

VOL. XXV

JANUARY, 1947

No. 1

Bharata Dharma

A Magazine of Liberal Hinduism

—The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

HONORARY EDITORS.

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

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



वित् पदमरोके वृद्धाः किंया युवकुला । मुनेस्तु मोने 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.

23, East Mada Street, Mylapore.

THE Dharma

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"TIRUCHENDUR"

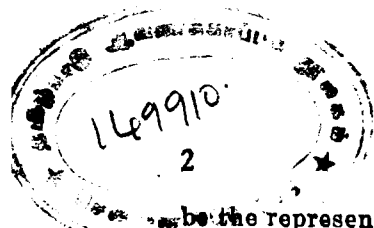
BY

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

Liberal Hinduism in our Province will be delighted to learn that important temples such as those at Tiruvarur, Tirunelveli, and Tiruchendur have been thrown open for Harijans. It is only those who knew the rigours of old orthodoxy, that will be able to appreciate the changes that have come about in people's outlook, which have induced them to accept this liberal attitude. Caste Hindus, who claim to be almost twice born as oil mongers, who call themselves Chettis in many places, were excluded from many of the temples in the South. Continuous propaganda by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers for the imminent attainment of Swaraj, which throws upon us the responsibility of putting our houses in order, and the insult which South Africa and other countries heaped upon us, and the gradual effect of time,—all these factors combined together have brought about this change in our national outlook.

In this article I shall confine myself to giving my personal impressions about Tiruchendur, one of the famous temples that have been now thrown open to Harijans. It is situated on the coastal tracts of Tinnevely District, to the South of Tuticorin and is now approached by railway from Tinnevely. It is almost at the mouth of the river Tambaraparni which empties itself into the Sea at a place near Tiruchendur. Among the many shrines dedicated to God Subramania, to be found in South India, Tiruchendur occupies a very high place. Palni perhaps comes first, then comes Tiruchendur in the South, Tiruttani near Madras and Swamimalai in the Tanjore District.

One peculiarity about Tiruchendur is that a large number of brahmins called *Mukaniars* are attached to the temples and they claim to



be the representatives of the deity and they go round all over the country canvassing periodical worship in the temple. People are requested to make donations for *pooja*, *archana* and *naivedyam* in the temple on specific days and these *Mukani* brahmins are willing to act as your agents to see that these items are properly performed and they send us *prasadams* after the function is over; incidentally of course, this is a means of livelihood for them and we find these agents of the temple all over the Province.

Another peculiar form of worship to be found there is that the devotees take their offerings in *Kavadis*. We find *Kavadis* in these parts also, but not so common as in the South. Two pots containing offerings are attached to a rod which is decorated with an arch above and this is the structural basis of a *Kavadi*. A spear is thrust in the middle of it representing the deity Subramania and artistic decorations are made all around. The offerings taken in these *Kavadis* are milk, sandal paste, holy ashes mostly, though there is no restriction as to the kind of offering to be taken. It used to be said that non-vegetarians would take fish curry as offerings and when this is placed before the deity, the dead fish will come to life and jump into the sea, from which they were caught. But the days of miracle are past and we in the present day have to be satisfied with taking ordinary offerings in the hum drum way mentioned above.

There are important festivals in the temple which attract large crowds of worshippers from all the Tamil districts; *Skantha Shastri* and *Panguni Uttaram* and *Vaikasi Visakam* are the most important annual festivals. Every month *Krithigai* is a holy day and crowds gather from far and near. People believe that the deity Subramania is more alive and active than other deities and more easily responsive to our prayers and he is popularly known as *Kaliyugathu Maiyan* i.e., the true God of Kali age.

The District of Tinnevely, as is well known, contains the largest number of converted Christians especially from the hard-working Palmyrah climbers known as *Nadars*. They were treated as untouchables in former days and no wonder when the first Missionary came and offered them consolation of religion and chances of worldly preferment also, they flocked to him in large numbers. But they have much in common with their brethren, who still remain within the Hindu fold and inter-marriages among the *Nadars*, Christian and Hindu, are not uncommon. It is said that these Christian *Nadars* are

willing to come back into the Hindu fold provided the privileges extended to caste-Hindus of getting into the temples and worshipping there, are offered to them also. We believe that the tendency in the lower classes among the Hindus to join Christianity for the sake of worldly prosperity should be checked by this temple entry; not only that we hope that a strong counter movement should be started and that a very large number of our Hindu brethren, who during the bad days of social persecution went out of our fold will come back to us and enjoy the benefits of our great religion in common with us.

"HOLISM"

By

SRI C. NARASIMHACHARIAR,

Advocate, Madras.

Holism or wholism is a word coined by General Smuts in his book on "Holism and Evolution" to denote the dynamic and synthetic process eternally going on in nature in the formation of the bodies of plants, animals and all other organisms including man. The body of a plant or an animal consists of millions of parts in the form of cells of all kinds. Each cell multiplies into innumerable cells and they grow and group themselves automatically in such a marvellous and miraculous manner as to reach the shape and structure in all details of the particular body of which they are the cells. Thus the cells of a mango tree cannot develop into a margoza. After reaching the structure or body, the functions of these cells also undergo a change. These cells act in perfect co-ordination and co operation with one another to serve the common end of the structure and not of the cells. Smuts says: "The organism is indeed a little living community in which law and order reign supreme and in which every part collaborates with every other part and subserves the common purpose of the community, as a rule, with the most perfect regularity. An organism is fundamentally a society in which immeasurable members co-operate in mutual help in a spirit of the most effective and disinterested loyalty to each other". This community allows and must allow a substantial developmet to its individual members so that individuation and intensive co-operation are found in Nature and form its main features.

Of all these structures or bodies, the human personality is the highest which Nature has reached and it is said to be the greatest riddle

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in the world and the most elusive phantom in the whole range of knowledge though it is nearest and dearest to us, the self of our very selves. In the constitution of this personality, three entities—matter, life and mind play their part. We know matter without life, matter with life and matter with life and mind developed in different degrees in different bodies. Nature is neither matter alone nor life and mind alone, but a combination of all the three disparate entities. The phenomena of mind giving rise not only to consciousness and knowledge but also to reason is inexplicable. Notwithstanding the best efforts of science, fundamental gaps still remain between them unsolved. Smuts is at great pains to explain them on some unknown and unknowable creative synthesis which he calls "Holism". What is its nature or origin he does not say. There can be no doubt that the principle underlying the mystery of Nature in its creative synthesis is some conscious world force which religions call God.

In the field of philosophy, the Vedic Seers closely followed Nature in expounding their principles. In the language of Bloomfield they propounded the most remarkable and constructive theory of the cosmos in the world-soul. Their teachings are imbedded in the Vedas and Upanishads. For ages no orthodox Hindu dared to question the authority of the Vedas or Upanishads or the sayings of seers. But the age of faith and authority is gone and that of critics and calculators has succeeded mostly due to external influences. It has therefore become necessary to appeal to reason. But the reason of the rule has been lost and people became more and more sceptic. At this stage the Saints of the Tamil Nad came forward to resuscitate the teachings of the Upanishads. They appealed to reason. "உன்னுமின் நீரே" or think for yourselves and "மனப்பட்டது ஒன்று" or that one which strikes your mind are expressions used by them in their Prabandams. I have said before that an eminent commentator of these Prabandhas has said that in order to understand the philosophy of these Saints it is not necessary to rely on Sastras or the sayings of Seers. If once it is conceded that the entire universe is a huge organic and psychological mechanism as the latest scientific discoveries would have it and the dynamic process obtained in Nature reached its perfection in man so that it may be said that God has created man in his own image, then the study of man, the known entity, leads to the most remarkable results in philosophy and religion. If every human mechanism consists of two parts, the physical body and the "Atman" or soul including life and mind, pervading

and controlling the entire body or physical environment, it may fairly be inferred that a huge soul-force underlies, pervades and controls the cosmic mechanism. In the field of philosophy the Saints of the South included both the finite and the infinite as constituting one reality. Their philosophy is known as "Sarivaka Mimamsa" or the philosophy of body and soul constituting one undivided whole or "Visishta Adwaita". It is a dynamic and synthetic monism. In the language of Smuts it is "Holism". An eminent Indian philosopher has said that "absolute monism which destroys personal values and reduces individuality to illusion as well as radical pluralism which means chaos and relies on good luck and blind chance for the growing older and harm of the world is a defective attitude of life and the absolute must be a real living whole including both the finite and the infinite".

But the use which the saints of the South put their philosophy to and applied it to their religion and the regulation of human conduct as part of that religion is much more significant. A philosophy which does not bear on the life and conduct of man now and here, is no better than academic-speculation and has no practical utility. Here again they copied from Nature and reached the conclusion of co-operation and mutual help in a spirit of the most disinterested loyalty to one another. In short, they said disinterested service to man is service to God which necessarily follows from the philosophy of "Body and Soul". In my article on "Service in religion" I have tried to explain it and said that in the view of these saints, Service is the *summum bonum* of existence both here and hereafter.

It may not be out of place here to pause and think for one moment why mind with its marvellous powers of consciousness, intelligence and reason as well as its uncertainties and observations, its bungling and failures should have developed at all. We have seen that before mind appeared the organism and its parts discharged their duties towards the common end automatically. After the mind appeared, discord and dissensions arose. No two minds agreed and world wars were waged due to the most selfish and self aggrandising spirit. At its conscious level it makes us know ourselves and the outer world. At its intellectual level it studies both carefully resulting in the discovery of immeasurable sciences both constructive and destructive including the atomic bomb. It is only at the reasoning level it can realise that it is a part of the whole and it is the duty to curb the selfish appetite and become linked with the interest and welfare of others in an impersonal

endeavour towards the good of all and maintain the cosmic harmony which no other organism can do. One of these saints has said that out of a hundred years assigned to bodily life, half is lost in sleep, 15 years in infancy and immaturity and the remaining 35 years it is afflicted with illness, hunger and old age. Mind is liable to succumb to the temptations of flesh and blood, but also the power to resist it what is the function of this power of resistance? “மயர்வு அற மதி நலம் அருளினை எவன் அவன்” or who is it that endowed me with wisdom to resist the evil, is how those saints are grateful to God. In “மயர்வு” man knows and thinks of himself and in “மதி நலம்” he thinks of the universal good. That is why as I have already said, our Acharyas say that he who suffers at the sufferings of others is a true devotee but he who says “let him suffer” is not. This is the highest ideal to which every man must aspire to.

And yet General Smuts who probably knows next to nothing of Hindu Religion flies into a rage and denounces the religions of the East as degraded and born amid the filth and squalour, the moral and social decay of the Oriental world, contaminating the Romans and Greeks and probably his own religion of Christianity. A philosophy which has been admired by eminent western Scholars like Max Muller and Sopenhaur is despised in violent language. It shows nothing but rank racial animosity.

In later series Sri Ramanuja followed the footsteps of the tamil saints and evolved a holistic monism and all it stands for.

H. M. G's STATEMENT DATED 6-12-1946.

The following statement was issued by the British Government on 6-12-1946 on the conversations with the Indian leaders.

“The conversations held by His Majesty's Government with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening as Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh are returning to India to-morrow morning.

“The object of the conversations has been to obtain the participation and co-operation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly. It is not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at, since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached.

Grouping Clauses of Cabinet Plan.

“The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of Paragraph 19 (5) and (8) of the Cabinet Mission's statement of 16th May relating to meetings in Sections, which runs as follows:

19 (5) These Sections shall proceed to settle Provincial constitutions for the Provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any Group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces should have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (8) below:

Paragraph 19 (8): As soon as the new constitutional agreements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the Legislature of the Province after the first General Election under the new Constitution.

British Government's Interpretation

“The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement, read as a whole, is that the Provinces have the right to decide both as to Grouping and as to their own constitutions.

“His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of 16th May means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the Statement, as so interpreted, must, therefore, be considered an essential part of the scheme of 16th May for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

“It is however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the statement of 16th May may arise and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly, they will also agree, as have the Congress that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will

accept such a decision, so that the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan.

Reference to Federal Court provided for

" On the matter immediately in dispute. His Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that a way may be opened for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If, in spite of this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for a decision of the Federal Court, such a reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the Sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known.

" There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of agreed procedure. Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country."

**THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION
ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT
DATED 6-12-1946.**

FULL TEXT.

" The A.I.C.C. having considered the events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut Session of the Congress in November last, the statement issued by the British Government on 6th December 1946, and the statement of the Working Committee of 22nd December 1946, advises Congressmen as follows :

" The A.I.C.C. endorses the statement of the Working Committee of 22nd December 1946, and expresses its agreement with the view contained therein.

" While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to the recent announcements made on behalf of the British Government. A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given.

" The A.I.C.C. is firmly of opinion that the constitution for a free and independent India should be framed by the people of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible. There must be no interference whatsoever by any external authority, and no compulsion of any Province or part of a Province by another Province. The A.I.C.C. realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some Provinces, notably Assam Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P. and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's Scheme of 16th May 1946 and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their statement of 6th December 1946. The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned, a principle which the British Government have themselves recognised.

Principle of Provincial Autonomy Stressed.

" The A.I.C.C. is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections. It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a Province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a Province or part of a Province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary, in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the A.I.C.C., therefore, directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy.

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The Passing away of Untouchability

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

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 1.

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

This pamphlet puts in a nut shell the case for the Untouchables. (The Swarajya)

Do Sastras justify Touch Pollution?

MR. S. 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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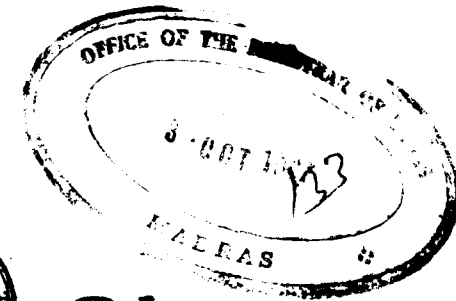
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THE KARACHI RESOLUTION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

BY

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

When Mr. Jinnah and his friends fixed the meeting of the Muslim League Working committee to take place on 29-1-1947, nine days after the opening of the January Session of the Constituent Assembly, those who followed the policy of the Muslim League were apprehensive that it was not the intention of the Muslim League to be helpful at this stage in the evolution of our politics towards the objective of full and complete freedom. To the small reactionary group of Muslim politicians who met at Karachi the incidents in the Punjab gave a further scope for the exploitation of communal feelings. The Muslim League is naturally now afraid of going into the Constituent Assembly. The threatened debate in parliament has come and gone and the Labour Government's firm resolve to go on with the progress of India's political evolution remains unshaken and Mr. Attlee's promise to the Indian Nation that no minority in India will be allowed to veto the Nation's political progress stands equally unshaken, not withstanding all the threats and frowns of the League and its allies. Far-seeing and well-informed patriotic Muslim Politicians in different Provinces have already begun to see the unwisdom and unreason of the position adopted by the Muslim League.

The Punjab Ministry which consists of Cabinet Ministers commanding the support of large sections of Hindu and Muslim legislators in the Legislature are also a party to the promulgation and enforcement of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance. The Punjab Ministry have called the Muslim League bluff. The processions in protest are

thinning down and top-ranking Muslim Leaguers have been arrested for defiance of the ordinary law of the land. The Muslim League's position in the Punjab which ought to be a key Province in Pakistan is now utterly weak and cannot support the blatant claims of the Muslim League. The Province of Sind whatever be the Ministerial difficulties have never favoured their association with the Punjab which will be the inevitable result of the materialisation of the Pakistan idea. The North West Frontier Province is absolutely anti-Muslim League and will never reconcile itself to Pakistan in any form. As for the eastern Pakistan State it is impossible that whatever be the strategy practised by persons interested, Assam can ever be cajoled or coerced into submission to a Pakistan State either in the name of an Independent State or in the name of a sub-federation or group.

In the June issue of the Bharata Dharma we have reproduced the Cabinet Mission's statement in extenso. At page 61 it will be found that the Muslim population of the Punjab is only 16 millions and the non-Muslim population is 12 millions and odd. If we leave out of account Punjab Muslims who are against Pakistan and club them with non-Muslims who are also against Pakistan it will be clear that even on the basis that 50 per cent of the Muslims are in favour of Pakistan, the Pakistanites will be only about 8 millions while the anti-Pakistanites will be 20 millions. Add to it about 3 millions of the North West Frontier Province and about 1½ millions of non-Muslims in Sind. It will be clear that even in the North West area the majority of the population will be only anti-Pakistanites. In the North East area also taking Bengal and Assam together, the non-Muslim elements constitute 48.31 per cent of the population and the Muslim elements only 51.69 per cent of the population. In one of the earlier issues of the Bharata Dharma I have pointed out that the census figures of the Muslim population of Bengal for the year 1941 cannot be entirely depended upon for the reason that there was a conscious attempt on the part of the Muslim politicians to inflate Muslim population strength to support the vague claims after the 1940 Muslim League Lahore resolution. If we deduct out of the 51 per cent the Muslims of Bengal and Assam who are against Pakistan, the apparent numerical majority in favour of Pakistan will dwindle down into a definite numerical minority. Mr. Jinnah and his friends have seen and understood the temper of the people and they are afraid to go further with

their agitation in favour of Pakistan at this stage when they have no confidence that the house of cards which they have built will survive a popular verdict.

The firm attitude of the Sikhs and no less firm attitude of the North West Frontier Province and the failure of the League agitation against the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance have apparently had psychical effects on the league leadership.

In pressing the claims of individual representatives voting as individuals in the Constituent Assembly Mr. Jinnah should have been conscious of the fact that the same principle will apply for voting on all matters in the Constituent Assembly as a whole when the Union constitution comes to be drawn up.

Under the scheme of representation contained in the Cabinet Mission's statement which Mr. Jinnah should have fairly studied and appreciated in the light of the elections held, the representation given to Muslims is 20 out of 187 in Section A, 22 out of 35 in Section B, and 36 out of 70 in Section C, making in all 78 out of 292. Mr. Jinnah naturally expects and ought to expect that no amount of obstinacy and threats on the part of 78 members of the Constituent Assembly will bow down to submission the 214 remaining members of the Constituent Assembly if and when the Muslims demands are unreasonable and cannot be justified by considerations of constitutional propriety, political history and political and economic theories.

It will be also necessary to remember that the Suhrawardy administration received subvention from the Government of India in the last two years to the extent of 10 crores a year and they are now applying for a subsidy of 17½ crores this year which an obliging Muslim League Finance Member of the India Government, who is there as a sentinel to watch Muslim League interests may attempt to provide. This may lead to yet another major crisis. Sind also wants a subvention of 20 crores.

These Pakistan States admittedly do not have financial and economic resources to balance their budget even in normal times. When there is any major difficulty of an international character they will simply become the pathetic victims of aggression and be the weakest links in the system of India's defence. Mr. Jinnah is fully aware of this. This Cabinet Mission have stated their objection to Pakistan in very definite and pointed terms and they cannot be said to be unfriendly to Muslim claims. Mr. Jinnah is aware that in the present temper of the country and the mood of the members of the Constituent Assembly

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there is no chance for unreason to prevail whatever be the volume of vituperative vocabulary that may be emptied on the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah should have also had inkling of the turn of events in the Indian States as regards their entry into the Constituent Assembly. The maximum provided for Indian States is 93 seats in the Constituent Assembly. The States have now decided to enter the Constituent Assembly. The result will be that all the political elements in Indian National life including the Princes will be represented by 307 members out of a house of 385 as against the Muslim League if it should finally keep out.

Propaganda based on incorrect statistics and inaccurate particulars can succeed only for sometime. When the correct statistics and true facts are revealed public opinion will stand disillusioned. The dignified statement of the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly about the representative character of the Assembly has already had a most reassuring effect on public opinion in India and in England. Mr. Jinnah's veto can have no effect and the Constituent Assembly will proceed with its work and it will be further strengthened by the 93 princes' representatives joining it in due course. Mr. Jinnah is now apprehensive to go into the Constituent Assembly, for there surely, unreason, strong language and threats of direct action can have no effect. Determined representatives of people who are there by elections with a long record of public service behind them will not allow themselves to be brow-beaten. Mr. Jinnah who has missed the bus more than once is now left on the way-side, sullen with his entourage and the Karachi Resolution is the result.

We have reproduced in this issue the Karachi Resolution. No arguments are necessary to point out how unreasonable and unpatriotic that resolution is. A mere reading of that resolution will be sufficient to prove both.

The first point which the resolution tries to make out is that originally while they accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement unconditionally, the Congress acceptance is hedged-round by so many conditions, that it is no acceptance at all. Is this claim in accordance with facts? I have reproduced in the June issue of the Bharat Dharma at page 76 the League's resolution accepting the Cabinet plan. The reader is requested to refer to it again and see how unreal and how hedged-in by conditions is the Muslim League's acceptance of the Cabinet Mis-

sion's statement. That resolution reaffirms its adherence to the goal of complete Sovereign Pakistan which will remain the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India. If they are agreeing to go into Sections B and C and give a trial to the scheme it is only as a matter of trial and experiment "in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of a complete Sovereign Pakistan." There is no assurance that even this conditional participation in the hope of sabotaging the whole thing will not be binding on the Muslim League and they cannot be called upon to accept a constitution evolved by the Constitution-making body notwithstanding all the manoeuvres of the Muslim League from within to sabotage it and to break it with a view to reach their separatist goal of Sovereign Pakistan.

They state in definite terms that the ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend upon the final outcome of the Labours of the Constitution-making body and in the final shape of the Constitution which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three sections. Not satisfied with this, the said resolution has incorporated the further standing threat of the withdrawal of its members at any stage even before the Constituent Assembly completes its deliberations. The result is "the Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and refuse the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of deliberations of the Constitution-making body or the Constituent Assembly or thereafter, if the course and events so require, bearing in mind the fundamental principle and ideals herein before adumbrated to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed." I will now put the question straight to Mr. Jinnah and his friends, is this resolution an honest and unambiguous acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, long term or short term? After this is satisfactorily answered, it will be time enough for them to put the question to the Congress whether their acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's statement can be claimed by them to be honest and unambiguous.

To my mind the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's statement in the form in which they have couched it is absolutely plain honest, honourable and straight-forward and there is no ambiguity latent or patent about it.

Notwithstanding the Muslim League's original resolution of acceptance taking the form as analysed above, the Viceroy has stated that the Muslim League has accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement and

therefore became eligible to have its representatives in the Interim Government. The Viceroy represented to Mr. Nehru to make the necessary room in the Cabinet for the introduction of the five new members of the Muslim League, a number quite disproportionate to the population strength and quite different from the number ever proposed or contemplated in all the discussions either in Simla or Delhi. Congress has been making so many sacrifices with a view to appease the unappeasable Mr. Jinnah. Now Mr. Jinnah says that he has reserved the right to withdraw the Muslim League's acceptance and their withdrawal of their acceptance has been in pursuance of their rights so reserved. But says he, that his sentinels in the Interim Government put by him to deliberately watch Muslim League interests, cannot be disturbed because if he has not accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement, the Congress too has not accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement. Therefore his nominees are as much entitled to remain in the Interim Government as Congress nominees. The question is not whether Congress acceptance is real or unreal. On the admission made by Mr. Jinnah himself that his acceptance has been withdrawn and therefore is not there, he has not fulfilled the express condition which was understood to have been given to the Viceroy, as the consequence of which the five league sentinels were put into the Interim Government. It is high time that Politicians realise that they are not playing a game of chess. What is at stake is the happiness and fortunes of 400 millions of Indian Nationals and not the prestige or vanity of a handful of political careerists. If the Viceroy feels that he has been wronged by this confidence trick that has been practised upon him, it is high time that he says so, and takes the necessary steps in consultation with His Majesty's Government to remove from office the League sentinels, as members of the Government of India. In law and in constitutional propriety they are there not to function as sentinels for the Muslim League but to participate with the other members of the Government of India. Under the new ideology the Interim Government, must have the same rights and position as Dominion Governments i.e., all the Ministers should strive for the benefit of the citizens as a whole forgetting their individual party allegiances.

I trust Mr. Jinnah will at least now realise that it is dishonourable and dishonest for persons claiming such high offices to lend themselves to be exploited by political parties as marionettes to be wire-pulled from behind.

The second point that the Karachi Resolution attempts to make out is that the Congress agreed to submit points of difference to the Federal Court. Here Mr. Jinnah's professional training fogs his political vision. The State paper is not a legal document. Even if a reference is made to the Federal Court Mr. Jinnah will not offer to bind himself by the decision of the Federal Court. The Cabinet Mission's statement itself contains the necessary political safeguards for a proper solution of any difficulties that may arise when a question is regarded as a major communal issue. In that case unless majority of the members of the Constituent Assembly belonging to each community separately vote and by a majority consent to the resolution, it cannot be carried by the mere numerical majority of the members participating taken together. The result will be that the 78 sentinels of the Muslim League's interests, who will be at voting time in the Constituent Assembly, if the Muslim League decides to go into the Assembly to participate in the making of the Constitution, they can vote as a solid phalanx and have their way. As to what is a major communal issue the matter can be properly decided by necessary rules previously laid down. In the political deliberative assembly of the kind it is impossible to hold up work to await judicial decision of a body however eminent it may be and the Cabinet Mission's statement has not provided for it and the Congress has not accepted it. It is a serious infraction of the Sovereign rights of the Constituent Assembly if any such diminution of its powers is agreed to. Mr. Jinnah is obviously playing for time in the hope that Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Amery may come back to power again in England and the careerists of the Muslim League will have another spell of political sun-shine. This they will know by now is beyond the region of possibility. Even in the bitter coal crisis the Labour challenge to Mr. Churchill to move a no confidence motion on the floor of the House of Commons while Mr. Churchill was on his legs was not accepted by him. A seasoned pilot like Mr. Churchill knows the temper of his countrymen and the House where in the past he won so many laurels. When even he has no hope of a call-back to power, why should the Muslim League bank upon it and delay India's progress to its destiny of full and complete freedom as a United India including the Muslims also.

The third point made in the resolution is a jugglery with words, that if the Muslim League chooses not to participate in a Constitution framed by 307 Indian nationals participating, will not and should not

be accepted by Parliament because 78 duly elected Muslim members refuse to be present at the behest of Mr. Jinnah. I wonder in Mr. Jinnah's political experience what canon of democracy can justify this unreasonable claim. How does he reconcile this with Mr. Attlee stating that a minority will not be permitted to veto the Nation's progress. Mr. Jinnah will have to meet another legal difficulty. The 78 representatives of the Muslim League have been duly elected and they have become members of the Constituent Assembly under the procedure outlined by the Cabinet Mission. They are members of the Constituent Assembly by reason of their being members of local legislatures elected under the Government of India Act, 1935. They are not in the legislatures as legally representing the Muslim League, a body not known to Constitutional law. When these duly elected members choose not to present themselves at the first meeting, and sit in the seats reserved for them, they do so at their own peril and they are answerable to their constituencies. Their absence cannot invalidate the proceedings taken by the remaining 307 members who are at their posts of duty to discharge their patriotic and legal obligations honourably and with distinction without any hair-splitting and petti-fogging. Luckily for the Muslim League there is no provision in the Cabinet Mission's statement for deleting the names of these 78 members from the list of members of the Constituent Assembly by reason of their continued absence from the consecutive meetings of the Assembly. The Muslim League ought to be thankful for this lenient omission.

They now call upon the two parties to do certain things. The Congress Party is called upon to answer certain conundrums that are proposed. Happily Congress leadership is sound enough and strong enough to give the answer not by words but by action.

(a) They have already accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement as repeatedly stated by them and by the resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly and there is nothing at this stage to be referred to the Federal Court. There has been a debate in the Constituent Assembly and the proceedings and the decision are available to Mr. Jinnah.

(b) On the Procedural point the Congress has refused to put itself as a litigant with Mr. Jinnah as the opponent to get judicial verdicts on petty quarrels of procedure. The Constituent Assembly is not composed of Congressmen alone. The prestige and the dignity of the Assembly and its Sovereign character and the binding nature of

its decisions will be all put to grave peril if they submit themselves to any jurisdiction other than their own. They may have come into existence as the result of His Majesty's Government's statement and the elections held thereafter. But they are functioning as rightly decided by them as a Sovereign body representing the Nation as a whole and bound to have in mind national interests as such and not Sectional interests as Mr. Jinnah's sentinels in the interim Government are called upon to heave.

(c) The third point that is attempted to be made against the Congress is that they did not postpone the session of the Constituent Assembly. One cannot state the Congress case in clearer and more appropriate language than what was employed by Sardar Patel, "the heavens may fall and the earth may split but the Constituent Assembly will meet on the 9th December as fixed." If only Congress leaders had shown this firmness a couple of years ago, the political position would not have deteriorated so deplorably. It is refreshing to find at least now that the Congress policy to appease Mr. Jinnah is revised and they are tackling firmly and courageously the position. We only trust that there will be no more weakness of Congress action by appeasement counsels.

Mr. Jayakar moved his amendment to the objective resolution in the hope that the Muslim League will reconsider their position and come into the Constituent Assembly. The adjournment of the debate on the objective resolution to the January Session of the Constituent Assembly was a wise move and it had the desired effect. Mr. Jayakar and those who thought as he did saw the utter futility of hoping Mr. Jinnah looking at the matter from a reasonable and practical point of view. They therefore withdrew the amendment, and the objective resolution was unanimously carried by the Constituent Assembly wherein were representatives duly accredited of all parties other than the Muslim League and Princes. Now with the objective resolution unanimously passed by the Constituent Assembly before them the Princes have agreed to come into the Constituent Assembly and choose their representatives in the manner that will be agreed to by the States Negotiations Committee and the Committee of the Constituent Assembly constituted for that purpose. This leaves the Muslim League utterly in the cold and alone.

There is no point in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly being postponed or subjected to any further delays or appeasement programmes. No value can be attached hereafter even to any adherence

resolution by the Muslim League for they can withdraw it at any time as they have done now. They may come within and delay and obstruct and finding ultimately that a Constitution is evolved which does not concede Pakistan or the possibility of Pakistan within any reasonable limit of time they may before the final stage of voting, get out of the Constituent Assembly and say that they were not parties to the resolution of the Constituent Assembly which made the Constitution and that therefore under some so-called promise given in His Majesty Government's statement Parliament was not bound to implement the Constitution. The only answer to Mr. Jinnah and the Karachi Resolution should be for the Constituent Assembly to go on with its work without any further attempts to appease Mr. Jinnah and without entertaining any hopes that the Muslim League will come in. The seats are there for them. They are their seats. It is open to them at any time to come in and take up the work honestly and loyally to serve without any mental reservation as to what they are doing and take their seats and take their part in the honourable and patriotic work of framing the future constitution of the motherland as a strong and united Federal unit. This means a reversal of the irrevocable objective of independent Pakistan carved out of Indian provinces in the West and in the East. This and a united Federal India cannot co-exist. Unless Mr. Jinnah and his group honestly and unambiguously give up this ideal of an independent Sovereign Pakistan in the East and in the West, the patriotic elements in the country should decide not to spend any further time on efforts to appease them. The nationalist Muslims in the country who are not in the Muslim League, and some of them are already in the Constituent Assembly, have realised this fundamental fact and they have decided to organise themselves into a strong political force. All patriotic elements in the country must give them every encouragement and assistance to make it easy for them to succeed.

The Karachi Resolution makes a proposal that His Majesty's Government should abandon the idea of satisfying the 307 elected representatives of the Indian Nation in order to placate 78 Muslim Leaguers. The remedy now is for Parliament to introduce joint electorates by a short amending Bill. In the circumstances in which the Labour Government have placed themselves Mr. Jinnah's advice to them that they should alienate the goodwill of 307 elected members thereof to placate those who have refused to come in, will surely be not listened

to. The Karachi Resolution is a cry in the wilderness. The threat of disastrous consequence will make no impression either in India or in the United Kingdom. That threat has become too stale, too familiar and too worn-out. If and when any politician is so foolish as to attempt to implement that threat, he will discover much sooner than he imagines that force will be met by superior force.

Having said this much it is necessary to bear in mind that the members of the Muslim League are our countrymen, and whatever be their present attitude they are bound to be with us and work with us and share with us our glories and our sorrows. The Constituent Assembly will of course bear this in mind and in framing the Constitution, Muslims as a Section of the population, will have the same consideration, rights and privileges, obligations and responsibilities as every other section has. There will be no discrimination of any kind, based on religion in the Provinces or at the Centre. Whether the Muslim League's representatives are present or not in the Constituent Assembly, the Constitution that will ultimately emerge as the result of the labours of the Assembly, will be found adequate to protect the interests of every citizen of the country irrespective of the creed or class to which he may belong.

THE KARACHI RESOLUTION ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE Working Committee's Resolution.

The following is the text of the resolution :

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have given careful consideration to the Statement issued by His Majesty's Government on 6th December 1946, the resolution passed thereafter by the Congress Working Committee on 22nd December 1946, and by the A.I.C.C. on 6th January 1947, the speeches delivered by responsible leaders of the Congress at the A. I. C. C. session referred to above, and the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly during its two sessions so far held ; and record their views as follows :

By their Statement of 6th December His Majesty's Government admitted that the interpretation which the Muslim League had always put on Paragraphs 19 (5) and 19 (8) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May was the correct one and accorded with the intention

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of the Cabinet Mission and His Majesty's Government. By that Statement it was also proved that the Congress, on the other hand, had "put forward a different view" and, therefore, had not accepted what His Majesty's Government themselves described as "this fundamental point" namely, that decision in the Sections, including questions relating to the settling of the constitutions of the provinces included in each group, "should in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections." His Majesty's Government, furthermore, added that "this Statement, as so interpreted must therefore be considered an essential part of the Scheme of 16th May for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament." Accordingly, in their Statement of 6th December they urged the Congress to accept "this re-affirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission", or in the alternative to refer the point to the Federal Court at a very early date.

Congress and H. M. G.'S Statement of 6th December.

In their Statement of 6th December His Majesty's Government also affirmed that the Congress had agreed that other questions of interpretation of the Statement of 16th May which might arise might be referred by either side to the Federal Court whose decisions should be accepted and on the assumption that the Congress had agreed to this procedure His Majesty's Government asked the Muslim League also to agree to it in order to ensure that "the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's Plan."

Thirdly, His Majesty's Government, in the last paragraph of their Statement of 6th December reiterated the fact that "there has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure," and they repeated the assurance: "Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government would not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country." The meaning and the application of this assurance were further clarified by Sir Stafford Cripps in his speech in the House of Commons on 12th December 1946 when he said "But the Government also had to envisage the possibility in the clause in the final paragraph of the

Statement." This was perhaps a statement of the obvious—that if the Muslim League could not be persuaded to come into the Constituent Assembly, then parts of the country where they were in a majority could not be held to be bound by the results.

The situation created by the issue of this Statement by His Majesty's Government was that the onus of taking the next step fell on the Congress and they were called upon:

1. To accept honestly and unequivocally the correct interpretation of Paragraphs 19 (5) and 19 (8) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May which interpretation had been already accepted by the Muslim League, or to refer the point to the Federal Court:

2. To re-affirm that they accepted the procedure for the settling of other questions of interpretation that might arise, so that the decision should accord with the basic and fundamental principles of the Scheme of 16th May 1946, namely, that either side could refer such questions to the Federal Court whose decisions would be binding on all concerned; and

3. To postpone the sessions of the Constituent Assembly which had been called for the 9th December, 1946, pending settlement of the dispute over fundamental points of principle and procedure which had been brought to the fore by the Statement of 6th December and the correct interpretation of which the Congress had not accepted, as was made clear in that statement there being no prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly without such agreement, particularly on the part of the Congress.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regret to note that the Congress have reacted to the situation created by the Statement of 6th December in a manner which shows that they are determined to adhere to their own views and interpretations of fundamental provisions in the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May which militate against clearly expressed intentions and interpretations of the authors of that Statement as well as of His Majesty's Government as a whole and which destroy the very basis on which the constitutional plan set forth in that Statement had been drawn up.

By their resolution of 22nd December the Congress Working Committee rejected the suggestion that the point in dispute should be referred to the Federal Court if the Congress did not accept this re-affirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission", and that Committee decided to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress

Committee for the purpose of giving a decision on the issues raised by the Statement of 6th December. The Working Committee of the Congress, however, in their resolution indulged in an attack on the British Government for their renewed interpretation and clarification which had called the Congress bluff, and on the Muslim League for no other fault except that its stand had been at last vindicated.

A. I. C. C. Resolution Criticised.

The A. I. C. C. by its resolution passed on 6th January purported to agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections", about which there never was any doubt in the mind of any sane and honest person, but it immediately added the following qualifying clauses: "It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion on a Province and that the rights of Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a Province or part of a Province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the A.I.C.C. therefore, directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy."

These qualifying clauses, in the considered opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, to confer the right of veto within the Section on a "Province," and, what is more absurd, on "a part of a Province," as well as on the Sikhs in the Punjab and, therefore, they completely nullify the advice or the so-called "acceptance" by the Congress of the 6th December Statement, and this A. I. C. C. resolution is no more than a dishonest mick and jugglery of words by which the Congress has again attempted to deceive the British Government, the Muslim League and public opinion in general.

The question at issue was a very simple one. What was required was a straight and honest answer and not these evasions, equivocations and camouflage from one of the two major contracting parties to the questions whether the Congress honestly and sincerely agreed to the proposals of 16th May as clarified by His Majesty's Government on 6th December 1946, and whether they were prepared to honourably abide by them and carry out the letter and spirit of the proposals which were put before the two major parties by the British Government, who

were merely acting as mediators, as unfortunately the two major parties had failed to come to any agreement at Simla and the Conference at Simla had broken down.

Question of Reference to Federal Court.

Of the second point in H. M. G's Statement of 6th December namely, the procedure whereby either side could refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court, the resolution of the A. I. C. C. makes no mention, but the mover of the resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on being questioned on the second day of the A. I. C. C.'s deliberations as to whether the Congress had agreed to this procedure, categorically answered in the negative and declared: "Apart from this in view of the recent development and the Statement of 6th December which produces a new situation, I am not prepared to admit for an instant that we have agreed to any future procedure about references. Whatever the future brings we shall have to consider it. I should like to make it perfectly clear that we are giving no assurance about any references in regard to any other matters to the Federal Court. We are not going to commit ourselves at the present moment to any reference to the Federal Court or to any other authority. We shall decide—or the Constituent Assembly shall decide—as we think best in the circumstances." With regard to the third point, namely that "If a constitution comes to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented", such a constitution would not be forced upon any "unwilling parts of the country" the A.I.C.C. resolution, in Paragraph 3 completely distorts the meaning and application of this principle and makes this an excuse to instigate a section of the population of Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, the Sikhs and even Baluchistan, to revolt against the decisions that might be taken by the relevant Sections sitting as a whole and by a simple majority vote. In the opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League the subsequent decision of the Assam Provincial Congress not to abide by the procedure laid down for Sections and its reiteration that "the constitution for Assam shall be framed by her own representatives only" is a direct result of this instigation and is a step taken by Assam Congressmen in collusion with the all-India leaders of the Congress.

Proceedings of Constituent Assembly Objected to.

The Constituent Assembly met on December 9, and subsequent dates and thereafter on January 20 and subsequent dates and has

already taken decisions of vital character so far as it is known to the public; and as some of the sittings were held *in camera* it is very difficult to get correct information as to what other resolutions it has passed or what decisions it has already taken. It has passed a resolution known as the Independent Sovereign Republic Resolution laying down the objectives. It is not only a proclamation of India as an Independent Sovereign Republic but it lays down fundamentals of the constitution as was admitted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the mover of the resolution. It is a very vital resolution. It lays down the essentials of the next constitution: several things which are mentioned there are fundamentals of the constitution. It speaks of a Republic, of "Union" functions and powers vested in the "Union" or as are inherent or implied in the Union and resulting therefrom, and talks of present boundaries, States and present authorities, the residuary powers, powers being derived from the people, minority rights and fundamental rights. These are undoubtedly fundamentals of the constitution and they are beyond the limits of the powers and the terms of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of May 16, and the resolution is therefore illegal, *ultra vires* and not competent to the Constituent Assembly to adopt.

Next, it has appointed several committees and has proceeded to elect the Advisory Committee, referred to in Paragraph 20 of the Statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on the rights of citizens, minorities, tribal and excluded areas. Further it has appointed a Steering Committee and various other committees and as some of the decisions have been taken *in camera* it is very difficult to say what resolutions it has passed or decisions it has taken. It has also passed the "Rules of Procedure" and assumed control of Sections by means of these rules for which there is no warrant or justification particularly Rule 63, which runs as follows:

"63 (1) The Assembly shall before finally setting the Union constitution, give an opportunity to the several Provinces and States through their legislatures to formulate, within such time as it may fix, their views upon the resolutions of the Assembly outlining the main features of the constitution or, if the Assembly so decides, upon the preliminary draft of the constitution. (2) Before the constitution of any Provinces is finally settled or the decision to set up a Group constitution for the Section in which the Province is included is finally taken an opportunity shall be given to the Province concerned through its legislature to formulate, within such time as may be fixed for the

purpose, its views (A) upon the resolution outlining the main features of the constitution or, if the majority of the representatives of the Province in the Assembly so desire, upon the preliminary draft of such constitution, and (B) upon the preliminary decision of the Section concerned as to whether a Group constitution shall be set up for the Provinces included in the Section and, if so, with what Provincial subject the Group should deal."

And lastly, it has appointed a Committee to define the scope of the Union subjects, whereas the position was made quite clear immediately after the Statement of May 16 was issued by the Secretary of State for India in his broadcast and by Sir Stafford Cripps at his Press Conference where he read out an explanatory statement. Both of them stated in the clearest possible terms to the time and manner in which the Group constitutions were to be framed by the Sections concerned before the Union constitution was taken up. The Secretary of State said: "After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the Provinces will divide themselves up into three Sections. These Sections will decide upon Provincial and Group matters. Subsequently they will re-unite to decide upon the constitution for the Union." Sir Stafford Cripps at his Press Conference said: "So the three Sections will formulate the Provincial and Group constitutions and when that is done they work together with the States' representatives to make the Union constitution. That is the final phase." And the Union is strictly confined to three subjects.

It is clear from the above that the Constituent Assembly in which only the Congress Party is represented has taken decisions on principles and procedure some of which exceed the limitations imposed by the Statement of 16th May on the Constituent Assembly's functions and powers at the preliminary stage and which further impinge upon the powers and functions of the Sections. By taking these decisions in the Constituent Assembly and by appointing a packed committee consisting of individuals chosen by the Congress, the Congress has already converted that truncated Assembly into a rump and something totally different from what the Cabinet Mission's Statement had provided for.

H. M. G. Asked to Abandon plan.

In view of these facts and circumstances the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are definitely of the opinion that the Congress, by rejecting this final appeal of His Majesty's Government

to accept the correct interpretation of fundamental procedure of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May and by having already by the resolution and decisions taken in two sessions, converted the Constituent Assembly into a body of its own conception, has destroyed all fundamentals of the Statement of 16th May and every possibility of compromise on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's constitutional plan. The Working Committee accordingly call upon His Majesty's Government to declare that the constitutional plan formulated by the Cabinet Mission as announced on 16th May has failed because the Congress after all these months of efforts, have not accepted the Statement of 16th May 1946 nor have the Sikhs, nor the Scheduled Castes.

The proposals of 16th May could only be given effect to and carried out if the two major parties agreed to accept them. The Congress had not and have not accepted and do not accept them, although the Muslim League had accepted by their resolution the Statement of 16th May 1946 as far back as 6th June 1946. But in view of the fact that the Congress refused to accept the proposals in toto and unequivocally, the Muslim League had to withdraw its acceptance on 29th July 1946.

"Constituent Assembly should be Dissolved."

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League are, therefore, emphatically of the opinion that the elections to and there-after the summoning of the Constitution Assembly, in spite of strong protests and most emphatic objections on the part of the Muslim League, was *ab initio* void, invalid and illegal as not only the major parties had not accepted the Statement but even the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes had also not done so: and that the continuation of the Constituent Assembly and its proceedings and decisions are *ultra vires*, invalid and illegal and it should be forthwith dissolved.

In view of these facts and circumstances the Working Committee are clearly of opinion that as the Congress, as a major contracting party, has not accepted the Statement of 16th May as claimed by H.M.G's Statement of 6th December no useful purpose will be served by summoning a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to reconsider its decision of 29th July 1946, whereby it had withdrawn the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16th May 1946.

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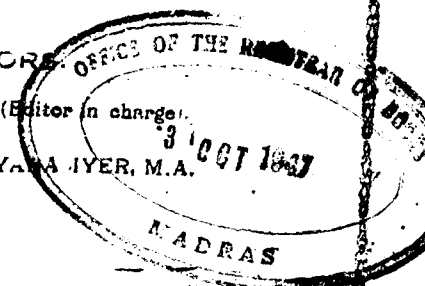
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—The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

HONORARY EDITORS

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चित्रे वृक्षोऽस्ति वृक्षः शिष्याः गुरुणा । गुरोस्तु मौनं व्याख्यानं शिष्यस्तु चिन्तनशायम् ।

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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UNIVERSAL LITERATURE—VALMIKI RAMAYANA*

BY

MR. K. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

Our minds have faculties which are universal, though our habits are insular. For instance, too much accustomed to their own environments and ways of life, people become sometimes unhappy and homesick in a foreign land. They feel like fish out of water. They perceive facts so meagrely as to lead them to make generalisations which their immature insight and imperfect sympathy help them to form. Sometimes a sense of utter discomfort overpowers them with the result their 'mental easy-chairs' get tilted or turned topsyturvy. They may then come down to solid earth and face the realities of life, which like the earth itself are full of elevations and depressions, yet are one in their 'rounded completeness'.

Literature also presents such baffling circumstances. But the true literary instinct can always survive them. Why, literature itself survives, because human nature has not changed. True, a poet or a writer may be influenced by the country and clime of his birth. To some extent his ideas and imageries will not escape the colour of his surroundings. But his imagination can lift him on wings to the limitless expanse of the skies that contain no geographical divisions. His leap from the spring-board of his inner being enables him to overcome national or racial consciousness. It is supremely then something latent in the reader that also gets roused. The reader and the subject are no

* By courtesy of the All India Radio, Madras.

longer separate entities. When once this unanalysable power of identification is created, we say a poem or a book that is read has an universal appeal.

It is said, seeing a bird killed by the hunter's arrow, the poet burst into a verse. No doubt this episode is symbolic of poetic inspiration. The sympathetic chord of the sage's heart was struck by the tragic fate of the feathery creature, and he responded at once to it. All may not do likewise; even should they feel a sense of deep pity for the bird, the faculty of communication may be either poor or inadequate. It is only where the heart is already full to the brim that the capacity for sympathy is stirred to overflow. The meaning of it being universal and eternal, the poet too, in the story, pauses awhile in bewilderment and wonder, that a cruel curse should have fallen out of his mouth and at the same time such rhythmic lines, answering the laws of versification, should have flowed out of him who had hardly any preconception of them. It is true this incident has no obvious bearing upon the theme of the great poem. Perhaps it only shows how environment need not always determine a poetic composition of the highest quality as the Ramayana.

Indeed, in fact, Valmiki was so original in his inspiration that many a later poet and bard in India drew upon him for their individual excellences. If a Kamban's genius resorted to the gold mine of Valmiki for gleaning rich ore to work upon, or the soul awakening of a Tulsi Das filled itself from the inexhaustible springs of Valmiki's poesy, or a saint Thyagaraja's immortal melodies invariably fed upon the sweet strains of Valmiki's own word-pictures of his hero, every one of these proves what superior tribute was but due to the originator of that unflagging theme.

According to aestheticians of this country Valmiki was the first poet. To an instinct for understanding and unravelling of life's hidden treasures, the poet added a rare vision of the path towards the ultimate Truth. With consummate art he developed his subject without ever protruding his own self anywhere in that long narrative. This is how a poet teaches others; Valmiki lost himself in his Rama; the reader also should do the same if he has to profit by the teaching. The story when revealed unfurls before the mental eye a panoramic vision of the process of the mind in its march towards the supreme goal. For only when man realises his own self does he understand the truth of all life. As his personality receives an integration, the objective world of differ-

ences and dissimilarities slowly recedes from his view. If before he was able to grasp only the externals of reality, he now grasps the reality behind all seeming forms.

This, without doubt, should have been Valmiki's high purpose in giving his poem to the world. He should certainly have felt that what was good to himself, what was the one aim of his inner striving, might become the supreme destiny of all thinking mankind. This potent desire of his expressed itself in these introductory lines: "As long as on this earth the hills lift up their forms and the rivers flow on, so long shall the Ramayana story course down among men".

A question can be asked, has the Ramayana done its useful work in spreading the ideals it stands for? No doubt, its influence has been felt over a large section of humanity. But still much work remains to be done.

The pivotal ideas of the Ramayana seem to present two essential complexes in man, one for self-aggrandisement and assertion of rights over property, and the other, the sex desire which leads him astray and blinds him to commit the worst crimes. We see not one but many Kaikeyis stalking the earth today with the direst consequences to all notions of social atmosphere, self-respect and friendship. The Ravana is also not extinct in our midst with their uncontrollable lust. These elemental traits in human nature have grown with man's career on earth. They have been unmistakeably the causes of human woes, social upheavals and national cataclysms. The poet's vision conjured up for him the way in which human progress would get retarded in the coming years by such evils lying in the human heart. He therefore gathered courage to raise his puissant voice against the unhealthy propensities in man and so his notes have been resounding along the corridors of Time. May be his message strikes us now to be stale or vapid. But he was the first to lead the chorus of a number of later poets and prophets, surging with the same feelings for the benefit of mankind. Can we afford to ignore the value of sunlight because of its age-oldness? We are daily having it so much that we hardly feel any wonder or delight in it. But who can say that the dawn and the sunrise are not as fresh and fascinating as on the first occasion they were seen? So also every time the Ramayana is perused with care, a new appreciation of its beauty cannot fail the reader's understanding. That is why, perhaps, our ancients enjoined on us its daily reading or Parayana—a

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method which possesses an inherent advantage of slow and enjoyable absorption.

All students of the Ramayana own, without disagreement, that it is a great poem. The poet gave his composition to the world not in book form but as recitations to listening audiences. Naturally our conception of the length of the poem in print to-day may not accord to the standard of a poet who sang his verses. Nevertheless, if even in the stress of modern times, for days on end people listen with rapture to the gripping anecdotes of Sri Ramachandra's eventful life, no wonder that in the poet's own spacious days, the kings and sages of the land congregated to hear the first great epic sung by such wonderful artistes like Lava and Kusa.

Westerners often compare the Ramayana of Valmiki to Homer's Illiad, Virgil's Aenid, Dante's Divine Comedy and Milton's Paradise Lost. Very often the comparisons are risky and misleading too, because of the limited knowledge of the critics themselves of their subjects in the original. In the main we can say that the Ramayana stands to no disadvantage in any way by such comparisons. For genuine portraiture of life, character delineation and description of nature the poem is unique. It has its own way in narration, development of theme and outlook on life. The poet so much learnt first-hand of human life and nature, that he little depended upon any other book or fellow poet for his sustenance.

The insignia of universality is stamped on every page of the poem. For instance few can resist the wholesome motto for life contained in the words; 'Cheerfulness saves the heart, sorrow breaks it'. Again what an enduring warning is preserved in the following verse: 'Sorrow undermines courage; sorrow dissipates knowledge; sorrow destroys everything; nothing is so very inimical as sorrow'. Robust hope liberates the reader's mind from unwanted obsessions when he reads the lines: 'Let man but live, good will overtake him sometime, should he have to wait even a hundred years'. Can there be a more lasting lesson than the one, 'Who is there that does not commit mistakes? However detestable, punishable and wicked people are, good men should forgive them'. These and such other texts for the good conduct and purposiveness of life have played upon men's minds for centuries and for generations. They have supplied them with a great impetus for action without attachment to results and a serenity of mind in the midst of strife.

All great poetry tries to revitalise life with shining ideals. For that reason alone, if not for any other, poetry is deemed sacred. Similarly all nobility in human character is considered divine. To those who view them thus, the Ramayana is a religious scripture and Rama a personal God. Valmiki's creation of Rama may well appear to many a feeling heart as the culmination of man's earthly strivings towards perfection. Naturally to them Rama more than the Ramayana becomes dearer. Men who are richer of imagination and hence abler to visualise for themselves a different and a more glorious God, need not deny this symbol of Godliness, Rama, to the less endowed persons, who cannot subsist upon a mere abstract conception of the Almighty.

"When I look upon the beauties of this hill, the loss of my kingdom troubles me no longer, nor does the separation from my friends cause me any pang" says Rama to Sita in his exile. The bonds of love that entwined Rama and Sita, not only united them to one another, but also bound them to the universe of all life. That is why the poet vividly depicted the grief of the entire forest on Ravana's abduction of Sita.

The conception of universality, according to the Indian, stops not with the human but embraces all forms of life. And what is literature "but life illumined, commented on and explained by a first rate mind of singular acumen and intuition". Hence, perhaps, in this country authorship of a Kavya in any but a sage was considered unimpressive. Need there be then any special plea to prove that the greatest poem of a sage like Valmiki appeals to all?

SRI RAMAKRISHNA'S ILLUMINATION AND KALI-WORSHIP.

BY

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

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There is a wide-spread belief all over the country among the cultured and the uncultured classes, that Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who is looked upon as a *Jivan-mukta* or *Siddha-Purusha*, got his illumination through the worship of Kali. In recent years, opinion is gradually gaining ground not only among spiritual savants but several others also, doubting the belief that image-worship or idolatry, which is admittedly an inferior and crude form of worship, and which in the case of a deity like Kali, has taken various grotesque and abhorrent shapes, could ever have led to Sri Ramakrishna's spiritual illumination

in the sense of god-realisation. Millions of people in Bengal and elsewhere worship the goddess Kali in all sorts of ways, and to know some of them one has only to move from Kalighat (Calcutta), where animal sacrifices, resulting in rivers of blood, are freely resorted to, for appeasing the wrath of the angry goddess, to Dakshineswar, where in spite of her awe-inspiring and blood-thirsty form in which her image is made, she is sought to be satisfied with milder offerings like food, fruit and the like. The hideous form of the image of Kali, which is everywhere represented in a ferocious attitude, as if in the act of killing a demon is in strange contrast to the spiritual conception of the "Blissful Mother" entertained by the Paramahansa. Evidently the worship of the image of Kali has made no impression and has not effected any spiritual transformation in the lives of millions of her worshippers. So, it has to be inferred that there was something special in Sri Ramakrishna himself, which is not in the generality of Kali-worshippers, that had led to his spiritual illumination and made him progress in his path towards perfection. The history of spiritual men who had arisen out of idolatrous communities in all countries discloses the fact that only when they had stepped out of idolatry, that their spiritual awakening, which had ultimately led to their spiritual illumination, had begun.

In the case of Sri Ramakrishna, the circumstances attending his boyhood—the death of his father when he was quite young, the family being very poor and this boy being compelled to eke out his own living—drove him to the necessity of becoming a temple-priest, though it was regarded as a very degrading and degenerating occupation for a Brahmana to pursue. It was sheer poverty that was responsible for his taking up the only occupation open to him, namely, that of a temple-priest.

Though the boy had to conduct the worship morning and evening, as a part of his daily duty, the one idea, that had filled him from the very beginning, was to find out something which the image, to his mind, did not represent. This idea took possession of the boy and his whole life became concentrated upon that and the thought whether God can be seen gained in strength from day to day until he could think of nothing else. It was evident that the idol before him gave him no answer to the deepest hankering of his soul and could not guide him in his quest.

He therefore became indifferent to his duties as temple-priest. "He could no more conduct the worship properly, could no more attend to the various details in all their minuteness." He got so disgusted with what he was doing to the image that he would cry out in despair "Are you dead?" His heart began to weep and wail in utter depression saying "Is there no one in the universe who can show me the light?" Things had gone on in this strain to such an extent that at last it became impossible for him to serve in the temple.

Nothing more is necessary to show that Kali-worship was of no use whatsoever to Sri Ramakrishna in his spiritual quest, as in the case of millions of others. So, it must necessarily be taken that the Paramahansa owed his illumination to causes other than Kali-worship. His further life shows in what directions he had to toil before he could get his spiritual awakening which had ultimately led to his illumination.

Leaving the temple service, he entered a little wood and lived there in such complete absorption that "he lost all thought of himself and forgot to eat." Days passed this way, and in the agony of his soul he would even rub his face against the ground and weep. This divine madness seized the boy and there was continuous struggle to arrive at Truth. Then he went through various disciplines and sadhans till he, by the sheer force of his determination, realised the Truth and gave it to others. The above is enough to show that Sri Ramakrishna had owed his illumination, not to Kali-worship, but to something also. However convincing this conclusion may be in itself, people would not be wanting who would set it down as merely inferential and as such not of much real value, drawn as it is from what may be called circumstantial evidence.

But the matter does not rest there alone. We have the direct testimony of the Paramahansa himself in support of the aforesaid conclusion as could be seen from the following.

In his reminiscences (recorded in Bengal, translated into Telugu, and published in the Dharma Sadhani, a Telugu journal of Guntur,—of portions of which the following is an English rendering) Trylokya-nath Dev, a Brahmo Samajist, who was a contemporary of the Paramahansa, Keshub Chunder Sen and others, states as follows:—"I used to go to Dakshineswar often during full-moon evenings to gain the fellowship of the Paramahansa.....The Paramahansa used to become unconscious by singing the name of "Kali" and used to become conscious on

hearing the name of "Brahma." The desire therefore arose in me to know the reason for this." Once *Harati* was going on before Kalikadevi in the Dakshineswar temple. I had a desire for a long time to see the *Harati*. When I had told the Paramahansa that the desire to go with him and see the *Harati* before the Kalidevi was growing stronger in me, he (Paramahansa) said "You are a Brahmo" and asked "what do you do seeing the *Harati* to Kali." When I said what harm is there in seeing it? you also come, we shall go and see it and come back" Then he said: "I shall not hereafter see the face of that Kali. You had better go alone and see it." Then I went alone and saw it and came back. On that, I began to contemplate why Paramahansa Deo who is such an ardent devotee of Kali did not go to see the *Harati* of KalideviNext day when I went to him the Paramahansa said "Look, Trylokya! yesterday you called me to come to see the *Harati*. When I said that I had not been seeking the face of that Devi for even several days previously, you asked me as to why I did not see. He then said "For many days this Devi has misled my way and making me wander about. She did not show me the right path." For that reason he said that he would not see her face thereafter, and then feelingly with tears trickling down his cheeks, he described as to how he had reached Brahman (God).

The spiritual awakening which the Paramahansa has had, was followed up, as in the case of several other mystics, by a process of purification, till he got his illumination and final union with the Divine. Thus we have the very words of the Paramahansa himself that Kali worship had misled him and so he had abandoned it. There were other occasions when, to express his disappointment at being misled by Kali, he even went to the length of referring to her as "*Sala*", which is a term used to express contemptuous abuse.

In the face of these convincing proofs, to refer to Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa "as the finest flower of image-worship" and to say that if men like him could be produced by such worship, they should hug it with faith" as was done by a certain High Court Judge at a former anniversary of the Paramahansa to a cultured and enlightened audience would not be a correct presentation of the truth about the Paramahansa's illumination and his message. There is a natural tendency in persons, who, by tradition and habit, became inured to image-worship, from which they have no inclination to get out, to try to see in the lives of illuminated souls a kind of seeming though illusory justi-

fication for their own so-called religious habits and ways of life. How else can be explained the action of another High Court Judge who presents a necklace worth Rs. 7,000 to an image or that of a third one who 'starts an umbrella procession to an idol. Strangely an eminent lawyer was out to defend these things by saying that "a devotee gets a peculiar spiritual satisfaction by the adornment of the deity" and similar acts. One fails to see as to what is there in these acts to give spiritual satisfaction, when one knows and understands that God is a spirit and wants from his children the homage of their spirits. It is something like bribing God with costly material things or buying his favour in the black-market at heavy prices, in the vain hope of getting, by such means, their wants somehow satisfied through his miraculous agency. At the bottom of all these is the idea of obtaining salvation by mechanical means and the innate unwillingness to make any effort to move out of a grosser form of worship and take to a better and nobler approach to God through their spirits, which is more in consonance with their reason, understanding and intellectual eminence.

It is sometimes trotted out as a satisfying argument in favour of idol-worship that "Hindus worshipped God in the image: they did not worship the image or the picture of God." If that were so, it is not intelligible as to why the idol should be bathed, dressed, decked with jewels, married and sometimes even purified and be subjected to various other peurile acts, if only what is aimed at in the worship of the idol was the approach of one's own spirit to the Supreme Spirit or God, with reference to whom all such external material ostentations, offerings and decorations, have no meaning.

Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma has pointed out in a recent review of a Canarese book on "Moorti Puja—Jignasa", drawing attention to the apothegm, quoting from the Vedanta Sutra,—"Na-Pratekena-Hi-Sa"—"which emphatically and indubitably proclaims the truth that the Supreme Lord or Power, responsible for the creation, destruction, etc., of the Cosmos can never be identified with any idol or image in stone and metal." He further goes and says that "there is no difference of opinion at all among the illustrious Acharyas, who have commented on the Sutra, regarding the interpretation of this particular aphorism."

Further the two mantras "*Avahayami*" and "*Kshameya punaravahana yacha*" with which idol-worship among Hindus is begun and ended, meaning respectively "I invoke you in this" and "Let there be peace till I invoke you again in this" go to show that "till the avahana,

primary or renewed, the idol is no better than wood or stone." This kind of temporary invocation, which is said to be meant merely for purposes of concentration for the time being, cannot make the wood or stone better than what in substance it is, when it was not subjected to the invocations referred to above, and as such all kinds of elaborate material embellishments made to the idols, to which reference was already made, have to be looked upon as absolutely worthless from a spiritual point of view.

These things apart, there is the well-known spiritual aphorism "*Pratima Alpa Budheenam*" which means that an image is meant for the worship of the "feeble-minded" according to the Hindu scriptures. It shows that though an image may be thought necessary for some in a low state of intellectual development, in the very early stages of devotional life, no spiritual progress of the right kind can be made unless the devotee moves on from idolatry to a purer kind of worship of God, who is spirit, which can be no other than spiritual worship. To say that idolatry is necessary and should be "hugged" by highly developed intellectual and cultured persons like eminent exponents of Law or other Arts and Sciences, is something like asking mathematical experts and students of Higher Mathematics to make their calculations by the help of the Kindergarten method by means of which small children of undeveloped minds are taught to make simple calculations with the help of material objects representing the numerals. In fact, such exhortation is not only nothing short of an insult to the intelligence of any cultured audience but would also be a gross and detrimental misleading in the name of religion. As Swami Vivekananda would say: "Do not try to disturb the faith of any man. If you can, give him something better; if you can get hold of a man where he stands and give him a push upwards, do so, but do not destroy what he has."

The message of Sri Ramakrishna to the modern world, in the words of Swami Vivekananda is this: "Do not care for doctrines, do not care for dogmas, or sects or churches or temples; they count for little compared with the essence of existence in each man which is spirituality, and the more this is developed in a man the more powerful is he for good.....show by your lives that religion does not mean words or names or sects but that it means spiritual realisation." Put shortly the Paramahansa's message to mankind is "Be spiritual and realise Truth for yourself." That being so, to exhort people to stick to idol-

worship, in the name of the Paramahansa, though he himself had discarded it, as leading him in the right way in his spiritual path, is not only improper but a downright misrepresentation of the sacred message of the Paramahansa.

PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S STATEMENT.

The following is the full text of Prime Minister Attlee's statement in the House of Commons:

It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realisation of Self-Government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians, and to-day the civil administration and the Indian armed forces rely, to a very large extent, on Indian civilians and officers. In the constitutional field, the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament, each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940, the Coalition Government recognised the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new constitution for a fully autonomous India and, in the offer of 1942, they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly, for this purpose as soon as the war was over.

His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles. Since they came into office, they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of 15th March last, which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and Constitution and that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands.

Cabinet Mission to India.

The Cabinet Mission, which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future Constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that without some initia-

tive from the Cabinet Mission agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves.

These proposals, made public in May last envisaged that the future Constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States.

Since the return of the Mission, an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre composed of the political leaders of the major communities exercising wide powers within the existing Constitution. In all the Provinces, Indian Governments, responsible to legislatures, are in office.

It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government find that there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should. It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

Power to be transferred before June 1948.

His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a Constitution approved by all parties in India, in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan. But, unfortunately, there is at present, no clear prospect that such a Constitution and such authorities will emerge. The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.

This great sub-continent, now containing over 400 million people, has for the last century, enjoyed peace and security of a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary to-day if the full possibilities of economic development are to be realised and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people.

His Majesty's Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is therefore, essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

Proposal for fresh Negotiations.

After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a Constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statements of May last. His Majesty's Government there agreed to recommend to Parliament a Constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But, if it should appear that such a Constitution will not have worked out by a fully representative Assembly, before the time mentioned in Paragraph 7, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or, in some areas, to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

Arrangement for interim period.

Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for. But, inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out, to the letter, all the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

Indian States and Paramountcy.

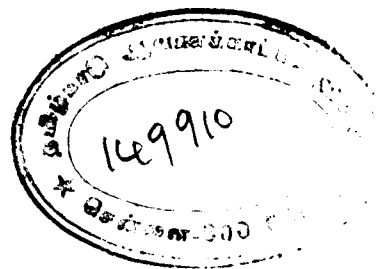
In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under Paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring Paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period, the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

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His Majesty's Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions. The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

His Majesty's Government cannot conclude this statement without expressing, on behalf of the people of this country, their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of Self-Government. It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end; and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India.



The Passing away of Untouchability

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

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 1.

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

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

Do Sastras justify Touch Pollution?

MR. B. SITARAMA RAO

Bharata Dharma Pamphlet No. 2.

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

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