked to write an essay advocating marriage after puberty. Sastri's treatise on that subject was considered a classic in those days and during the time of the Sarada Act, it was greatly in requisition. Mr. Sastri having written a brochure felt it his duty to put into practice what he had preached and it was no secret in those days that his daughter Rukmini was betrothed after she had attained age. Mr. Sastri was an advocate of widow remarriage, and he attended more than one function and participated in dinners which brought him some trouble at home. That was not all. When in 1915, Mr. Gandhi came to Madras and I had the honour of having him as my guest, much to my surprise he brought with him a panchama boy to my house fresh from South Africa; he was not aware of the conditions of social life in those days. With great difficulty my mother had to be managed and my brother and I allowed the panchama boy to stay in my house.

Mr. Gandhi who quickly realised the nature of this storm in the tea pot asked me to cancel the visit that he was to have made the next day to Sastri's house in Triplicane as he thought that he had caused enough pain to my mother and he would not repeat it to Sastri's mother. I told this to Sastri. His answer was emphatic: "Natesan, if your mother, much sterner than mine, can reconcile herself to that, my mother would easily do so. Furthermore, I must tell you it is one of the vows we, as members of the Society have taken, that we shall not observe caste distinctions and that we should dine freely with all, irrespective of caste or creed. So let Mr. Gandhi go over to my house as arranged." Gandhiji kept the engagement.

Sastri was essentially a man of courage. The story is told and we have it on the authority of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who wrote about it in his *Janmabhumi*, that on the Poona railway station platform years ago, as they were returning from a Congress Session, a number of people were squatting, some lying with their luggage, waiting for the train to arrive. Two or three soldiers were strolling up and down. Sastri found one of them kicking an Indian who was sleeping, using his luggage as his pillow. Sastri's rage knew no bounds; he rushed up and accosted the soldier with words like these: "You scoundrel, how dare you kick that poor Indian?" The soldier was dumb-founded, and his comrades quietly pulled him away from the scene.

In all his public career, Mr. Sastri displayed independence of a high order. His speeches were bold and pointed. In exposing the faults of the bureaucracy, he did not mince his words. Though he was often known as a Moderate, yet those who knew him intimately could say without contradiction that he was really an extremist at heart. If in the course of some of his great speeches and orations, he weighed his words and spoke with deliberate caution, it was due to the scrupulous care which he always took not to offend the susceptibilities of any one or in the slightest degree damage the cause which he had been asked to represent. He was ever bold, but never reckless in the use of his language. He could never stoop to play to the gallery.

No temptation would ever make him deviate from the path of duty. Here is another incident to which I can bear testimony, and that happened in Lord Chelmsford's regime:

The story of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre and the atrocities of the Martial Law Administration in those days had plunged the whole country into deep indignation. And so at the Amritsar Session of the Indian National Congress a resolution for the recall of Lord Chelmsford

had been tabled. On his way to Amritsar, at one of the railway stations near it, Mr. Sastri found an important member of the Viceroy's Council entering his compartment; and in the course of conversation, the visitor suggested and later implored Mr. Sastri to raise his powerful voice against the contemplated censure on Lord Chelmsford. But Mr. Sastri had only one answer to give, and that was "No." It is well known that on account of this refusal, Mr. Sastri was passed over when a vacancy next occurred in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Indeed it is the way with the foreign bureaucracy to pass over patriotic men who cannot easily fit into their scheme of things.

At the First Round Table Conference held in London, Sastri expressed himself strongly in favour of giving India what was long overdue—Home Rule, full Dominion Status. It is well known he advocated the right of secession also. Mr. Churchill in his great campaign against India addressing his party meetings mentioned this as one of the grounds for opposing Home Rule to India.

Sir Samuel Hoare who felt Sastri had been so troublesome to him would not think of having him again for the subsequent Round Table Conference. The reason publicly given was solicitude for Sastri's health. But everybody knew it was merely an attempt to eliminate inconvenient men. About the same time the Presidentship of the Council of State was offered to him, which he had no hesitation in declining.

During the last two years Mr. Sastri was agitated over the question of Pakistan, and he wrote and spoke strongly against any attempt to break up the fundamental unity of India. He did not like C. R.'s scheme to appease Mr. Jinnah and the intransigents and he made no secret of his attitude. Nor did he approve of Gandhiji's agreement with C. R.'s proposal. He took a definite stand against disruption of the country in any fashion. But Sastri was habitually tolerant, and though he differed from Mr. Rajagopalachariar on this point he expressed his conviction that C. R. should be brought back as the leader of the Province.

Sastri was indeed so consumed with thoughts of the country and so anxious about its future. That one could thereby say that even during his prolonged illness, he was ever 'musing by day and dreaming by night' of the freedom of India and its unity.

I should like in conclusion to stress what I consider the essential virtue of the man from my long and close friendship with him. His spirit of independence and his desire to act up to his convictions, in spite of protests and entreaties even from those near and dear to him have been the

149907

JL.
R. M. N. 13. B. D.

outstanding features of Mr. Sastri's life. Mr. Sastri has never hesitated to give expression to what he felt as the right thing to do, even on occasions when public feeling ran high and passions were roused to an undesirable degree.

We do not often come across in our public life, many men of Mr. Sastri's calibre, so sincere and upright. He leaves behind him, as Trevelyan said of Macaulay, "a great and honourable name, and the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and transparent as his own sentences".

• THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE GITA

BY

(DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.)

I desire to present in this article my views about the universality of the Gita because I feel that we have to steer between the ultra-liberal and the ultra-conservative views if we are to understand the true inwardness of the Gita ideology. In one place the Gita says: "In whatsoever way man worships me, in that way I accept them; men from all sides tread the path that leads to me" (IV, 11). In II, 45, He says: "The Vedas have the three gunas as their objects; you must rise above the three gunas" Yet in XV, 15 he says that He alone is to be known by all the vedas. In XVI, 24 He says: "The Shastra (Veda) is your authority in respect of what you should do and what you should not do. Knowing what is said in the scriptural injunctions, you should do your actions here." One may ask: If we are to rise above the three gunas and the Vedas teach only them, how could they teach God and why should we act as ordered by them? The reconciliation is in the view that the Vedas teach things relating to the three gunas as also Godhead and the way leading to God. We must seek and know the latter and fulfil the highest purposes of life, See II, 46.

The Gita is certainly a universal scripture. It refers to *Janah*, *Manushyas*, *Manavas* etc. All are God's children and are eligible for liberation (moksha) (IX, 39 to 44). The path of bhakti is open to all. The Gita refers at the same time to *Swadharma* and *Swabhava* of the four castes (See XVII, 41 to 48), (III, 35). I do not think that it is correct to say that it belongs to a period between the 5th century B.C., and the 2nd century B.C. It belongs to a much earlier era. It is certainly long prior to Buddha. Hence we must try to comprehend it as a gospel of the age and as a gospel

of all the ages. We must not try to read lessons of modern life into it. Its thesis is that if a man does the duties which falls to his lot as one born into a particular social group he will be able to attain purity and serenity and composure of mind (*chitta shuddhi*), fitting him for dhyana and bhakti and jnana. Sri Krishna refers to *Swadharma* and proceeds to define the *Swadharma* of the four castes. (XVIII, 41 to 48). *Vasanas* forming the *Swabhava* determine the birth which determines the *Swadharma*. This does not mean that men outside the socio-religious system of India are not eligible for devotion leading to salvation. They also are eligible for devotion leading to salvation. But *chitta-shuddhi* which is the basement of devotion is more easily attainable by *Swadharma* done in a spirit of *Krishnarpana*.

Another matter to be borne in mind is that we must keep apart in our mind *dharma* and *Vritthi*. *Vritthi* is profession and may change according to the stress of environment. But *dharma* is Sanatana (unchanging and eternal). Let us not therefore drag into the discussion relating to the Gita the modern freedom in the matter of professions. The nexus of dharmas for each social group exists and the total nexus brings about social stability and interdependence and makes for a non-competitive co-operative social order. The individual's dharma if done in a spirit of an act of obedience and as a love-offering to God brings about *chitta shuddhi*. The social nexus of dharmas brings about a happy and prosperous social order.

Mr. K. Kallanaswami says in the article on *Gita and Religious Freedom* (Bharata Dharma April 1946) that in this modern age of freedom it is not necessary that "one should live and die within the religion into which he was born, performing the duties that are said to appertain to it." He proceeds to say; "And much less than the words of the Gita be interpreted in such a way as to hidebound persons in the religion of his caste or that of the family to which he belongs without allowing freedom to him to adopt some other religion with the help of which he sincerely feels he can progress much better in his path towards perfection. If that were so, there can be no kind of migration from one religion to another, even by those who sincerely feel that such a change will distinctly enure to their spiritual benefit. But all through the history of the world, there have been honest and sincere migrations as a result of which men and women had made genuine spiritual progress." I am afraid that this is reading into the Gita something alien to it. The later schisms inside Hinduism and the later historical religions founded by great souls must be kept apart from an ancient scripture like the Gita. The Gita spirit is that devotion based

on purity of mind leads to God. Where then is the need for any external conversion proselytisation? It is not the label that counts at all. Religions like Christianity or Islam may attach importance to belief in a particular person as the *sine qua non* of salvation and to a change of religious label. But that is not the essence of the Gita spirit or the Gita teaching. The Gita appeals to all types and temperaments and shows diverse ways to communion and union with God while emphasising that devotion is the best and the easiest path. The universality of the Gita lies there. Mr. Aldous Huxley in his famous introduction to a translation of the Gita published by the Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore, refers to the Gita and says: "More than twenty-five centuries have passed since that which has been called the *Perennial Philosophy* was first committed to writing. Under all this confusion of tongues and myths, of local histories and particularist doctrines, there remains a Higher Common Factor, which is the Perennial Philosophy in what may be called its chemically pure state." He says further: "This focus of Indian Religion is also one of the clearest and most comprehensive summaries of the Perennial Philosophy ever to have been made. Hence its enduring value not only for Indians, but for all mankind." Mr. Aldous Huxley quotes the admirable opinion of Ananda K. Coomaraswami in his *Hindusim* and *Buddhism* to the effect that the Gita is "a compendium of the whole vedic doctrine to be found in the earlier Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanishads, and being therefore the basis of all the later developments, it can be regarded as the focus of all Indian Religion." The Gita is thus the focus of the entire Indian religion and the Perennial Philosophy of the world. Its spirit is against that modern hunger for novelty which is the cause of conversions and that modern hunger for numbers which is the cause of proselytisation. Mr. Aldous Huxley says justly and well: "Europeans and Americans will see no reason for being converted to Hinduism, say, or Buddhism. And the people of Asia can hardly be expected to renounce their own traditions for the Christianity (nay, I add Islam) preferred, often sincerely, by the imperialists who, for four hundred years and more have been systematically attacking, exploiting and oppressing and are now trying to finish off the work of destruction by "educating" them It is perfectly possible for people to remain good Christians, Hindus, Buddhists or Moslems and yet to be united in full agreement on the basic doctrines of the Perennial philosophy." This is a great truth admirably expressed. It is antipodal to the proselytising mania of today and the equally condemnable mania of tasting the sweetness of new faiths. A mere change of label can do nothing. A mere

faith in a prophet can do nothing. It is godliness that leads to God. Mr. Huxley says well: The Bhagawad Gita is perhaps the most systematic spiritual statement of the Perennial Philosophy." Why perhaps? Its universality lies elsewhere than its relation to the conversion manias of today. While other faiths have allied themselves with this or that nation at war, and have denied salvation to persons outside their fold, the Perennial Philosophy has uttered its emphatic protest against all forms of hatred and himsa, of desire and destruction, and has graciously announced the eligibility of all for salvation. The Gita is universal because it is for all souls in the Universe taking them as they are and where they are and because it takes them from there to communion and union with God.

A NEW WOMEN'S COLLEGE FOR MADRAS.

BY

MR. K. KALIANA SWAMI B.A., B.L., *Retired Subordinate Judge.*

While rejoicing that women's education has within the last three decades, advanced by rapid strides in all the provinces of India and especially in Madras, since the establishment by the Government of the Queen Mary's College in 1914, and the subsequent starting of the Women's Christian College, it is time we paused to see whether Indian girls are receiving the right kind of education in these colleges as would befit them to take their proper place in the new national life of the country that is fast coming into existence, without detriment to the great ideals that have characterised Indian womanhood throughout the ages. This subject of Women's Education though considered to be a technical one and as such the pet-preserve of experts and educationists, there can be no doubt that parents and guardians of girls and young women have a potent if not a pre-dominant voice, which cannot be lightly brushed aside, as being merely an expression of lay opinion on a technical matter, to which no attention need be paid.

At the present moment this subject has a topical interest in Madras, in that the princely endowment of Ten Lakhs of rupees made by Mr. V. L. Ethiraj, Bar-at-Law and Public Prosecutor of the Madras High Court, for the founding of a Women's College is awaiting to be implemented and schemes are being drawn up as to how best to utilize it. The whole question resolves itself into this: Whether the new college to be started with this endowment is to be a replica of the existing women's

colleges or should it have anything distinctive about it to mark it off from the rest? Educationists and social reformers apart, the large body of the lay public are interested in seeing that this new college should cut really new ground by making provision for supplying some, at least, of the deficiencies and drawbacks which have come to light in the working of the present system of imparting women's education.

That there is a pretty strong feeling among all those interested in women's education, that the products of existing institutions are labouring under some serious handicaps which have to be got over, is clear. Going to particulars, to name only two, the first thing to be seen is whether the same kind of education is suitable for boys and girls alike or whether it should be different in the case of girls, in order to bring it into conformity with Indian needs and ideals. And the second thing is, as to whether any change is called for in view of the all-too secular and godless education that is now imparted in schools and colleges for boys and girls, in order to make them worthy citizens and members of society who would be able to give a good account of themselves, in whatever station they might find themselves in actual work-a-day life.

On both these questions, we have the considered opinions of eminent men and women who had pronounced their warnings off and on, having been touched with the unsatisfactory way in which women's education, in this country, has been drifting. It is being felt by all, that the present-day education, modelled after western methods, is not quite suited to Indian conditions.

The late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, our eminent educationist and publicist, whose death we deeply mourn today, was a staunch advocate of equality between the sexes and he held broadly that the general curriculum of studies for boys and girls should run on identical lines, though he would make room for certain optional courses of study for which women have special aptitude and even necessity.

Mr. B. G. Kher, the premier of Bombay and Mr. N.R. Sarkar, who had held the educational portfolio of the Government of India, have spoken more positively and expressed almost similar opinions on this question, from two different standpoints, while delivering the Convocation Addresses at the Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersay Indian Women's University in the years 1939 and 1941 respectively. Mr. Kher, without in the least doubting the equality between the sexes, holds the view that for the bulk of women, motherhood and household work are bound to continue to be the most important part of their work in life and

that therefore education suitable to the conditions in which a vast majority of Indian women are bound to live, should be provided, while affording ample scope for the genius of those, who vary from the type, to develop in the manner they like.

Mr. Sarkar says that ours is an agricultural country in which the vast majority of men and women are to remain employed in agricultural pursuits, and therefore the scope for the higher education of men and women is obviously limited. His view is that for a large majority of women, education up to a standard below the university standard, would be sufficient and that even those women who have an aptitude for higher education and decide to proceed to the university will, in very many cases, still have their main sphere in the home in their later lives. He pleaded for a true synthesis of liberal and cultural education on the one hand with the training in practical subjects on the other, to fit women for their primal vocation of home-making, as constituting the ideal of higher education for women in India.

Among notable Indian women who had expressed their views on this subject are Mrs. Vijia Lakshmi Pandit and Begum Shaw Nawaz. Mrs. Pandit is the sturdy champion of Indian freedom and a Minister of U. P. She is of opinion that "Indian women have a mission to fulfil" and that "the present day education, instead of fitting a woman to take her place in the world as an individual, has, in the majority of instances, helped to turn her into a purely decorative member of society—useless to home and country alike." She wants women to be not only good homemakers but also to endeavour to make the world more beautiful, more just and more worth living in.

Begum Shaw Nawaz, the leading woman politician of Punjab, while pleading for a radical reorientation of the educational curriculum, so far as it affects girls, expressed herself strongly in these terms: "I do not want my sisters to become an army of unemployed intellectuals as in some countries of the West." She is for the girls equipping themselves for taking up their legitimate responsibilities in breeding a better generation of Indians and for schooling themselves for conducting the home, which is after all their real and ultimate place. She stands for the teaching in colleges of domestic science, child psychology, book-keeping (to learn how to live within the means of her husband) and dietics, as parts of the curriculum of girls' education. In her characteristic style she summed up her views in a realistic way by saying: "What is the use of all education, if a woman does not know how to plan a proper menu and

keep home cosy and cheerful." She would have all professions to be open to women, with equal chances in life and wants "Indian women to have Western freedom with Eastern restraint."

Thus it is seen that education cannot be the same for boys and girls if it is to evolve the proper type of Indian Womanhood and therefore special arrangements will have to be made in girls schools and colleges and even in co-educational institutions, for the compulsory imparting of instruction that is necessary to make our girls and young women good wives, good mothers and good house-wives, in addition to the other kinds of education which is given in common to them and the boys, as biologically men and women have different functions to discharge in the economy of nature and as for the vast majority of women making a home and bringing up a family are to be the primary concern.

The second question to be considered is, as to whether any change is called for in the all-too secular and godless education that is given in our educational institutions. This question affects both boys and girls and it is too sad to contemplate that no proper solution has yet been found for this problem. The All-India Educational Conference, which was held in Madras, during the last Christmas week, has not, it is feared, bestowed the serious attention that this subject deserves and naturally the discussion on the topic which was set down for a symposium, at the Sectional Conference, namely, "The introduction of Moral and Religious Education in school or college curriculum" was desultory, slipshod, and unsatisfactory, with the result, that the resolution that was passed on the subject was most unhelpful.

For a long time, leaders of thought in all parts of the country have deplored the godless education which boys and girls are receiving in our educational institutions and the consequent deficiency in their make-up to shoulder the responsibilities of life in the right manner, owing to the lowering of moral and spiritual standards, which alone can exercise the necessary healthy and steadying influence in building up true manhood and womanhood. It is admitted on all hands that real education would mean not merely the accumulation of secular knowledge, however great it might be, but the development of character and the imbibing of right moral principles, which would be helpful in guiding the after-lives of students. Character is the resultant of the combination of several virtues, which have a spiritual origin, and these have to be instilled by moral and religious instruction in the class rooms of schools and colleges of both boys and girls, as this ought to be one of the primary functions of all educational

institutions. As put by the Rev. Father Murphy, sometime ago, "the University should take advantage of *religion in its broadest sense* to aid it in the work of moulding the character of students. When we gave education without religion, there was very little in it to counteract discontent and form a dam against all pernicious influences." In one of the former Educational Weeks, celebrated in all parts of this presidency, thinkers, educationists, parents and people of all religions—Hindus, Muslims and Christians have voiced the same feeling, in varying degrees of emphasis, from a thousand platforms, that the present system of education was *deliberately secular*. He would be a bold man who could say that this defect does not call for a speedy remedy.

These opinions apart, the evil effects of a godless education are seen in our educated young men and women falling a prey to social evils instead of standing against them and working for their eradication. To take only two instances, we have the dowry evil running rampant all over the country, in all communities, and the sorry spectacle of young men succumbing to it. Then the cases of educated girls contracting second marriage, with men, who have their first wives living, are becoming quite common, creating thereby the problem of abandoned Hindu and other wives. As regards the educated society-girls, who have taken to the screen, the behaviour of some of them has been characterised, by those who are in the know, as being infamous and unworthy of the high traditions of Indian womanhood.

Though the evils of a godless education are widely recognised, educational authorities are fighting shy to approach this problem, which was shirked and repeatedly put in the cold storage, in view of the difficulties that have to be faced, owing to the diversity of religions prevailing in this country and the consequent inability to find out as to what would be suitable to be imparted by way of religious and moral instruction to students drawn from families, having separate and distinctive religious affiliations and social practices. No wonder, the Government, which is pledged to a policy of religious neutrality, which unfortunately is allowed to become religious indifference, has not been able to seriously approach this problem.

But all those who deplore the want of religious and moral instruction in schools and colleges are one in saying, in the words of the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani that : "religious instruction should be in broad principles, the most important of which are common to all religious systems. Broad religious ideas which are consistent with reason and conscience, without laying stress on meaningless superstitions and ceremonies have to be taught"—essential religious truths of an universal and all-embracing character—though he was far from "any idea of educational institutions being converted into centres of strife or theological contention".

To the same effect are the views of His Grace the Arch Bishop of Madras, who had expressed himself thus : "most of the great religions of the world are international in their outlook and in their appeal, in the

sense, that they, in essence, inculcate principles which appeal to man as man, irrespective of his country or race, and so to the common essential elements of all religions have to be taught without making any fetish of religion".

Gandhiji's views on this subject are well known. He says: "I hold that the truths that are common to all religions can and should be taught to all children" and that "the truth that all religions are the same in essentials, that we must love and respect other faiths as we respect our own, is a very simple truth and can easily be understood and practised by children of seven".

Thus, it is seen that persons, representing all classes and religions, are almost unanimous in their demand that religious and moral education should be imparted in schools and colleges from the very earliest stages right up to the university courses. It is also made clear that this education should be of religion in the widest sense based on a strong ethical foundation. What the implications of this are, cannot be better put than in the words of Alexander Gordon: "It means the deepening life of goodness in the heart; a growing power to resist the seductions of self-interest, worldliness, and unbrotherliness; a progressive purification of the motives and the conduct, a victory over appetite and passion, a more courageous reliance upon the virtues of truth in speech, fairness in dealing, charity in judgment, generosity in forgiveness.....to assert the dominion of the living conscience in all affairs, little and large, to provide in private life and public duty, things honest, not only in the sight of man but where no human eye can scan to walk out merely in soundness of doctrine but in newness of life". That being so, there is nothing in this that can be taken exception to by the followers of any religion or social group, and nothing which can be left open to the option of the students or their parents, or which can even attract the operation of the "conscience clause". So, it can be made to form part of the regular curriculum which can be enforced on all students without distinction, irrespective of their particular religious or social affiliations. The universal religious truths and moral principles can be illustrated for the benefit of students from the lives of saints, sages and great men of all races, religions and climes.

It is up to those, in whose hands the starting of the new Women's College lies, to deeply consider and find their way to give effect to the two important suggestions made herein, so that, it may be said that here, atleast, is a college where girls and young women receive the right kind of education which would benefit them, not only to become good wives, good mothers, and good housewives, but, as inheritors of the glorious traditions of Indian womanhood, enable them to take up their rightful place in the national life of this country, with the culture and character which are developed within the four walls of this college.

The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SETHA AIYANGAR. 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 nut shell 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burmah, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

SL
RHM2) 112350
Nub. 23.10.11

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

Printed by V. C. Vasudevan at the India Printing Works, 3/1, South Mada Street, Mylapore
and Published by T. S. Swaminatha Iyer, M.A., B.L., Asst. Secy. Arya Mata Sabha,
"Moryalaya", 141, Mowbray's Road, Royapettah, Madras.

7

XIV

JUNE, 1946

NO. 6

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.



चित्रं बटवरोहणे कृदाः शिष्या गुह्येवा । गुह्येस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु छिन्नसंशयाः॥

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

Published on the 1st of every month at "Moryalaya", Royapettah.
Yearly : India, Rs. 3; Foreign. 6s. Single No. : India, As. 4; Foreign. 6d.

CONTENTS.

	Page
BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA	
Text of the Statement	59
FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES	
Cabinet Mission's Statement	70
CONGRESS AND CABINET PLAN,	
Working Committee Resolution	73
LEAGUE ACCEPTS CABINET PLAN	
Text of Councils Resolution	76

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.O.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.
 Sir Vepa Rameesam, Kt.
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.
 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L.
 (Editor in charge). } *Hony. Editors.*
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, M.A.

All Communications regarding Editorial matter, books
 for review, etc., should be addressed to

MR. E. VINAYAKA ROW, *Editor in charge,*)

THE BHARATA DHARMA,

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE

Bharata Dharma

VOL. XXIV]

JUNE, 1946

[No. 6

BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

Text of the Statement

The following is the text of the statement :

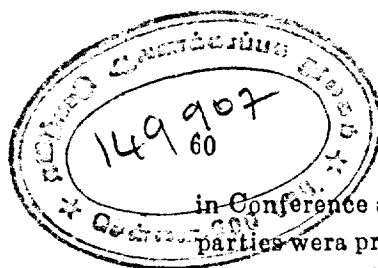
1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

“ My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision.”

“ I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.”

“ But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.”

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together



in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

Pakistan Claim Examined.

5. This consideration did not however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguard. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas: one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-

east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:—

North-Western Area—

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577*
North-West Frontier Provinces ...	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,225	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	<u>22,653,294</u>	<u>13,840,231</u>
	62.97%	37.93%

North-Eastern Area—

Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	<u>36,447,913</u>	<u>34,063,345</u>
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

* All population figures in this statement are from the most recent census taken in 1941.

JL
R4 212 1. 23 B D N 46. 23. 10-11

"Pakistan no solution for communal problem."

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent. of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

Problem of Defence

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even strongest. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the good-will of Hindustan.

Partition Demand Rejected.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

Disadvantages of Congress Scheme

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus, with their greatly superior numbers must be dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre Optional subjects in addition to the Compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme, would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India, while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the Optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

POSITION OF STATES

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the

British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. The fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow :

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

PROPOSALS FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:—

(a) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(b) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery, which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 101 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent. of the total, although they form 55 per cent. of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be:—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India : General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matter of special interest to the minorities,

19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by this method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

Table of representation

SECTION A.				
Province		General	Muslim	Total
Madras	...	45	4	49
Bombay	...	19	2	21
United Provinces	...	47	8	55
Bihar	...	31	5	36
Central Provinces	...	16	1	17
Orissa	...	9	0	9
Total	...	167	20	187

SECTION B					
Province		General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
Punjab	...	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	...	0	3	0	3
Sind	...	1	3	0	4
		—	—	—	—
Total	...	9	22	4	35
		—	—	—	—

SECTION C

Province		General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	...	27	33	60
Assam	...	7	3	10
Total	...	34	36	70
Total for British India				... 292
Maximum for Indian States				... 93
Total				... 385

Note.—In order to present the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not on the basis of the calculation adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would, in the preliminary stage, be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

Provincial Groups.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

Fundamental Rights.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

Indo-British Treaty and Interim Government

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides

the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

Appeal to Indians to Accept Scheme.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this- We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever-increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES

Cabinet Mission's Statement

PARAMOUNTCY ISSUE CLARIFIED.

Amplifying their reference in the statement made above to States treaties and Paramountcy, the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy stated that the British Government could not and would not in any circumstances transfer Paramountcy to an Indian Government. Political arrangements between the states on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will be brought to an end, they add, "The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them."

The Delegation and the Viceroy make these statements in a memorandum on "states Treaties and Paramountcy" presented by them to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

The memorandum states:

"Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent. It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might

emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld. The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature. H. M. G. have now declared that if the succession Government or Governments in British India desire independence, no obstacle would be placed in their way. The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of Independence within or without the British Commonwealth. The Delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish.

"During the interim period which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully self-governing, Paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer Paramountcy to an Indian Government.

Reforms in States.

"In the meanwhile, the Indian States are in a position to play an important part in the formulation of the new constitutional structure for India and H. M. G. have been informed by the Indian States that they desire, in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure, and to take their due place in it when it is completed. In order to facilitate this they will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard. Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the State, they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of States during this formative period if the various Governments, which have not already done so, take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions.

During the interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field. Such negotiations, which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time and since some of these

JL
R4 m2, N23 B D
Nish. 24.1-1
149907

negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the succession Government or Governments, that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed. In this matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired.

British Paramountcy to Cease.

When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, H. M. G.'s influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of Paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate what British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of Paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.

Memorandum Drawn up before Talks with Leaders.

The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document issued to-day entitled "Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Delegation to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes" was drawn up before the Mission began their discussions with party leaders and represented the substance of what they communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interviews with the Mission. This is the explanation of the use of the words "Successor Government or Governments of British India", an expression which would not of course have been used after the issue of the Delegation's recent statement.

CONGRESS AND CABINET PLAN Working Committee Resolution TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

Following is the text of the resolution :

The working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement dated 16th May 1946, issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for a peaceful and co-operative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the councils of the world.

Basic Objectives

In considering the statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a Provisional Government and the clarification given by the members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objective they aim at. These objectives are : Independence for India, a strong, though limited, central authority, full autonomy for the provinces, the establishment of a democratic structure in the Centre and in the units, the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth, and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framework.

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the Provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in Paragraph 23 of the statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the Provisional Government must approximate closely in fact even though not in law, to that independence, and all obstructions and hindrances to it

should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The Constituent Assembly

The statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggest a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The Committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to a million but the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be a fully elected body, chosen by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures. In Baluchistan, there is no elected Assembly or any other kind of Chamber which might elect a representative for the constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way. In Coorg, the Legislative Council contains some nominated members as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than a hundred electors. Only the elected members from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the provinces. It is further said that provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into section which 'shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces.' There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of complusion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the statement and in order to make the clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read paragraph 15 to

mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

Future of the States

The provisions in the statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear that the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements. And the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as it is possible, to the method adopted in the provinces. The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State Governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of the armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for the future of India, as they indicate that there is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State Governments and of those who exercise Paramountcy.

The Provincial Government

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a precursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact, though changes in law need not be made at this stage. The Governor-General may continue as the head of the Government during the interim period, but the Government should function as a Cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the Provincial Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a Provincial Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the Independence that is now recognised as India's right and due. It is only with the conviction that

they are engaged in building up a free, great and Independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of the people of India. In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.

LEAGUE ACCEPTS CABINET PLAN

Text of Councils Resolution.

The full text of the resolution passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League is as follows :

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, after having carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and H. E. the Viceroy on 16th May and other relevant statements and documents officially issued in connection therewith, and after having examined the proposals set forth in the said statement in all their bearings and implications, places on record the following views for the guidance of the nation and direction to the Working Committee.

Missions Remarks Criticised.

"That the references made and the conclusions recorded in Paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Statement concerning the Muslim demand for the establishment of full sovereign Pakistan as the only solution of the Indian constitutional problem are unwarranted, unjustified and unconvincing and should not therefore have found place in a State document issued on behalf and with the authority of the British Government.

"These paragraphs are couched in such language and contain such mutilation of established facts that the Cabinet Mission have clearly been prompted to include them in their statement solely with the object of appeasing the Hindus in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments. Furthermore, the contents of the aforesaid paragraphs are in conflict and inconsistent with the admissions made by the Mission themselves in Paragraphs 5 and 12 of their Statement which are to the following effect: first, the Mission 'were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subject to perpetual Hindu majority rule;' second, 'This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it

cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguard;' third, 'if there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture religion, economic or other interests,' fourth, 'very real Muslim apprehensions exist that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element.'

Goal of Pakistan

"In order that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter the Council of the All-India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

"That notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by a choice of injudicious words in the preamble of the statement of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission's plan, by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim provinces, in sections B and C, is willing to co-operate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of a complete sovereign Pakistan and in the consummation of the goal of independence for the major nations, and all the other people inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

Right of Secession.

"It is for these reasons that the Muslim League is accepting the scheme and will join the constitution-making body and will keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or groups from the Union which have been provided in the Mission's plan by implication.

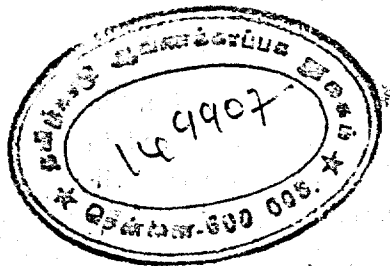
"The ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the constitution-making body and in the final shape of the constitutions which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three sections.

" The Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of deliberations of the constitution-making body or the Constituent Assembly or thereafter if the course of events so require bearing in mind the fundamental principles and ideals hereinbefore adumbrated to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed.

Interim Government.

" That with regard to the arrangements for the proposed Interim Government at the Centre, this Council authorises its President to negotiate with H. E. the Viceroy and to take such decisions and actions as he deems fit and proper."

36
R. 10 202-142381
MAY 23 1944



The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR, 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 nut shell the case for the Untouchables. *(The Swarajya)*

Do Sastras justify Touch Pollution?

MR. E. 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)*

Advertise in The Bharata Dharma. It circulates widely in India and Burma, and has subscribers in England, Kanya, New York U. S. A., Holland, Australia, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji—Besides individual subscribers it is placed on the tables of over sixty clubs, public libraries, reading rooms, schools and colleges—An excellent means of advertising. For terms apply to the manager. MORYALAYA, ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS.

If you believe

in the glorious past and no less
glorious future of

Hinduism

Buy and read

BHARATHA DHARMA

a monthly Journal devoted to the
cause of

Liberal Hinduism

Annual Subscription including Postage

only Rs. 3 per annum beginning
with any month of the year.

Printed by V. C. Vasudevan at the India Printing Works, 3/1, South Mada Street, Mylapore
and Published by T. S. Swaminatha Iyer, M.A., B.L., Asst. Secy. Arya Mata Sabha,
"Meyyala", 121, Mowbray's Road, Royapettah, Madras.