

18

IV

JULY, 1946

No. 7

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).

HAG BAHADUR S. K. YEGMANARAYANA IYER, M.A.



चित्ते वटवरोष्ठे वृद्धाः शिष्या गुरुषु वा गुरोस्तु मौने 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.

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THE BHARATA DHARMA.

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THE Bharata Dharma

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JULY, 1946

[No. 7

THE A. I. C. C. DECISION ON THE CABINET MISSION'S PROPOSALS

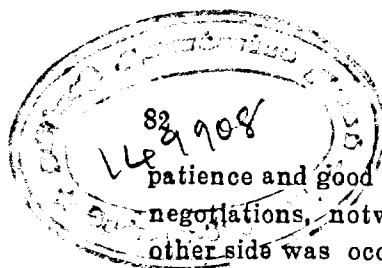
By

SRI E. VINAYAKA ROW, B.A., B.L., Madras.

As we are going to Press, the eagerly awaited news has come that the A.I.C.C. in its two days session held at Bombay on the 6th and 7th July 1946, have ratified the decision of the Congress Working Committee. So, the great task of making an appropriate constitution for a free united independent India will now go forward. If the Constituent Assembly comes to a decision, whether sound or unsound, the British Government are bound by their declarations and the necessities of the situation, to give full effect to such decisions and allow the country to make such further constitutional amendments as may be necessary from time to time, in the light of the actual national needs as the nation's day to day work reveals under the new Constitution.

For nearly a life time I have belonged to a party that has believed in the wisdom of fruitful cooperation between the Nations of the world and particularly the Nations that form the British commonwealth. By the form in which the British Cabinet Mission and the Prime Minister have made their declaration on the basis of future Indo-British relations, those in England responsible for the announcement have earned high praise for the statesmanship and practical wisdom displayed by them on this momentous occasion.

No less praise is due to Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, who was at the helm of Congress affairs for nearly 6½ years and steered it to the way-side station of the Constituent Assembly. The Members of the Congress Working Committee that went through most of these negotiations brought to bear on the task statesmanship,



patience and good will of the highest order that can be expected in such negotiations, notwithstanding the fact that the controversy on the other side was occasionally gingered with a different type of outlook and vocabulary. Mahatma Gandhi himself, Gokhale's disciple and Sastri's bosom friend, has in these difficult months given a guidance and a lead that would be remembered with gratitude for ever by posterity.

In the deliberations of the A.I.C.C. and in the course of the discussions in the country as regards the Cabinet Mission's announcement regarding the constitution of the Constituent Assembly involving regional groupings, misgivings have been experienced, whether ultimately it will not weaken the centre to such an extent that smooth working of the constitution may become difficult. Let us thank God that we have got out of the old ruts and we now have a fair and free opportunity to sit at one table and to straighten out difficulties with fuller and clearer mutual understanding of the hopes and aspirations of the people as a whole.

Such an astute and well informed body as the Congress Working Committee has interpreted the Cabinet Mission's proposals as a definite rejection of the Pakistan idea. An equally astute and bargaining politician like Mr. Jinnah has in no ambiguous terms claimed that the British Cabinet Mission has in their regional groupings as envisaged by them, granted to the Muslim League their claim of Pakistan. If both the groups are satisfied and are willing to frame a constitution on the basis of a single united India it is a definite step forward, a step which is the nature of things will be found to be absolutely irresistible and on the right road to India's destiny.

Political laws are as inexorable as physical laws. If in the actual working, these regional legislatures and executives that are contemplated, are found to be 5th wheels to the coach, only delaying speed and progress, it will be only a question of time before these unwanted and irksome ballasts are simply thrown out. So long as we are moving forward without following the laws of politics and the laws of nature, continuous adjustments and readjustments will have to be made until we can see that some degree of political equilibrium has been reached. In this process, a good deal of patience is needed and there is no reason to doubt that every element in the nation will make its own substantial and positive contribution towards the nation's progress as an integral whole.

We fully trust and hope that the Congress lead already given in the choice of candidates for the Constituent Assembly will result in the

formation of a team which can be trusted to do sound and abiding work in the difficult task of Constitution making.

The part of the scheme relating to the formation of an Interim Provisional Government on the basis of Hindu Muslim parity has been rightly rejected by the Congress. The solution of the Viceroy in having a mere care-taker Interim Government is admittedly a very temporary expedient, and in the task of forming a sound national Provisional Government, the Interim period cannot be permitted for any unreasonable length of time.

In my Article "The Hindus and the Viceroy's Expanded Council", in our issue of August 1941 I pointed out that the then Viceroy introduced the thin end of Caste-Hindu Muslim parity with the sinister intention of keeping the Hindus and Muslims permanently divided. I pointed out with reference to the figures and the names, that in the constitution of the expanded council, out of 12 members from the point of view of population, if Hindus were entitled to a representation of 8, they were actually given four, and the Muslims were given 3, that would be only a weightage of about 2½ percent in their favour. In other words, the entire quota of providing the four Europeans on the Executive Council had to be met by the Hindus in giving up their representation while the weightage given to the Muslims on the executive of 2½ percent continued. I also pointed out that in the Constitution of the National Defence Council the then Viceroy followed a similar plan. Out of the 22 members of the National Defence Council the nominations were 9 Hindus, 9 Muslims, one Sikh, One Parsi, One European and one Anglo-Indian. I then wrote.

"This coincidence in equality in number cannot be the result of mere accident. Considering that the Muslims constituted only about 22½ percent of the population, and the Hindus constituted 68 per cent of the population, there can be no justification whatever from any point of view, communal, political or administrative, for the extraordinary overweightage given to the Muslims and extraordinary under-representation given to the Hindus."

Five long years have passed and yet the present Viceroy has made no advance on the then Viceroy's outlook. Apparently, the bureaucracy has revived the old files and what was only a Hindu Muslim parity in the National Defence council which was attempted to be revived at the Simla conference is again sought to be revived in a different

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form for the purpose of Caste-Hindu Muslim parity in the Interim Provisional Government.

The Viceroy's assurance that this will not be treated as a precedent for any purpose whatever has no value. Any concession given to Mr. Jinnah will be a concession given for ever.

At the time when the Nation was in a mood to show some concession, the reasons were to safe-guard India's interests and India's lives from the disastrous consequences of the war that was on. Mr. Jinnah's attitude of obstruction and deadlocks all through have shattered the basis on which one could come to quick decisions. Nearly 16,00 crores of rupees of India's money is now in England, about the payment of which India will have to face many difficulties and there is no guarantee that Mr. Jinnah and his group will not use that to wring out further concessions from the British for their group.

The Bengal famine carried away millions of lives—13 millions according to a conservative estimate and nearly 3 millions according to another estimate—entitled to weight. The famine in cloth and food stuffs and the general deterioration in health conditions of the people have been progressing with rapid strides and the nation is now aghast with the threatened country wide famine. The case for any concession to Mr. Jinnah and his group has gone for ever.

Hereafter in the Legislatures and in the Executive we cannot make any departure from the scientific principle of representation in proportion to the population for every Province and at the Centre. We are for complete elimination of all types and forms of communal representation on the ground that it is a colossal system of bribery, which may have to be practised by alien rulers ruling over sullen and discontented population, but not by a Government chosen by the people and enjoying the people's confidence.

The Congress when they attempted to put their hand to constructive political work announced that they will make every determined effort to put down corruption. The biggest system of corruption now prevailing in this country is communal representation in the services and in the legislatures, with separate electorates which are wholly divorced from the considerations of merit and national efficiency. A Government that is bent on keeping India at a low level of efficiency, so that it can continue to be the convenient field for exploitation can rejoice at this type of corruption being perpetuated, but a Government of the people that believed in increasing efficiency on all sides, so that

there can be better and bigger production and a bigger national dividend for the people of this country cannot permit the political pest of communal representation to disfigure the constitution in any form. Looked at from this point of view the Congress decision to reject the proposal for Interim National Government is fully justified and is the only honourable course that any tried group of nationalists politicians can pursue. In ratifying that part of the decision, the A.I.C.C. has given a good lead which we trust will be regarded as a pointer for the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly.

We fervently hope that the Provincial Assemblies will choose the very best men fitted for the task.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL.

The following is the full text of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on the Cabinet Mission's proposals:—

On 24th May the Working Committee passed a resolution on the statement dated 16th May issued by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. In this resolution they pointed out some defects in the statement and gave their own interpretation of certain parts of it.

"Since then the Committee have been continuously engaged in giving earnest consideration to the proposals made on behalf of the British Government in the statements of 16th May and 16th June and have considered the correspondence in regard to them between the Congress President and the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

"The Committee have examined both these sets of proposals from the point of view of the Congress objective of immediate independence and the opening out of the avenues leading to the rapid advance of the masses, economically and socially, so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine and the lack of the necessities of life may be ended, and all the people of the country may have the freedom and opportunity to grow and develop according to their genius. These proposals fall short of these objectives. Yet the Committee considered them earnestly in all their aspects because of their desire to find some way for the peaceful settlement of India's problem and the ending of the conflict between India and England.

"The kind of independence Congress has aimed at is the establishment of a united, democratic Indian Federation, with a Central Authority, which would command respect from the nations of the world, maximum Provincial Autonomy and equal rights for all men and women in the country. The limitation of the Central Authority, as contained in the proposals, as well as the system of grouping of Provinces, weakened the whole structure and was unfair to some Provinces such as the N. W. F. Provinces and Assam, and to some of the minorities, notably the Sikhs. The Committee disapproved of this. They felt, however, that, taking the proposals as a whole, there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central Authority and for fully ensuring the right of a Province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping and to give protection to such minorities as might otherwise be placed at a disadvantage.

"Certain other objections were also raised on their behalf, notably the possibility of non-nationals taking any part in the constitution-making. It is clear that it would be breach of both the letter and spirit of the statement of 16th May if any non-Indian participated in the voting or standing for election to the Constituent Assembly.

Objections to Interim plan.

"In the proposals for an Interim Government contained in the statement of 16th June the defects related to matters of vital concern to the Congress. Some of these have been pointed out in the letter dated 25th June of the Congress President to the Viceroy. The Provisional Government must have power and authority and responsibility and should function in fact, if not in law, as a *de facto* Independent Government leading to the full independence to come. The members of such a Government can only hold themselves responsible to the people and not to any external authority. In the formation of a Provisional or other Government, Congressmen can never give up the national character of the Congress or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to the veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an Interim Government as contained in the statement of 16th June.

"The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly, with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India.

"While the Committee have agreed to the Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is in their opinion essential that a representative and responsible provisional National Government be formed

at the earliest possible date. A continuation of authoritarian and unrepresentative Government can only add to the suffering of famishing masses and increased discontent. It will also put in jeopardy the work of the Constituent Assembly, which can only function in a free environment.

"The Working Committee recommended accordingly to the All-India Congress Committee and for the purpose of considering and ratifying this recommendation they convene an emergent meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay on 6th and 7th July."

INDIA AND UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

By

MR. K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.,

Retd. Subordinate Judge.

India is said to be the religious cradle of the world and it was in fact in India almost all the world religions, from the crudest to the most highly spiritual ones, are represented. In a sense India is the world's religious museum. But amidst this variety and clash of various kinds of faiths and beliefs, it must be said to the credit of India that it was also the country that had made efforts from time to time to evolve order and harmony out of this chaos of warring cults. The evidences of those efforts are visible from the mediaeval times. In mediaeval India arose a number of liberal religious thinkers and radical religious reformers who endeavoured to free religion from its orthodox shackles and exclusiveness and laid stress on what they called the natural religion which they believed to be as old as time itself and as such eternal. Among these radical religious reformers Ramananda, (1370-1440) who was a follower of Sri Ramanuja, the protagonist of South Indian Vaishnavism,—which has directly or indirectly spread to all parts of India—, and the fifth in succession from him, stands, foremost. The most important among the disciples of Ramananda was Kabir (1440 - 1518). His whole life and teaching was directed to the single object of uniting the Hindus and Mussalmans, by setting forth before them a liberal faith, free from the meaningless formalism of the Hindu or the Mahomedan Society, and opposed to the false practices of his times. But his chief disciple Dadu (1544 - 1603) went a step further and aimed at not only uniting Hindus and Mussalmans but the followers of all other creeds as well, by means of a broad ideal of fellowship. He thus carved

for himself a unique place among the liberal religious reformers of Mediaeval India by the catholicity of his teaching and the all-embracing character of his message. His was perhaps the earliest attempt at founding an universal religion and in those early times it was something of a drastic religious venture. When he was questioned as to where is the example of salvation being gained by the universal path of his, devoid of all distinctions, he replied: "Great Nature itself and all great men are on my side. What cult do they pursue, earth and sky and water and wind, day and night, Sun and Moon? What creed was followed by Mahomed, tell me, or by Gabriel—to what sect did they belong? Who but Allah himself was their Guru or Saint? The invisible God alone is the world-teacher, there is none else." "To give up vanity and to surrender to the one God and to look upon all people as one's own brothers and sisters" was his instruction. According to him "the shrine of God was within one's own self where one could meet him only through love." He taught that "after giving up impurity and evil nature, one should surrender oneself to the Divine will to attain union (Yoga) and shunning sectarian prejudice, one should be humble, kind, free from vanity, eager for serving others and at the same time fearless, energetic and brave." He considered pilgrimage, observance of vows, worship of images, rituals etc., all to be in vain and pointed out the efficacy of tolerance to all sorts of opposition, having a strong faith in God. He believed in the *Sahaja* (natural or simple) method of *sadhana* to reach God. He was a house-holder and liked others to strive for higher life from that state. He had no respect for a monastic life, which was, at best, an incomplete life and looked upon the married state as a help and not a hindrance to realisation.

He did not find any sect but established what was called the Brahma or Parabrahma Sampradaya (Society) with the aim of uniting all people. This society was intended to be a gathering for the adoration of the Supreme Brahman, who alone was acknowledged as its Guru or Head. Knowing the *Brahman* alone to be the Supreme truth, he worshipped no gods or goddesses, nor did he take to fasts, vows or pilgrimages, nor adopt the garb or sign of any religious order. He had no use for the sectarian creeds or practices of Hindus or Mussalmans. Questioned as to his method by a visitor, Dadu said "The giving up of self regard, the worship of God, the curing of all the corruptions of mind and body, the cultivation of friendship for all creatures—this is its essence." In forming his Brahma Sampradaya, Dadu did not lean to any side, Hindu or Moslem. "Its door was always open to all those,

whose faith was true, whose ideal was high, whose endeavour was earnest, whether man or woman, high or low-born, rich or poor." He did not rely on any dogma, doctrine or set-forms. He had no fixed time for divine worship, in the presence of spectators.

The special feature of Dadu's Society was the cultivation of all the qualities side by side—which he called true yoga or coherent endeavour. He taught that "*When all the powers and faculties and ideas of man are cultivated in the same degree, in tune with the wisdom of all cults, all ages, all climes, then does it become the true yoga, the Brahma-Yoga.*" With this end in view Dadu got his disciples to collect the writings of *sadhus* of different sects, among whom are many Mussalman names and there were several unique collections of that kind. Thus the religion of the Brahma Society has come to be universally respected as "it was simple yet high and being equally consistent with Reason and Spirit, hurting the feelings of none, it has promoted equality and fellow feeling amongst men. It makes all men realise that they are children of One Father and creates brotherly and sisterly feelings. It brings mankind, closer together in love, destroys all barriers between them and helps their united advance." This simple, natural and universal teaching of Dadu easily attracted outstanding persons of varied beliefs and faiths including many poets, *sadhakas*, leader of other sects and a prince. Thus it can be seen that even over three centuries ago, India has been moving in the direction of founding a universal faith in which all have an equal place, irrespective of all distinctions of caste, colour, religion or worldly position and with the help of which all can advance towards the Supreme Being by means of natural *sadhan*; bereft of all superstitions, rituals, pilgrimages and all other external observances that are associated with the various religious sects. In a way Dadu was the precursor, if not the inspirer, of the later attempts that were made in India towards a universal religion.

The next attempt in this direction, was made by Emperor Akbar (1542-1605). Dadu was a contemporary of Akbar and Akbar came into touch with the Brahma Sampradaya of Dadu (1586) and was greatly impressed by the liberal spirit that animated it. Akbar, in his later efforts towards the founding of a universal religion, had his inspiration from Dadu and his Society. His grand object cannot be better described than in the immortal words of Tennyson in his poem "Akbar's Dream":

"Look how the living pulse of Allah beats
Through all this world.

There is light in all, and light with more or less
Of shade in all man-modes of worship.

* * * * * I dreamed

That stone by stone I reared a sacred fane,
A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque or Church
But loftier, simpler, always open-doored
To every breath from heaven and Truth and Peace
And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein."

Though Dadu did not want to found any sect, the gathering established by him gradually crystallised into the Dadu-panthi sect, which remained true to the original ideal for over a century.

It took over two centuries after Akbar for the next great effort and in fact the greatest of its kind in India, in the direction of finding a universal religion, to be made.

It may be legitimately asked why in spite of all these efforts, a universal religion has not made much headway in India or found, an adequate following. In the religious history of the world, it is a matter for common knowledge that the pristine purity of any religion and the enthusiasm for it wanes with the lapse of time and disintegration begins and spreads when once it is institutionalised, so much so, that the spirit of the religion gradually disappears giving place to forms and rituals. So far as India is concerned, this kind of decay has practically overtaken not only the established religions but also most of the liberal religious movements that came to reform them. To think of founding a new reformist religion which would be followed by all people would merely be a speculation in the land of dreams. But taking the function of religion to be to unfold the divinity in man and to lead him Godward, man requires on his path towards perfection or in the words of Dadu to attain "True yoga or Brahma Yoga" the cultivation of all his powers and faculties and ideas in the same degree "in tune with the wisdom of all cults, all ages and all climes." As God's infinite truth cannot be exhausted through the medium of any particular person or book or confined to any particular age or country, man has to derive assistance from the Truth revealed through the various religions and prophets of the world in this supreme quest of his. Every religion revealed some aspect of God's truth or other and proved helpful to the people and the age and country amidst which it sprang up. But with the advance of time and the expansion of human knowledge, the life of man became immensely complicated, so much so, that for his spiritual progress, if it is to be real, he needed the help of all aspects of God's truth as revealed

not only in all the religions and by all the prophets, but in all the prophets, but in all the Sciences and Arts. No portion of God's revelation as Truth, Goodness and Beauty could be ignored by man in his spiritual path and the progress of his soul towards perfection cannot be hampered by any kind of custom, tradition or superstition. Thus a universal religion must be open to all and free to progress without any kind of hindrance, bringing about a constant interaction and communion between the human soul and the Oversoul. A study of comparative religion has revealed that the basic truths of all religions are more or less the same though there is a vast difference among the non-essential usages and traditions that have gathered round every religion. All the differences and antagonisms which have been fruitful sources of conflicts among the various religions centre round the non-essentials and do not touch the underlying truths on which they are founded. To secure common acceptance by all persons, whatever their particular religious denomination may be, the effort must be in the direction of diverting their attention from these non-essentials and getting them to fix it on the basic universal truths on which their respective religions are based, irrespective of the emphasis that is laid in each one of the religions on any aspect of God's eternal truth, as every one requires the assistance of all the aspects of truth emphasised in all the religions on his path towards the Divine. It is only then that man gets the fuller scope for the development of the divinity within him in all its phases and would be enabled to lead a complete and justifiable life, reflecting the Divine in all his activities and in every detail of his life. This is the consummation devoutly to be wished for and any religion which claims to be universal ought to aim and bring about such a state of understanding among the people of all religions.

In theory this may look very sound and easy too but how to implement this scheme in practice is the question to be solved by all those who are interested in what vaguely goes by the name of "universal religion." In fact every religion is called by its votaries, a universal religion in the sense, as they say, that all people can come and embrace it. But that is not the conception of a truly universal religion to which persons of all religious denominations can show their allegiance, without the sacrifice of their conviction in any of the basic eternal truths which held sway over them, as the followers of any particular religion. "True universality lies not in the indefinite magnification of any one particular at the expense of the rest, but in the realisability of the spirit which giveth life, in all particulars. Only the

Spirit is universal." As for the non-essential element of any religion, man can be allowed perfect freedom, so long as the sway of these elements and the forms and practices they involve do not militate against the spirit of any higher basic principles of eternal value.

One way of achieving this end appears to be in the line of universalising every religion, in the sense of emphasising only the basic truths underlying it and ridding it of beliefs and practices that militate against such truths. If every religion follows this process, and we get a group of persons in every religion who are wedded to such principles and the practices they involve, they will have little or no difficulty to associate themselves in all spiritual matters with similar groups from other religions and the resultant of this process would be a large body of persons following a universal religion though they might have been born in or affiliated to families following separate religions as they exist now. It is only then a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian or any other religionist may combine together and progress in spiritual matters, without their particular religions hampering their progress, as all the truths proclaimed by each of these particular religions are equally necessary for each one of them in their progress towards perfection. Thus when in spiritual matters such as worship they can combine recognising their common spiritual origin, it would be very easy for them to combine in all social activities which result from these common spiritual principles being implemented in practice in the daily lives of these persons. Then they will begin to honour and respect the saints and seers, the great men and bhaktas of all religions without distinction who have in their lives, preaching and practice, bore witness to the universal truths which have become the common spiritual guides of all, and accept and follow truth from whatever quarter it comes or through whatever scriptures it may be revealed. It is by universalising every religion, that a universal religion can be established in India. Some people think that it was what Rajah Ram Mohan Roy had attempted, for otherwise he could not have conceived the possibility of persons of different religions meeting together in common congregational worship of the One True God, who is the source of all Truth, all Goodness and all Beauty. Thus we see that Ram Mohun belonged to the line of Dadu and Akbar and what was Akbar's dream became Ram Mohan's vision.

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. 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)*

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THE CABINET MISSION'S LONG TERM AND SHORT TERM PROPOSALS

By

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

In our columns in this issue we have extracted two important resolutions which are of more than passing interest. The Muslim League apparently thought that by wise manoeuvring they had brought the Congress to a stage when they should be expected to give a negative answer to the short term proposal and that according to Mr. Jinnah's way of thinking on the development of events, the Viceroy would be compelled to form an Interim Government exclusively composed of Mr. Jinnah's group and the so-called minorities which were sailing with Mr. Jinnah hoping that anti-national attitude will have bigger and better dividends. In this Mr. Jinnah made a miscalculation and he has missed the bus.

The Viceroy has formed more or less a caretaker official Government just to carry on the administration pending the formation of an Interim National Government, consistent with the declarations and proposals made by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission. As both the Congress and the Muslim League had without reservation accepted the Cabinet Mission's long term proposals, naturally the arrangement had to be put through in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's statement. Mr. Jinnah found that on scrutinising the figures of the members of the Provincial Legislature returned to the Constituent Assembly, what was well known to every Indian Politician, that the Muslim population in India was less than 23 percent and that in any scheme which involved

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representation according to population strength, Muslim representation must inevitably be below 25 percent. Mr. Jinnah's attempt has been all these years to get for the Muslims a voice and an influence altogether disproportionate to their population-strength and the contribution they make to national wealth and welfare.

The Tory Government in England naturally gave all encouragement to allies of this description working on anti-national lines and trying to put spokes in the nation attaining national freedom, all the time giving lip-sympathy to the ideals of national effort. As the reward for such timely agitation, which can be used against the nationalist forces in the land agitating for freedom, those who supported Mr. Jinnah and his group had all the benefits that official patronage can confer on people of this description. But such conditions cannot last for all time and the Tories cannot be always in power notwithstanding the vehement declarations of Mr. Winston Churchill against the nationalist elements in Indian political life.

Mr. Jinnah therefore took the very unusual step of finding some excuse for going back on his previous decision to work in the Constituent Assembly on the basis of acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's long terms proposals. As a matter of strategy he began with a frontal attack, that it is the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy that have gone back upon their word and that therefore there can be no mistake in the Muslim League going back on its previous decision accepting the Cabinet Mission's proposals. When there was such an opportunity, he could not resist the temptation of giving his usual fling at the Congress by catching hold of some stray expressions in the speeches of some leading Congressmen, entirely overlooking and brushing aside equally decisive speeches to the contrary on the part of other leading Congressmen holding no less important positions in the Congress Organisation. He altogether brushed aside the official resolution of the All India Congress Committee ratifying the decision of the working committee to go into the Constituent Assembly and work it.

In a spirit of eternal bargaining he whipped up enthusiasm for a further move to get more than what was offered till then and he convened a meeting at Bombay of the Muslim League council to give formal support to his policy about which he made no secret. He wanted the Congress to restate its position and to make the next move to further appease the insatiable elements in the Muslim League. He and his lieutenants have threatened direct action and disastrous results,

The Congress has given a very dignified reply by reiterating its resolve to go into the Constituent Assembly and to work it successfully to produce a suitable Federal Constitution for a free United India on the basis of complete independence, though in making that constitution they may yield much to their fellow-countrymen in a spirit of give and take so that the constitution may be evolved in a spirit of good will and friendliness, which alone will guarantee the satisfactory working of any political constitution. They even went out of the way and made a moving appeal to the Muslim League to come in and co-operate. I fully trust the Muslim League will give a proper response.

Direct action has been tried in many fields. Success is by no means common, while failure has been invariably the result of direct action for the causes in which direct action was launched. As far as Muslims are concerned direct action cannot succeed either in the Provinces where they are in a majority or in the Provinces where they are in a minority. In the majority Provinces, the Ministers stand committed to the policy of maintaining law and order and if they carry out the assurance, I wonder what chance there is for direct action in violation of the law to succeed. In the minority Provinces, law and order will be and must be maintained for the same reason and whatever indulgence they may show as a measure of generosity, if the Congress Ministers in power resolve to meet the challenge of direct action, such direct action may fizzle out within a couple of days. While no good will result, much bitterness will be left behind for many years and further work for collaboration with the cordiality that such work needs, will become very difficult on a provincial basis or on an All India basis.

We trust the logic of events will be realised before it becomes too late, and the threat of direct action the nature of which we shall know on 16th August 1946 will not materialise.

Mr. Jinnah and his group will do well to remember that religious bigotry for political action cannot be revived in 1946 in any form. Even three centuries ago such mediaeval ideology did not succeed though the conditions were very much more favourable than they are now. The old generation that attached much value to Governmental administrative jobs and the distribution thereof not on grounds of merit but on grounds which sound administrators will not endorse as proper, is passing away. The new generation is impatient; it will not be long before merit as a determining factor recovers its legitimate place. The impartiality of the State as a canon of administration will be recognised

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and all the so-called communal safeguards and communal G.Os. will soon become out-dated and out-moded.

We trust and hope that the Muslim League will take a peep into the future and readjust their policies to suit the Nation's progress towards the goal of a free United India enjoying complete independence.

As we go to the Press we get the momentous news that the Viceroy with the approval of His Majesty's Government has entrusted to Mr. Nehru the task of forming the Interim National Government. The Congress again has wisely decided to accept the invitation. Mr. Nehru has started with great sagacity in inviting Mr. Jinnah to help him in the formation of the National Government. An opportunity like this is not going to recur once again to enable Mr. Jinnah to establish beyond doubt his patriotism and statesmanship. We hope and trust smaller considerations will not influence him at this decisive moment and he will take his legitimate place along with his friends in the Interim National Government and do all that is possible to promote the evolution of a sound workable constitution acceptable generally to all the major elements in Indian public life.

Mr. Jinnah and his group will do well to realise that in the present temper of the country any intransigent attitude will result in their being left behind. The caravan will march on with Mr. Jinnah and his friends if they like, and without him if it pleases them to stay behind and in spite of them if they elect to throw any obstacles.

We must congratulate His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy on the very decisive lead they have given at this crucial stage in India's political evolution.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S BOMBAY DECISION

The following is the text of the resolution rejecting the Cabinet Mission's proposals :

On the 6th June 1946, the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepted the scheme embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946, and explained by them in their statement dated 25th May, 1946. The scheme of the Cabinet Delegation fell far short of the demand of the Muslim nation for the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign state of Pakistan comprising six Muslim provinces, but the Council accepted a Union Centre for ten years strictly confined to three subjects, viz.,

Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, since the scheme laid down certain fundamentals and safeguards and provided for the grouping separately of the six Muslim provinces in sections B and C for the purpose of framing their provincial and group constitutions unfettered by the Union in any way : and also with a view to end the Hindu-Muslim deadlock peacefully and accelerate the attainment of freedom of the peoples of India.

In arriving at this decision, the Council was also greatly influenced by the statement of the President, which he made with the authority of the Viceroy that the Interim Government, which was an integral part of the Mission's scheme, was going to be formed on the basis of a formula viz., five Muslim Leagues, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, the most important portfolios to be distributed equally between the two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Council authorised the President to take such decision and action with regard to further details of setting up the Interim Government as he deemed fit and proper. In that very resolution the Council also reserved the right to modify and revise this policy if the course of events so required.

British Government's "Breach of Faith"

The British Government have committed a breach of faith with the Muslim League in that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on the original formula of 5 : 5 : 2 for setting up the Interim Government to placate the Congress. The Viceroy, having gone back on the original formula upon the faith of which the Muslim League Council came to their decision on 6th June suggested a new basis of 5 : 5 : 3 and after carrying on considerable negotiations with the Congress and having failed to get the Congress to agree intimated to the parties on 15th June that he and the Cabinet Delegation would issue their final statement with regard to the setting up of the Interim Government. Accordingly on 16th June the President of the Muslim League received a statement embodying what was announced to be the final decision for setting up the Interim Government by the Viceroy, making it clear that if either of the two major parties refused to accept the statement of 16th June the Viceroy would proceed to form the Interim Government with the major party accepting it and such other representatives as were willing to join. This was explicitly laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of 16th June.

Even this final decision of the Cabinet Mission of 16th June with regard to the formation of the Interim Government was rejected by the Congress, whereas the Muslim League definitely accepted it—although it was different from the original formula i.e. 5: 5: 2—because the Viceroy provided safeguards and gave other assurances which are in his letter dated 20th June 1946.

The Viceroy, however, scrapped the proposal of 15th June and postponed the formation of the Interim Government on the plea concocted by the legalistic talents of the Cabinet Mission putting a most fantastic and dishonest construction upon paragraph 3 of the statement to the effect that as both the major parties, i.e. the Muslim League and the Congress, had accepted the statement of 16th May the question of the Interim Government could only be taken up in consultation with the representatives of both the parties *de novo*.

Congress Attitude to the Constituent Assembly

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress, by their conditional acceptance, with reservations and interpretations of their own, as laid down in the letter of the President of the Congress dated 25th June and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on 26th June repudiating the very fundamentals of the scheme had in fact, rejected the statement of 16th May and therefore in no event there was any justification whatsoever for abandoning the final proposals of 16th June.

As regards the proposal embodied in the statement of 16th May and 25 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy the Muslim League alone of the two major parties had accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretations which is contrary to the authoritative statement of the Delegation and Viceroy issued on May 16 and 25. The Congress have made it clear that they do not accept any of the terms or the fundamentals of the scheme but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the basis on which it is to be set up. Subsequently they made this further clear beyond doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on July 6th by prominent members of the Congress and in the statement of

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the President of the Congress, to a Press conference July 10th in Bombay and then again even after the debate in Parliament in a public speech by him at Delhi on July 22.

Declarations in Parliament Unsatisfactory.

The result is that, of the two major parties, the Muslim League alone has accepted the statements of May 16 and 25 according to the spirit and letter of the proposals embodied therein and in spite of the attention of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of July 13 from Hyderabad (Deccan) neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons, nor Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any means or machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be *ultra vires* and not competent for the Assembly to do. The only reply to this matter that the Secretary of State gave was mere expression of a pious hope and the statement that "that would not be fair to the other parties who go in."

Once the Constituent Assembly has been summoned and has met, there is no provision or power that could prevent any decision from being taken by the Congress with its overwhelming majority, which would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be *ultra vires* of it, and however repugnant it might be to the letter or the spirit of the scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper or suit them; and the Congress has already secured by sheer numbers an over-whelming Caste-Hindu majority and they will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared i.e., that they will wreck the basic form of the grouping of the provinces, and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre, which is confined strictly to three specific subjects as laid down in paragraph 15 and provided for in paragraph 19 of the statement of May 16.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy collectively and individually have stated several times that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly and that the scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly shows that these conditions precedent for the successful working of the constitution-making machinery do not exist. This fact taken together with the policy of the British Government of sacrificing the interests of the Muslim

nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled Castes, to appease the Congress, and the way in which they have been going back on their oral and written solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leave no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals which was communicated to the Secretary of State of for India by the President of the Muslim League on June 6 1946.

Resolution on Direct Action.

The following is the text of the resolution on direct action :

Whereas the All-India Muslim League has to-day resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the statement of the Cabinet, Delegation and the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946, due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other ; and whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means ; and whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up a Caste-Hindu Raj in India with connivance of the British : and whereas recent events have shown that power politic, and not justice and fairplay are deciding factors in Indian affairs ; and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest content with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and full sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution, long-term or short-term, or setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League, the Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan and assert their just rights and to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination. This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and be ready for every sacrifice. The Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy initiated above and the organise the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British this Council calls upon the Muslims to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.

THE CONGRESS REAFFIRMS ACCEPTANCE.

The following is the text of the resolution : dated 10-8-1946.

" The Working Committee regrets to note that the Council of the All-India Muslim League, reversing their previous decision, have decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly. In this period of rapid transition from dependence on a foreign power to full independence, when vast and intricate political and economic problems have to be faced and solved the largest measure of co-operation among the people of India and their representatives is called for, so that the change over would be smooth and to the advantage of all concerned.

"The Committee realises that there are differences in the outlook and the objective of the Congress and the Muslim League. Nevertheless in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, the Committee appeals for the co-operation of all those who seek freedom and the good of the country, in the hope that co-operation in the common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems.

Grouping.

"The Committee further noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that the Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May, 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principles laid down in that Statement. They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not. The question of interpretations will be decided by the procedure laid down in the statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives in the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly.

Sovereign Status of Assembly.

"The Committee have emphasised the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is, its right to function and draw up the

constitution for India without interference of any external power or authority, but the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will further seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the constitution of free India, allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.

"It was with this objective and with the desire to function in the Constituent Assembly and make it a success that the Working Committee passed the resolution of June 26, 1946, which was subsequently ratified by the A. I. C. C. on July 7. By that decision of the All-India Congress Committee they must stand, and they propose to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly.

"The Committee hope that the Muslim League and all others concerned, in the wider interests of the nation as well as of their own, will join in this great task."

*BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

By

RAO BAHADUR S. K. YEGNANARAYANA AYYAR

In talking about the books that have influenced me I am going to confine myself only to those books that I read during my student days in School and College, i.e., books whose effect has not been obliterated by the passing of four decades.

Very early in life I came into contact with the Upanishads not in their fullness but through a short extract of them in a text book of Indian History. R. C. Dutt the scholarly civilian and Historian of Ancient India had written a small text book on the Hindu period. There was in it a brief account of the Vedic age. I distinctly remember that I read that portion one Sunday evening while I was in a friend's house. That which appealed to me most was the famous dialogue between Swatakethu and his illustrious father, wherein the elderly philosopher impresses upon the youth the truth of the identity between the individual self and the Universal soul. With characteristic patience, the successful teacher reiterates the truth by means of many similes and analogies. Its effect upon me was unique. In the words of the poet

"Then I felt like some watcher of the skies,

When a new planet swims into his ken".

I just put down the book and closed my eyes and stood still for a few minutes. It is said that a visitor to the St. Peter's Church in Rome realises the magnitude of the structure he is in, only in course of time; I also allowed a sufficiently long time for this great thought to sink into me. Inspired by this passage I did not take to the study of the Upanishads then and there, but the seed that was then sown has borne fruit in the fullness of time.

Two other books that I read almost about this time also influenced me strongly though not so profoundly. Those books, I am afraid, have gone out of fashion altogether and the present generation of High School boys and girls knows them not. But they were very popular with us, the school boys, of half-a-century ago. They are Tod's Students Manual and Youth's Companion and Counsellor by an author whose name I forget now. They were full of useful suggestions regarding the

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improvement of our life, physical, intellectual and moral. They influenced me in one hundred different ways and I am grateful to them for the healthy influence they exerted upon me. One tip I had in the matter of reading was to have a dictionary by my side for consultation and I follow the direction to this day. I don't feel quite happy without a dictionary by my side while I read anything. If I come across an unfamiliar word I am prosaic enough to stop reading and find out the meaning of the new word before I proceed further.

Another book whose acquaintance I made in my high school days though I became a tolerably good student of it only later, is the famous Bhagavad Gita. I was introduced to it in a strange way. My Mathematics teacher was a young graduate with unbounded enthusiasm for his subject. He was one day seen with a small book in his hands, which he was studying whenever he had spare time. I who was his hero-worshipper asked him what that book was and he whispered to me with bated breath that it was the immortal Gita. When I returned home that evening I requested a pious old man of my village to tell me something about the Gita. He had an old copy of it and though he was pleased to lend it to me, he said the book was intended for elderly people and not for youngsters like me. But two years later, when I came to Trivandrum for my College study, a pious Theosophist was running a religious class for students on Sundays and the Gita was the text book used. The study of this great book which began in 1903 still continues and it has had a deep influence upon my life.

When I came to Trivandrum for my College studies, I was transported to a different atmosphere altogether, so far as books were concerned. In our High School where I had studied a library was just then forming and a modest-sized dealwood box contained all the books we had. In my own village there was no library at all and hence I did not suffer from a plethora of books to which malady modern students are subjected. But when I came to the college classes my college library contained a magnificent collection of over 10,000 volumes and my difficulty was what to choose from this huge collection. A friend of mine who was town bred and not a village lad like myself and who knew at that time more about books than I did, recommended me to try the books in the Eversley series. I followed that advice faithfully. For one thing the books were nice to handle, printed on fine paper and in bold type. I read with great interest, Frederic Harrison, John Morley and Professor Huxley. This made me read further along that line and

I read Tyndel, Herbert Spencer, Mill and even Ingersol and other persons whose works were available in the publications of the Rationalistic Press Association. But man is a bundle of contradictions and there was in me an equally strong tendency to read the works of Swami Vivekananda and Dr. Besant. These books produced such a deep effect upon me then and drew my attention to the great truths of Hinduism and the value of Indian literature and culture.

I have indicated more the general tendency of my reading as a sort of background before I mention the specific books that influenced me greatly and whose acquaintance I made first during my college days.

Of all the books I read during this period that which has influenced me most is Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. I cannot say that I understood everything in that book at that time—Nay, not even now. But one topic expounded in the book the famous theory of happiness has remained with me, a cherished possession, ranking with the great spiritual truths of the Gita, and the Upanishads. Carlyle describes happiness as a fraction, the numerator being what we actually have and the denominator what we think we deserve to have. Everybody has a natural tendency to increase the value of the denominator so that happiness to most of us is a small vulgar fraction. In vain we try to increase the numerator. The Sage of Chelsea advises us not to worry ourselves about the numerator but decrease the value of the denominator. If this process goes on, the value of the fraction will increase till it becomes infinity when the denominator becomes zero. The book contains many other valuable lessons if one could have the patience to understand the meaning of the author obscured by his peculiar style.

I was also deeply impressed by the Poems of Mathew Arnold who has remained my favourite Poet all through my life. A comparatively obscure poem of his contains a profound truth which has remained one of the main guides of my life :

One lesson, Nature let me learn of thee,
One lesson, that in every wind is blown ;

* * *

Of Toil unsever'd from Tranquility,
Of Labour that in still advance outgrows
Far noisier schemes.

Carlyle has been speaking of the immensities of space and eternities of time. But the books which brought this home to me and which made me realise the significance of a verse which I read in the lower forms of the high school, the verse namely:

What then art Thou, O, Child of Clay,
Amid Creations grandeur, say!
Even as an insect on the breeze
Even as a dew drop lost in seas.

The books which made me realise the true significance of this were Flammarion's Astronomy and Grant Allen's life of Darwin. In the first book the gifted author has treated the subject in a non-technical manner almost appealing to the romantic element in us. I still remember the thrill with which I learned the meaning of the term "Light Year". Every time I look up the starry heaven above I gratefully remember my French guide.

Grant Allen's life of Darwin introduced me to the mysteries of the theory of Evolution and laid emphasis on the long ages that must have passed before the world became what it is to-day. The main ideas of these two books have become the warp and the woof of my intellectual make up and it is impossible to do justice to their influence upon me.

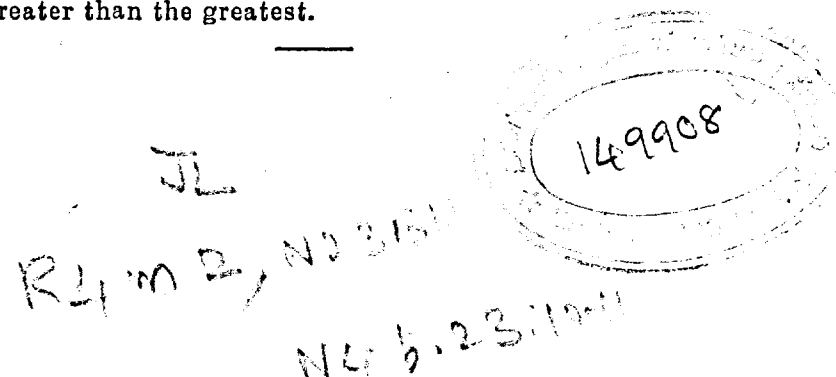
During one of the long vacations of two months, (we had only two months then and not three as at present) in the course of my four years of college study, I first cultivated acquaintance with the great national treasure of ours—The Valmiki Ramayana. I read through the whole poem during the holidays and made up my mind to renew my acquaintance with it as soon as possible. Curiously enough, it is only after my retirement about seven years ago that I again took it up for intensive study. But the general effect of that book on my life has been deep and profound not so much from my direct study of that book as from my being an Indian, the inheritor of the great tradition of appreciative veneration for that book.

Speaking of Sanskrit books I should like to mention Kalidasa's Raghuvamsha as a master-piece that fascinated me then. Age cannot wither nor custom stale its infinite variety, I had read portions of it in the High School. For my F.A. Examination I had to study another six cantos. I took that opportunity to study the whole poem. It has remained my ideal literary epic and my touchstone for estimating other poems. I have read it any number of times in later life and each time fresh beauties reveal themselves. Kalidasa has actually summed up an age and reflects and interprets it faithfully as Dante does.

Lastly I should like to mention not a book, but an author whose works I appreciated very much. L. Stephen's life of G. Eliot was one of our texts for B.A. The book contains critical appreciation of the various works of G. Eliot. In order to understand L. Stephen's estimate of this gifted author I read all her works, even her Daniel Deronda. But it was her general attitude to life that fascinated me. Herself the intellectual equal of the best of her contemporaries praised by some to be a second Plato, she was full of sympathetic understanding of the life around her, certain aspects of which she has immortalized in her earlier novels.

I have referred only to those books which I read when I was young and impressionable, books and authors whose influence has continued undiminished all these forty years after my graduation. But during this long period of forty years I have read hundreds of other books. I have developed new tastes and have been paying homage to new masters! I should like to record my appreciation of two classes of people whose writings have always fascinated me. In the latter half of the 19th century began the tradition of popularising of science and Philosophy and the tradition has grown stronger in our own times. I read and admire the works of, Haldane, Julian Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Jeans, H. G. Wells, and people of that stamp. They tell us what the accumulated knowledge of mankind has to say about ourselves and the world around us. The effect is always depressing. Nature looms large by the side of which man is less than nothing.

But I am equally fascinated by achievements of man in the higher fields of pursuit of truth or of glorious self-sacrifice. A scientist like Darwin devoting his long life to the dis-interested pursuit of truth and a worker like Father Damien sacrificing himself for the cause of lepers always evoke my highest admiration and I am fond of such biographies. I read both types of books though their general trends seem irreconcilable. I am not worried by it. I remember the Upanishads passage which tells us that the universal soul is less than the least but at the same time greater than the greatest.



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THE BHARATA DHARMA.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

By

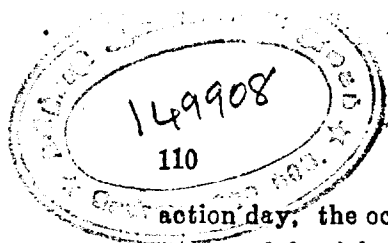
E. VINAYAKA ROW B.A., B.L.

The Interim Government :—We welcome the formation of the Interim Government. For the first time in the history of India, a Central Government composed exclusively of Indian Nationals has been formed and has begun to function. This has been achieved without any revolutionary occurrences or regrettable incidents. As an instance of an epoch-making political event occurring as a result of purely evolutionary process, there is no parallel to this in the political history of the world. We wish the Government every success and we appeal to the public to give the Interim Government all co-operation that it may need to further the national interests.

The Calcutta Carnage :—We have been writing so often and so insistently in our columns against the public suffering in any manner due to the continuance of the communal spirit. The Calcutta occurrence has proved on a large scale our case against communalism.

We shall not at this stage attempt to allocate responsibility for the ghastly events. An impartial judicial enquiry will be held, with no less a person than Sir Patrick Spens, the Chief Justice of India, as the Chairman with two High Court Judges as the other two members. Let us await the verdict.

Whatever the verdict may be the fact remains unchallengeable that the Government of the day failed miserably. Whether the failure is due to its adherence to a political party which directed the direct



action day, the occasion for all this turmoil, or to utter lack of efficiency and farsight, it is immaterial. Crores worth of property has been lost and thousands have been killed or injured, and the spirit of friendliness has been irretrievably damaged. Even after these occurrences, Mr. Jinnah and his friends are continuing to make inflammatory speeches which in the present state of feeling in the country are bound to create further difficulties and in any case delay the healing of the wounds which direct-action of the Muslim League has inflicted on the nation. We shall revert to the subject again in a later issue.

We particularly desire to examine and consider in our columns whether the Central and Provincial Governments do not have under the existing constitution adequate powers to deal with irresponsible utterances, however tall the personalities may be. *Ex-post facto* enquiries may be good enough. But it is much better to prevent disorders of this kind by taking appropriate preventive action and nipping the mischief in the bud. There is the further question also of preventing those who have been found guilty of inefficiency or communal conflicts having free scope for indulgences, which are anti-national in character and result in breaches of public peace, public order and decencies of public life. The nation's peace must be kept and the first national convention must come that a politician who disregards the imperative necessity of maintaining the nation's peace is given no opportunity to play any part in the public life of the nation. We shall revert to this topic again.

DHOOLI DARSAN.

By

RAO BAHADUR S. K. YEGYANARAYANA AYYAR M.A., L.T., Madras.

Popular Hinduism with its fasts, feasts and festivals, with its pilgrimages to many holy places which are almost invariably beauty-spots of our Motherland has many traditions and practices that are very appealing. In North India, especially in the holy Benares, Viswanatha or the Universal Lord is directly approachable and worshippable. Every one can worship Him in his own way. It is the common experience of all who have had the good fortune to go to Benares that while one devotee is having the holy Ganges water over the idol, another will be smearing it with sandal, a third will perform *Naivedya*

and a fourth present camphor *arathi*. For us in South India, with our strict rules of temple admission and worship from a distance, this right of each devotee to have direct access and individual worship would appear strange and appear to us as being a perfect contrast to the various restrictions we are subjected to in our temples; but even this accessibility pales into insignificance by the side of *Dooli-darsan* or dust-interview, which is an institution peculiar to Sri Sailam in our own Province.

Mallikarjuna who presides over this famous Hill shrine in Kurnool District presents Himself to us in the form of a low lingam. His overflowing kindness shows itself in the custom of pilgrims being expected to go, the moment they reach the temple, direct into the sanctum and hug the Lingam and place their heads in contact with the Lingam. He does not wait till you have bathed or at least washed your legs. No! You walk first into the temple and then come to your quarters?

The shrine is situated on a hill and one has to do about ten miles of walking through a regular forest from the nearest station in the plains Peddacheruvu, where tens of thousands of pilgrims assemble from all over this Province and Bombay. The journey through the forest along the track is sufficiently arduous and pilgrims utter the holy names of the Lord to relieve themselves on the way. Mallikarjun is satisfied that those who undergo the ordeal of this tough journey have purified themselves and receives them with open arms dust-covered and foot-sore. That is why it is called *Dhooli-Darsan* or seeing Him with the dust of the road still on you. What a beautiful institution.

Sri Sailam attracts huge crowds of pilgrims on the *Sivaratri* day. Thousands from the Circars and the Ceded districts, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay come there, men, women and children, young and old and they all perform this *Dhooli-Darsan*. Other temples, have much to learn from Sri Sailam. There is something holy about the dust of the Mother-earth. The charming Flutist is called *Dhooli-Dhusara-Soubahagya*, one who looks bewitching being covered with dust.

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THUMB-NAIL SKETCHES*

By

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

Most of our public men combine little in themselves of ripeness of judgment of others and accuracy of expression in the foreign language. Notable exceptions there are no doubt. No literary-minded Indian can afford to ignore, therefore, such assets in this respect also to our country as the Mahatama or Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru or the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who till recently was with us. Apart from the assurance of great strength or vigour or elegance in their respective styles of writing, these three have always attracted the reading public by their individuality and literary merit.

Certainly the resemblances stop there. The differences among these three are more and often get accentuated by those whose visions are blurred by their nearness to them. But the man, who can take a detached view of things, may not forget the essential similarity or sameness of their innate culture and chastened spirit. All of them appear alike in their hearts feeling for the greatness of our civilization and seeking their solace in the spiritualisation of their experiences.

Perhaps among them, Sastri alone claimed unqualified appreciation for his command of the English idiom and attention to proper enunciation, while speaking. His writings and speeches in print read really high-class, though not marked by any great creativity of thought or phrasing. Striking originality and imaginative flights are not also much in evidence in them. But the savant will neither miss the faultless language nor the stylistic perfection in the heaps and heaps of Sastri's extempore orations.

Had Sastri been born in any of the countries of the West, he would have no doubt evoked much more admiration for his enviable gifts. In addition to his unfailing ease of expression, he could make up for any other want in him by the convincing lucidity and intellectual keenness of his mind. No amount of prejudice against the Moderate in the turmoil of Indian politics can make us, for one moment, indifferent to the burning patriot and pure publicist in Sastri. If at all any one supplied his listeners with a sense of just pride as the most finished

By the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Edited by T. N. Jagadisan and Published by S. Visvanathan : Price Rs. 4.

speaker in English, it was Sastri and Sastri alone. For sheer magic of rhetoric and voice he may never be excelled for long to come.

He spoke all his years since his entry into public life, and spoke too on ever so many topics of political value and public utility. But what impress the literary mind more, are some of his interesting talks on his own contemporaries. Here, in this volume of 'Thumb-nail Sketches' are collected nineteen of such briefly-worded accounts, and a reader opening these pages is sure to become absorbed in many, if not all, of them.

To start with, we have the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. During his ninety-two years of life, he did so much to awaken public spirit in this country which, compared with the advance made today, was at that time almost a babe in its development of political consciousness. One gets indelible proofs here of the pioneering attempts and prodigious labours needed to aid one in those days to make himself felt upon the rulers of the land.

The next figure that prominently attracts our attention is that of Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee, who was the first President of the great national organisation, the Congress. To those unfamiliar with the history of the congress in the pre-Gandhian era, the details of that life may not make much of an impression. Still the glimpses we have into the mind of that early organiser of our national activities enable us to form a high and enduring good opinion of the man.

We then pass on to the picture of Dinshaw Wacha, another very long-lived politician, whose public record was so clean that whatever information may leap to light he never shall be shamed. Some of his traits, dwelt upon by Sastri, are of such intrinsic worth, that, no matter he belonged to this or that party, they are befitting the honour of commemoration at the hands of a grateful posterity.

We then come to Dr. Annie Besant, who startles us, as it were, by her unrivalled attainments and indomitable spirit. A woman by birth and a foreigner by nationality, she made Indians forget them both by the zeal she introduced into the essential task of regeneration of her adopted country. In education, in politics, in religion and in every aspect of public work conceivable, she happened to be interested so greatly that there was no occasion in her lifetime when her name did not loom large in the estimation of the public. She too had her reverses and bore them with admirable resignation, and Sastri, with endearing touches of light humour, recalls certain incidents of her strenuous life, like the

law-suit she launched in the Court at Edinborough in which Sastri himself had to make his appearance as a witness to depose in her favour.

Then struts before our eyes the swaying orator Surendranath Banerjee, perhaps a unique example of the type of speaking which no longer could catch the imagination of people. We, who live in the days of loud-speakers, can have hardly any idea of a thunderer like Surendranath, whom sometimes overcrowded and stormy gatherings of the congress called for, in order to control commotion in the audience. Apart from the stentorian voice, his other achievements appear none the less significant, viewed in retrospect even at this distance of time. His rebellious instincts and the true Indian in him rose many times in revolt at the repressive measures of an alien Government. Though he was much sobered in his concluding years, one cannot forget the fire that glowed in him once with full blaze.

Krishnaswami Iyer of Madras is the next enlivening sketch in this group. Well, Sastri, to be frank, shows all his capacities for sketch-writing only while dealing with this personality. For we trace here intimate touches of the personal life and character of his subject as well as the due proportion of light and shade to make of the portrait artistic and enduring. Though Sastri has not said in so many words of his own personal fascination for the man, every incident chosen by him inevitably is calculated to leave only such an impression on the reader.

Mahatma Gandhi is the next item. But to readers, who have had occasions of Sastri's more recent reactions to Gandhiji's mind and character, this particular piece, written evidently at a time when the two were sharply at variance regarding the measures to be adopted for winning freedom for this country, appears to have not escaped an over-critical attitude from Sastri. One even discerns a suppressed tone of contradiction while Sastri details meticulously Gandhiji's doctrines and methods of political resurrection in this country.

Tej Bahadur Sapru's engaging figure comes out vividly in quite a few pages, and for the first time we breathe of an easy familiarity with the subject and a sunny atmosphere prevailing.

C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar concludes this list of notabilities with his unabating attraction and compelling qualities. Sastri's pen too moves somewhat warily lest it should inadvertently create a wrong impression of a forceful man, who, despite his sixty-five years and more, looks still the hopeful of the morrow, ready to grapple with many a new

problem and newer situation that may arise in the Self-Governing India, we have almost achieved.

In between these names referred to, there are many other smaller sketches of both Englishmen and Indians of repute and outstanding merit, who have no less contributed to the re-shaping of modern India.

We close the book with a slight feeling of regret, that the precious cargo this vessel carries should be set afloat with such insufficient rigging as what we perceive in the unattractive printing and get-up of the volume. May we wish it safe voyaging all the more!



GITA AND PROGRESS (Spiritual and Social).

By

MR. K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.

The characteristic of a well-ordered life is progress, which is not confined to any single or particular aspect of it, but what may be termed an all-round one or "*samagra-jivan*", where there is a harmonious and balanced development of all sides of a man's being. In human life, if there is no progress, stagnation or decay sets in and death or a state of existence akin to death is the result. There is no middle course, however much many a deluded man ingeniously tries to explain away his state of stagnation and attempts to gain some sort of glum satisfaction by imagining that nothing is wrong with him and that he is advancing on the seemingly delightful journey of life fairly well.

Leaving aside for the time being, all other phases of life and confining our attention to the spiritual aspect of it, on which, in a sense, depend all other aspects, it can be easily seen how progress is very often misunderstood, misinterpreted and misapplied to the realities of one's life on earth.

In his path towards perfection, man is seeking the help of various agencies, the chief among which is religion in some form or other. But it may be asserted, without much fear of contradiction, that only such a religion would be helpful which has the dynamic capacity to influence life to such an extent as to transform it to a higher and a better state, while the other religions would lead to a state of spiritual stagnation, by insisting on an unquestioning submission to meaningless and outworn usages.

That being so, a time should come in the life of every thinking person, who wants to lead a true or justifiable life, when he should be able to make a stern and rigorous self-examination of all aspects of his life and find out where he stands—spiritually and socially. In the majority of cases, such a serious self-review is shirked and persons, who are under the grip of some traditional religion or other, allow their lives to drift under the sway of time-honoured and accustomed ways, irrespective of the conditions and realities of the times in which they live. To such, though they, in some cases, profess to be highly religious, pious and learned, religion is no more than a slavish conformity to superstitious practices and irrational customs, without any thought as to whether they are keeping pace with the advance of human intelligence and knowledge. The question of progress or decadence in matters spiritual and social, never enters their heads or hearts, and many a gross and monstrous atrocity is allowed to be perpetrated in the name of religion through their lives or the lives of those who are under their influence. Not only no question of progress arises in such cases but there is actual retrogression or decay, as with the passage of time and the consequent changes in the modes and methods of life, they are not even able to live up to what is best in the old order of things.

In the modern age, if anything comes more prominently before the eye of every observant person, it is the fact that human knowledge has progressed by rapid strides, thereby contributing enormously to the intellectual expansion of all branches of the human race. In India especially, we have the glory of producing some of the greatest intellectual giants, who had attained international fame and are acclaimed as world figures. This highly developed intellectualism of India is not an unmixed blessing, as it is quite common to meet with, in this country, intellectual stalwarts who are very often spiritual and social pigmies and reactionaries. When intellectual convictions do not keep pace with the practical work-a-day lives of individuals, ill-balanced and contradictory lives would result and they in no sense can be counted among those who are spiritually and socially progressive.

Spiritual progress has two aspects in relation to a man's life. It is both subjective and objective; the former representing the intellectual conviction and the latter the way in which that conviction is implemented in actual life. The same is the case with social life. Unless both these aspects are developed in equal degree, the conse-

quence would be a kind of self-contradictory life, characterised by the divorce between profession and practice, such as that led by the large class of arm-chair politicians and academic Brahmos.

Subjectively, it aims at the perfection of the individual self by not only the elimination of all that is obstructive in the way of the individual soul reaching the feet of God, which is the goal of all spiritual progress, but by the active cultivation of all that conduces to facilitate the attainment of absolute purity, absolute truthfulness and absolute honesty, and in fact every other kind of virtue which is associated with a truly pious and holy life.

Amongst all the means that are adopted as *sadhans* for the realisation of God, worship of the right kind holds the primary place and *sadhaks* of all religions and all climes, are united in giving expression to their common experience that the best means to reach God is through the door-way of worship, which includes prayer and meditation. In fact, prayer has been described as the golden ladder that is laid unto heaven. So, whatever views one may hold and expound theoretically, one has to reach the practical recognition of the unity of the Godhead and the nature of God as a spirit and adopt the means necessary to reach Him. And the best way to reach God who is a spirit, is through one's own spirit, which is a spark of the Divine that is implanted in him and not by means of ritualistic observances and ceremonies or material oblations made to idols, however grandly or elaborately they might have been planned.

In the religious history of India, we find that man had passed from the polytheistic worship of God, conceived as a deity behind every phenomenon of nature, who had to be appeased at every turn by material offerings, which had prevailed during the Vedic period, to the Upanishadic age when that momentous discovery was made that God is a spirit pervading the whole univers (*Isavasya midam sarvam*) and that the human spirit is essentially divine. Thus has been established the supremacy of the spiritual worship of God over every other kind of worship and Vedic polytheism gave place to Upanishadic monotheism and Vedic idolatry to the spiritual worship of God inculcated by the Upanishads. So, naturally, individual spiritual progress to be real, should subjectively express itself in the cultivation of all the virtues commended by the Vedas and the Upanishads and objectively in a purer kind of worship, wherein idolatry gives place to spiritual worship, that is to say, the

subjective spiritual progress of any person should be objectively marked by the passage from idolatry to spiritual worship.

Viewing the question of progress from a social standpoint, the progress must be from exclusiveness, created by artificial differences and distinctions, between man and man, to non-exclusiveness, which means, the practical recognition of human brotherhood without any reservations. In India the greatest dividing factor, which is the breeding ground of all kinds of exclusiveness is the, system of Caste, which in its turn has given birth to various complexes by which Hindu society is divided, culminating in the abominable absurdities of untouchability, unseeability and unapproachability, which are the veritable plague-spots in Hinduism. So, unless caste goes, these ugly features cannot be wiped from Hindu society and it looks as if reformers who are out to remedy this chronic malady had begun at the wrong end in working for temple-entry and removal of untouchability. It is like aiming to make a sick man healthy by merely attempting to cure the symptoms, instead of by trying to remove the cause, a process which spells its own ineffectiveness. It is very easy for one to write treatises, deliver lectures and associate himself with Harijan uplift organizations but it is difficult to implement all this high-sounding theory into practice by abolishing caste in himself, in his family and amongst those under his influence. Even institutions pledged to the avowed object of "Brotherhood of Man" have not dared to proclaim and practise castelessness. Thus true progress from a social point of view should consist subjectively, of the recognition of the equality of all human beings as members of God's household and objectively, of the passage from caste to castelessness or human brotherhood.

Unless both these objective developments, namely, the passage from idolatry to spiritual worship and from caste to castelessness, go hand in hand with the subjective evolution of higher intellectual convictions of the superiority of spiritual worship and human brotherhood, there can be no real progress of man. Spiritual and social progress are so inter-related that the one without the other would be illusory. Hence, it is time that our learned and pious men, pundits and philosophers, critics and commentators of scriptures, of whom our country is so full, had examined themselves by this touch-stone of what genuine progress is or ought to be, and dislodged themselves from the fools'-paradise in which they love to dwell. It is this divorce between their professions and practice—between their liberal expositions of spiritual truths and

their conservative methods of life, bristling with all sorts of crude and primitive practices, taboos, exclusions and complexes—that is the bane of our country and it is this that in a great measure accounts for its degraded condition, though by some it is solely attributed to our state of political subjection, which, after all, can be made responsible to only a certain extent of it. It is not as though Hindu society would make the spiritual and social progress, on the lines set forth above, by leaps and bounds, when once the political independence of India is secured.

Let us now see what the teaching of the Gita is on the question of progress. As Prof: D. S. Sarma puts it "With us progress is the process of the perfection of *Dharma*. And the perfection of *Dharma* implies both the perfection of the individual and the perfection of society. In fact, we cannot have the one without the other. They both act and react on each other." (Lectures on Bhagavad Gita—P. 86). Later on (p. 87) he says: "As in nature all progress is from the lower to the higher forms of life, so also in society all true progress is from the lower to the higher values of life." With regard to the orthodox man, Prof. Sarma's view (p. 82) is that his "religion is more a stagnant pool than a flowing stream.....(p. 83). The Gita has no patience with the old orthodox ritualists of the day, whose religion was little more than a mechanical observance of rites and ceremonies." The above statements go to show that even the Gita is in favour of a man's passing from a crude ritualistic ceremonial worship to a higher form of the worship of God, which obviously is the spiritual worship of Him.

Even on the social side, the progress envisaged in the Gita is from the lower to the higher values of life, where all that separates man from man is eschewed and humanity as a whole is viewed as equal in the eye of God. Here also, the passing of man from caste and its inequalities and differentiations to a state of castelessness which stands for human brotherhood, bereft of all distinctions of race, colour, creed and country, is envisaged in the Gita.

But what do we see among our higher intellectuals who are learned in the Gita and who expound it from a thousand platforms? Like the unlearned man, who drifts with the current of caste, worshipping his family idols, they too have become immobile stricklers of idolatry and caste, from the moorings of which there is no thought in them of budging even an inch, in spite of all their tall talk of higher religion and human brotherhood. Prof: Sarma rightly bemoans (p. 51) the present apathy among those who are supposed to have attained a state of

intellectual and spiritual eminence, in the eyes of the world, by saying: "What excuse is there for our not stopping inhuman practices like animal sacrifices? Certainly we are not following the lead of the Gita in allowing our popular religion and popular forms of worship to drift for themselves and degenerate from day to day without the consciousness of the ever-present Reality behind them. It is our sacred duty to strive for higher ideals and purer forms of worship not only in our own lives but also in the society to which we belong."

In the same vein were cast the observations of Sir Radhakrishnan (p. xi—of the Foreword to Prof : Sarma's Lecturers on the Bhagavad Gita). He says: "The truly religious man will have little sympathy with those who mistake religion for ritualism and assume that the existing social institutions are ordained by God.....If the custodians of religion with their cast-iron conservatism regard the present order with its inequalities as ordained by religion, no wonder the critics complain about the futility of religion. Those religious men, who, stiff with spiritual pride, quote scriptures in defence of the inequalities of caste and the horror of untouchability, show themselves to be woefully lacking in the spirit of religion."

These passages clearly indicate, though not in direct language, the way that man should progress spiritually and socially—from ritualism, which is the necessary concomitant of idolatry, to a purer kind of worship, of which the best form is spiritual worship, and from caste to castelessness, which abrogates inequalities and abhors untouchability and its attendant evils. Thus a correct interpretation of the spirit of the Gita lends support to the view that spiritual and social progress ought to include as its objective content the evolution from idolatry to the spiritual worship of God and from caste to castelessness or human brotherhood. But the vast majority of the Gita expounders and followers of the Gita, glean support for their spiritual and social stagnation in the words of the Gita itself, where the author of the Gita says:

"Whatever may be the form which each devotee seeks to worship with faith—in that form alone do I make his faith steadfast."

(Chap : VII-21)

"However men approach me, even so, do I accept them; for on all sides whatever path they may choose is mine, O Arjuna."

(Chap : IV-11)

"The Four castes were created by me according to the division of aptitudes and words." (Chap : IV-13)

And amongst those are the high intellectuals and the so-called pious and religious men, who are fond of dabbling in spiritual matters. So it is not alone the ignorant and less-cultured people that want to stick to the letter of the Gita, ignoring the spirit of it. Otherwise how could it happen, in the present age, that a person in the position of a High Court Judge should have addressed an audience of cultured people commending image worship, instead of asking them to grow out of it: or that another very learned man of the same service, who is the author of several religious and other books, and who is very much in requisition to address public meetings of all kinds, should have in the course of a Bus journey, got down at a wayside village to worship the village goddess, Mariamman, to whose wrath are attributed epidemic diseases, like Cholera, Small-pox and the like, and which the villagers seek to appease by means of animal sacrifices.

Though the Gita has set forth the highest ideal of life to which a man can rise spiritually and socially and has positively drawn attention to the wrong methods of worship, as could be seen from the following verses:

"Not knowing my supreme nature immutable, and transcendental, foolish men think that I, the unmanifest, am endowed with a manifest form." (Chap VII-24).

"Even those who worship the other gods and are endowed with faith worship me alone, O Arjuna, though in a wrong way."

(Chap : IX-23).

It must be said that it has also served to stabilise men in the crude and primitive spiritual condition in which they find themselves, without providing the dynamic incentives which could serve to transform their lives, so that, they may be impelled to emerge out of it and reach a higher state; otherwise there was no reason for the vast majority of Hindus to perpetuate idolatry and caste, all the while feeling satisfied that in doing so, they are following the Gita, their highest scripture.

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A DESIRABLE CHANGE OF CUSTOM

By

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

Our social customs change either as a result of deliberate effort as when ardent social reformers introduced widow-remarriage or owing to the stress of circumstances. Bride-groom Price (*Varadakshina*) which began to make its ugly appearance about four decades ago had the effect of raising the marriage-age of girls as most parents had to wait and try their best to secure a bridegroom suited to their means. Post-puberty marriage, a reform advocated by stalwarts decades ago, became common as suitable grooms could not easily be secured. Orthodox people were put to great difficulties in the matter of observing distance pollution during the days of menstruation of their unmarried daughters. Their conscience did not permit them to allow the girls in their periods to mix with the family nor had they the boldness to proclaim that their unmarried daughters had attained maturity and keep them at a distance openly. The result was that these unmarried young girls who had attained puberty were considered as suffering from a three days' fever and were confined to a room. As the fever was merely "official" no doctor was called in and no treatment was given! Hundreds of girls began to fall victims to the "fever" and the orthodox satisfied their conscience and their loyalty to convention in this very peculiar way.

Now things have changed considerably. "Sarada Act" as it is popularly called has openly raised the marriageable age and hence post-puberty marriage has become the rule instead of being an exception. Tens of thousands of girls cannot all be shut up for three days every month and be considered as suffering from a peculiar kind of fever. The result is that even the average orthodox parent has become bold and openly declares his daughter has attained puberty though not married. He even celebrates the occasion of his unmarried daughter attaining age openly though not so elaborately as before. No secrecy is observed. This solves the problem of distance-pollution which is a desirable hygienic custom.

What is still more interesting is that the priests co-operate in the matter with the public and the religious function called *Ritu Santi* is observed before the marriage of a girl. *Ritu Santi* is wrongly taken to

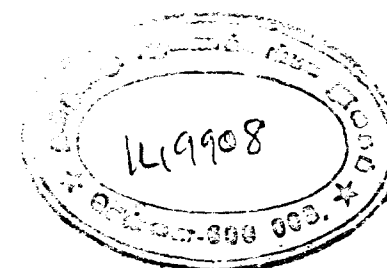
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A DESIRABLE CHANGE OF CUSTOM

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mean the beginning of the real married life; it only means a purificatory function to be done soon after a girl comes of age. In the olden days of pre-puberty marriage on the day of the happy consummation, this *santi japam* and *abhishekam* or the pouring of water over the girl was done in the morning and the real consummation called *nisheka* was celebrated at night. They were two separate functions, the first to be observed soon after a girl attains her age and the second sometime later when she was fit to lead a married life. But the two became parts of one function, as it were, and were both observed in the same day, so much so, the whole function was called *Ritu Santi* the first part only. Now *ritu santi* in the liberal sense (and not in the wrong sense of consummation of the marriage) is observed within a week after a girl attains maturity as it should be. It is a decided improvement upon the old medley and the priests are to be congratulated that they have seen the logic of separating the functions and co-operate in the observance of the purificatory bath soon after a girl attains puberty.

How one wishes to see things progressing like this in other matters also!



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The Passing away of Untouchability

K. V. SSHA 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

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