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Bharata Dharma

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MR. JINNAH'S POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

By

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

Mr. Jinnah is a shrewd and practical politician. It is difficult for others to enunciate clearly what Mr. Jinnah's policy is from his statements and speeches alone. A great deal will have to be supplemented from what is not said but from what can be well inferred from the sequences of events about which there can be no dispute. Something more will have to be inferred from the speeches and actions of those working in collaboration with him as colleagues or under his orders as official or non-official subordinates. The consequences of that policy will have a bearing on the position within the borders of the Pakistan territory, the position of Muslims and non-Muslims within the limits of the Dominion of India, international public opinion within the British Commonwealth and outside and more than all within the borders of Indian States who are having under active consideration the question of joining the Dominion of Pakistan or joining the Dominion of India, or joining neither.

In these troublous times no front-rank politician will be adequately discharging his duty to his country if he does not clearly perceive Mr. Jinnah's policy and its ultimate objectives and the consequences of which policy that should naturally follow. Where such consequences are likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the Indian Dominion or an Indian State desiring to accede to the Indian Dominion or an Indian State which has already acceded to the Indian Dominion, it will be the

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duty of all practical politicians to take such measures as are necessary to prevent such adverse consequences if possible or to allay the effects of such consequences if prevention is not possible in time.

The separatist tendencies of Muslim Politicians in India are certainly of no recent origin. When the Tory Viceroy Lord Minto decided to grant almost unasked the claim of separate electorates for Muslims, the first blow at Indian unity was struck. Subsequent events are only developments from that small origin. Separate electorates for Central and Provincial legislatures were followed by separate electorates or reserved seats in the elections to the local bodies and municipalities, separate Universities, separate colleges where Universities, were not possible, separate orphanages and industrial schools, separate beggar homes, separate hostels and college unions, separate schools and inspectorates at State expense for Muslim boys and girls and similar institutions where Muslim separatist tendencies manifested themselves in unmistakable and aggressive forms. The special privileges and patronage extended to Muslims in the public services with weightage of every description by the Bureaucracy came to be regarded as a vested right and the detriment and injury caused to non-Muslims in the services were reckoned as of no account. Efficiency of the public services and considerations of financial proprieties were not borne in mind and full encouragement was given to these separatist tendencies by Provincial and Central Governments as a part of a patent attempt to fight Indian Nationalism and to deny and delay and otherwise thwart the legitimate political aspirations of Indian Nationals. In all this, Muslim politicians generally played the Imperialist game as second fiddles and thought it proper to play the part, which impartial historians will record as having been played by them at the three Round Table conferences and the subsequent developments down to the stage of the final Cabinet scheme under which the Constituent Assembly began to function.

At one time it was thought that all this was only a bargaining counter to obtain more weightage and more advantages than the realities justified in favour of those for whom Muslim politicians purported to speak and work. But after 1940 it became increasingly clear that what was intended was very much more than that—absolute partition of the country to provide for so-called homelands—in Western India and Eastern India for Muslim majorities.

Mr. Jinnah in his discussions with Mahatmaji brought out his

uncompromising adherence to the two Nations theory, and the inevitability of partition so as to provide a homeland for Muslims where they can live their own life with freedom and non-Muslims in the remaining territories of India may live with full freedom their own way of life. This involved the tacit admission that after once a Sovereign State was carved out and recognised there was no further question of Pakistan meddling with or interfering with the Dominion of India in the guise of looking after the Muslims who were left behind. But before the partition ink was dry, Mr. Jinnah began to talk in the true Sudetan style. The Muslims in minority Provinces supported Mr. Jinnah as much as Muslims in the Majority Provinces, and they are as much responsible for the position that has emerged. They cannot disown responsibility. They have to face the natural and legitimate consequences that will follow from the utterances and actions of leaders, whom they installed into power and to whom they gave that country-wide backing which enabled them to claim as they did, that they supported Muslims all over the country to secure a Homeland of their own by partition of the country.

It was Mr. Jinnah's policy to have Pakistan on the basis of existing Indian Provinces so that East Punjab and West Bengal may have remained as Pakistan territory. The followers of Mr. Jinnah made no secret of the fact that they desired the retention of these large non-Muslim elements in their territory because they contributed to the economic strength and prosperity of the areas and also because according to these extreme thinkers they could be treated more or less as hostages to compel the Dominion of India to concede to the Muslims that may be still left in India, all that was demanded by them, or for them by others. As subsequent events have fully made clear it should have been part of the policy of these extreme thinkers to expect certain Indian States to accede to Pakistan Dominion so as to destroy completely and effectively even the geographical and administrative unity of the territories in the Dominion of India by driving deep unfriendly wedges into such territories. This phase of the policy has not yet reached its fulfilment. The struggle is still on. Any postponement of that by 12 months will only postpone the decision and it is not likely to produce any beneficial results unless those responsible for the defence and safety of the Indian Dominion see the wisdom of firm and resolute action to maintain unimpaired, such geographical and administrative unity as has been still left to India after the partition.

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Mr. Jinnah's policy underwent the first frustration when non-Muslim majorities in East Punjab and West Bengal succeeded in saving themselves from the catastrophe of being left in Pakistan. Sheer reason prevailed. The Punjab was partitioned and Bengal was also partitioned. The Radcliffe award was given and happily Pakistan and Indian Politicians had previously agreed to accept the award without any agitation. On both sides that promise has been kept so far.

In the course of the discussions Mr. Jinnah contemplated the voluntary exchange of populations. Others doubted the wisdom, propriety or the desirability of exchange of populations which involved the uprooting of lakhs and lakhs of the population from their ancestral homelands to places strange and new.

The decision in favour of direct action announced and carried out by the All India Muslim League resulted in the immediate killings in Calcutta and the butcheries in Noakhali. The same old technique prevailed. Arson, loot, murder, rape, abduction of women, forcible conversions, forced marriages, desecration and destruction of temples, and other methods of terrorism and oppression became common on a mass scale. The minorities were simply terrified and panic stricken and they began to flee abandoning everything that was owned by them. The tragedy was in an unprecedentedly large scale. The same happenings began in West Punjab also very soon thereafter.

In the West Punjab after the 15th August there is no evidence that Government had control over the situation. Mobs armed with modern weapons attacked and killed non-Muslims and the Pakistan Government officials were unable to stop these things. It is alleged that in many instances Pakistan civil military and police officials were themselves guilty of attacking large masses of non-muslims in isolated pockets or when moving in convoys or denied or failed to give protection to them when attacked by armed Muslim mobs.

What happened in West Punjab was heard with dismay and horror in East Punjab and retaliation began almost on the same scale. The East Punjab Government which also began "from the scratch" without even a Government headquarters of their own, were able to bring the situation under control, within a short time on the Indian side of the border. But what extent of control was attempted and achieved by the Pakistan Government on their side of the border, is a matter about which no official pronouncements have been made by Pakistan. All the time however Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues had been proclaiming

repeatedly and loudly their readiness to guarantee the safety of the lives and properties of non-Muslims within the Pakistan territory. Mr. Jinnah does not like anybody calling these as mere paper promises. But it will be more useful if his Government gave concrete facts relating to the definite steps taken by them and the safety achieved as a result of those steps preventing the slaughter of innocent men, women and children and the brutal acts that normally followed when religious passions are roused on this mass scale. The result is as it is now admitted that nearly 12 lakhs of non-Muslims from the West Punjab have moved into East Punjab and elsewhere and nearly 12 lakhs of Muslims from East Punjab have moved into West Punjab and thousands have been killed. Both the Governments are faced with the problem of settling these refugees in proper places and upholding law and order. The Civil Government in West Punjab appeared to have totally collapsed and failed.

In referring to the East Punjab and West Punjab politicians and publicists are indiscriminately using the word Punjab which may lead to a misunderstanding of the situation and a misreading of the facts. It is better that we refer to East Punjab and West Punjab specifically in dealing with this matter. While in the East Punjab matters are reported to be under complete control, we do not hear the same of the situation in West Punjab as yet. The facile theory of exchange of population has produced dismal and unexpected results. The mischief has been done. It will take two generations at least for this bitterness to fade away.

One cannot fail to recall the resolution which Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League got passed at the convention of Muslim legislators where it was unambiguously declared that it was impossible for Hindus and Muslims any longer to live together and therefore Pakistan was necessary. Now that Pakistan has been granted, Muslims of that way of thought should migrate to Pakistan and should allow Muslims who do not think as they did to continue to live as Indian Nationals in amity and friendship with their non-muslim brethren in the secular state of the Dominion of India. Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly stated that Pakistan will be a State administered according to Islamic conceptions though he does not like the idea of calling it a theocratic State. Politicians cannot understand what he means by administering the state of Pakistan according to Islamic conceptions and

how they differ from the ordinary democratic conceptions with which all of us are familiar.

Mr. Jinnah publicly posing as the banner bearer of Islam and proclaiming Pakistan as a Muslim State is bound to have serious consequences to the peace of the Indian Dominion and the world peace, if the present international fears and jealousies are permitted to develop without any arrest in the deterioration of international good will. When however Mr. Jinnah claims an extra territorial privilege of extending his benevolent protection to his Muslim brethren left in in the Dominion of India and the Muslims in Kashmir and Muslim rulers elsewhere in Indian States, the position is full of peril to the peace and well being of the Indian Dominion. What political propriety there is in the head of a Sovereign State claiming to have protectional Jurisdiction over nationals of a neighbouring Sovereign State, has to be calmly considered. If Mr. Jinnah is found to have exceeded the limits of propriety proper protests should be made at Government level and if even these protests did not bear the proper results, firm and legitimate action should be taken to compel the recognition of the principle of non-interference by any neighbour in the internal affairs of the Indian Dominion and the States that have acceded thereto. On this point there should be no compromise based on any philosophy of appeasement or defeatism.

Certain events have now made clear beyond doubt the aggressive policies entertained by Muslim politicians and the careful planning and financing of these designs. We were having frequent reports of large consignments of knives, daggers and other weapons sent to different parts of India where there were Muslim populations. The discovery of unlicensed arms and ammunitions including modern weapons in Muslim localities and in Muslim houses have now been made public in different places. The investigations at Jubulpore have made it clear that Muslim officers had to be removed from service as the result of enquiries made on the disappearance of large quantities of arms and ammunition from the Ordnance depots. In the Delhi happenings it was discovered that Muslim officers and Muslim constables had deserted from the Police force in numbers and they were not available when the crisis came. The discovery of secret factories with modern machinery for the manufacture of arms and ammunition in Muslim areas under the cover of places of worship or innocent looking shops is a significant pointer. The political controversy which was fed on the promo-

tion of communal hatred on an un-paralelled scale and intensity, and the organised and well directed preparations which the events have disclosed, have done the worst mischief. Now that Pakistan has been achieved, those who believed in the philosophy of the resolution that was adopted by the Muslim Legislators convention, must necessarily get away to Pakistan if they cannot continue to remain as loyal citizens of the Indian Dominion, who should have full freedom to take such action as may be open to them to ensure the development and maintenance of a true national spirit and the total extermination and elimination of every form of separatism based on religion. The false cry of religion in danger should not be permitted to be raised if wholesome reforms are effected to produce and maintain a true national spirit, nor any outside State be permitted to interfere with effective action in the guise of the protection of Indian Muslims. That responsibility in fact and in law, belongs to the Indian Dominion so far as their nationals are concerned and not to any outside State. On this point, effective declarations in the right time at Government levels should be made and enforced without allowing the position to deteriorate as the result of inaction or worse still feebleness in action.

Let us take for example, the action of Mr. Choudhury Khaliqzaman, the U. P. Muslim League leader. He solemnly declared as the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Indian constituent Assembly, that he would be a loyal citizen of India and will take a legitimate part in making the Indian Constitution, as a member of the Constituent Assembly. He spoke that in the name of other members of the Muslim League who were present at the Constituent Assembly under the behest of Mr. Jinnah. It is reported that he went the other day to Karachi to meet Mr. Jinnah on a mission of goodwill; it is now stated that he has decided to stay away at Karachi and has taken 21 members of his family by air to Karachi with a view to become a permanent citizen of Pakistan. More than that he has, as the report says, been expecting to fill an important post in the diplomatic service of Pakistan. If that is the attitude and record of a prominent leader, what about petty police officers and police constables.

The question is put by the Premier of the U. P. whether Indian Muslims will be loyal to the extent of fighting against Pakistan in the event of a war between the two Dominions. Even when there is peace, if men with the record of Mr. Khaliqzaman, also coming from the U.P. can do what he has done, what is the use of putting such questions and

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getting sweet answers. They are mere words. Indian Nationals whatever their creed may be must of necessity be loyal to the Dominion of India. If they are not, the law will take its own course. If communal appeasement is completely eliminated and everybody knows that nothing but the principle of pure nationalism will govern the affairs of administration fifth columnists whoever they may be will not be tolerated by public opinion. When a crisis develops, public opinion will assert itself and rally to the support of any Government in power to neutralise the malevolent intention or actions of wrong doers, who on account of misguided views contemplate any form of disloyalty to the State to which they belong. In times of peace and normal administration, if a State does not so order its affairs, any crisis will simply blow off that utterly incompetent inefficient and unworthy Government and no disloyal acts on the part of the 5th columnists are necessary to contribute to that result, namely a well-deserved defeat.

The first consequence of all that has happened in recent months is that at Government levels those in charge of each portfolio should examine in close detail everything that comes up before them and lay on firm and true foundations policies of Government and administration which will automatically promote nationalism and exterminate communalism and in efficiency and disloyalty.

If, as we know, British Imperialism was responsible to sow the seeds of disunion and drive deep wedges into India's unity in the shape of separate electorates and the other ills that have been enumerated above, now that the hand of that malignant Imperialism is withdrawn, the healing hand of Nationalism must begin to function, with the result that (1) separate electorates should go; (2) weightage should be totally abolished (3) communal representation should be entirely abolished in the civil and military services; (4) key positions should be entrusted only to tried and veteran nationalists with a clean record; (5) separate provision for Muslim Chambers of Commerce, Muslim schools, Muslim orphanages should be all abolished; (6) Muslims in the Indian Dominion should be made to feel, that they are no less and no more than other citizens and they must take their chances equally with them and discharge their obligations with the same loyalty and efficiency as non-Muslims.

The old slogans and the old methods of permitting Muslim solidarity as a separate political unit in the Indian Dominion should be scratched. Mr. Jinnah is shrewd in inviting Indian Muslims to re-organise

themselves under suitable leaders. Any re-organisation means the perpetuation of cohesion which can be utilised as a disruptive element dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the Indian Dominion. The fact that this reorganisation is contemplated under the leadership of even Mr. Abdul Kalam Azad does not make it immune from the criticism that inherently it is a wrong step. Any organisation on a territorial basis or on a professional basis may not cause much injury in political matters, but a creedal organisation for political purposes on the basis of religion is fraught with the gravest danger.

Mr. Jinnah would have succeeded in ample measure if the Congress High Command plays Mr. Jinnah's game and permits reorganisation of Indian Muslims as a separate political unit for political purposes, whatever that may be whether in accord with congress policy or opposed to it. If they intend to strengthen the hands of the Government by support or by fair criticism they may as well do it by participating along with the other members of the Nation in the good work of supporting the state and the national activities of the State. Any separate place for Muslims as such in the political life of the country will be a source of the gravest danger and it is high time that this is fully recognised. In the same way wherever the State could do so, all separatist muslim political institutions should be avoided and only institutions based on territorial or professional lines, where religion is not the principle of separation, should be encouraged.

As regards the division of assets and liabilities Mr. Jinnah's policy has always been "heads I win, tails you lose". 1600 crores of rupees are lying as sterling balances in London and the financial position of London is by no means over cheerful today. In the apportionment of that, justice and fair play should be given to the Indian Dominion. Here mere emotion or pious wishes will not do; all the support of the rank and file will not help, unless the negotiations are by men of undoubted probity and integrity and unsullied patriotism supported by men well-versed in the technical details of economics, statistics, and public finance. While the European members of the Indian Civil Service have largely elected to leave the service in the Indian Dominion, nearly 90 European members of that service are reported to have elected to serve in the Dominion of Pakistan, and in four Provinces they have European Governors. That the policy of British administrators and British politicians of a particular school of thought has been pro-Muslim, can admit of no doubt. In the settlement of the division of the asset of the sterling balances and

the assets belonging to the Army and the Navy, good circumspection and forethought are therefore requisite. So also on the question of the Indian public debt. Even more important will be the questions relating to customs and excise, with miles and miles of unguarded land frontiers between the two Dominions. The question of Irrigation works and channels play no small part. Most vital, comes the question of defence. Both on the Western border and on the Eastern border, the Dominion of India will have to reckon with Pakistan territory. What military and naval strength should normally be maintained for the safety of India is a matter of grave concern to the Indian Dominion.

Pakistan has the benefit of natural frontiers on the Western and Eastern sides, while the Dominion of India has no such benefit. What the effect of a sound military budget will be on the taxation policy of the Government of India and how the defence policy of India will have to be regulated with reference to the policy of Pakistan to the Indian Dominion are matters of grave concern requiring close examination.

Those who speak words or do deeds which would exacerbate the lacerated feelings of people are making no contribution to the peace of Pakistan or the peace of India. Harmony and good will must be the watch-word of Politicians not excluding Mr. Jinnah, when he makes utterances periodically in the shape of statements or communications. The talk of a re-union of Pakistan with India, is premature and futile. The time is not yet ripe for such talk.

The better policy will be to be so well-informed and so well prepared that no one can succeed in doing any damage to the peace and well-being of the Indian Dominion. That we are so well-informed and so well-prepared, should be well notified to all concerned, so that they may think twice before they take a step that is not wise. It is certainly good to promote harmony and goodwill having full faith in God. It is at the sametime equally good, wise and proper to keep our powder dry. Those in charge of the Nation's fortunes in the present critical times should not permit themselves to be caught napping or unready or unprepared for the great tasks that destiny has laid upon them.

SANATANA DHARMA

(A Rationalist's View)

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA.

Sanatana Dharma means eternal (*Sanatana*) Law (*Dharma*). This term always comes into prominence whenever any question relating to the life of the Hindus is raised. It has sometimes been contended that the laws governing the life of the Hindus are eternal, and have been once for all fixed by the *Smritis* or Law Books, and that such Laws do not lend themselves to be altered by the people of the modern age. There is another view, just the opposite of this, that the laws governing the life of the Hindus have been fixed under certain primitive conditions of superstitions, and that they should be blown off completely if the Hindus are to be modern and progressive.

The real fact is far off from either of these views. To understand the life of the Hindus, one has to realise that in ancient India there was no distinction between science, religion and philosophy. It is in modern Europe that there is a science without religion, a religion without a philosophy and a philosophy without a science. *Sanatana Dharma* is neither mere science, nor mere religion, nor mere philosophy. It is all the three. In modern West science, religion and philosophy rest respectively on experiment, dogma, and dry, abstract rationalism. In India of old there was no dogma that was not subjected to experiment and practical verification and that was not amenable to pure reason. *Sanatana Dharma* states a scientific fact verified by experiments; it is accepted by philosophy since it satisfies reason and is incorporated into religion since it has been verified as a truth. This scientific fact is that the laws governing the moral life of man are physical laws like any other law in science, and that as such they are of eternal nature.

Hindu philosophy recognised the truth that the world is the outcome of a certain *Adrishta* in the *Purusha*. On account of this *Adrishta* (literally unseen factor) relating to *Purusha*, there arises an activity in the even, physical matter, which gets itself unsettled in its equilibrium. The scientific need to postulate a *Purusha* and the meaning of the term *Adrishta* will each take a separate paper to treat satisfactorily. There are three constituents in this even, physical matter (*Prakriti*), called the three *Gunas*, namely, *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. It is the

evenness or equilibrium of these three *Gunas* that is disturbed by the *Adrishta*. This disturbance leads to a development consisting of twenty three evolutes, in different planes. The first two are *Buddhi* and *Ahamkara*. From *Ahamkara* starts a two-fold evolution, namely, the *Manas* and the five organs of action and five organs of sense along one line, and the five *Tanmatras* (subtle elements) and the five gross elements (called the five *Bhootas*) along another line. *Buddhi*, *Ahamkara* and *Manas* form the internal sense-organ (*Antahkarana*). The five sense-organs, the five subtle elements and the five gross elements form correlates in five planes, of evolution, as follows:—

Sense-organs	Subtle elements	Gross elements
1. Organ of sound	<i>Sabda</i> (Sound)	<i>Akasa</i> (Ether)
2. Organ of touch	<i>Sparsa</i> (Touch)	<i>Vayu</i> (Air)
3. Organ of sight	<i>Rupa</i> (Colour)	<i>Tejas</i> (Light)
4. Organ of taste	<i>Rasa</i> (Taste)	<i>Jala</i> (Water)
5. Organ of smell	<i>Gandha</i> (Smell)	<i>Prithivi</i> (Earth)

These terms are used in a figurative sense. It means that if we are to think of them as grosser and finer, there would be the same relation among them as there is between solid, liquid, radiation, gas and ether. Thus *Tejas* does not really mean the light that we have in this physical world. *Tejas* is a stage in evolution finer than physical matter; and liquids in this physical world are all forms of *Prathivi*. Much has yet to be said on these points if they are to be intelligible.

A central core, so to speak, formed of all the eighteen (i.e., the evolutes other than five *Bhootas*) becomes a permanent unit with reference to each *Purusha* through whose *Adrishta* there is a material evolution. This combination is called a *Linga Sarira*. The activities of this *Linga Sarira* are determined by the original *Adrishta*, and each subsequent activity leaves its mark on a still later activity. But at the same time, the *Linga Sarira* is never completely dominated by *Adrishta* and the influence of the successive activities. There is its *Purushakara* or will power which also determines its own activities. This influence of the original *Adrishta* and of the successive activities on the later activities of the individual, moderated by the will power of the individual, is what is called the law of *Karma*; it influences the life activities; but it is in its turn conditioned by *Purushakara*. *Karma* is not absolute; the *Purushakara* is always there to limit the scope of *Karma*.

From this it would be found that the full free will of the individual is conditioned by the original *Adrishta* and also by the individual

activities. The complete power to overcome this limitation produced by the *Adrishta* and by the effects of earlier activities is in the *Linga Sarira* itself. There is also a particular mode of operation whereby the full free will of the individual can be re-asserted, overcoming the *Adrishta* and also the results of the earlier activities. There is a law governing this. Every individual has to overcome its own *Adrishta*; every individual has to avoid being an obstacle to other individuals in their realisation of their goal, namely, overcoming such limitations. The individuals can also assist each other in such realisation. The law governing such a realisation of the goal by the various individuals is what is called *Dharma*. This law is in the physical world (*Prakriti*) itself. The *Purusha* through whose *Adrishta* the process has started, and the gods do not have any part in this operation of law.

What is called the world and life in this world is a series of frictions; there is the friction between the *Adrishta* and the activities on one side, and the *Purushakara* on the other, in respect of an individual. There are also frictions among the activities of the various individuals. We know that the entire movement in this world is due to friction. A motor car cannot move on the road unless there is friction between the wheels and the road-surface. The fly-wheel cannot set the spindles in motion unless there is friction between the fly-wheel and the strap, in a cotton mill. Similarly, in this world, so far as life is concerned also, there is friction. There is a limit beyond which friction becomes an obstacle to motion. A motor car hitting against a tree on the road-side causes fatal results, while the same car coming into friction with the road-surface helps the movement.

There is the same difference between friction that helps the progress of life and friction that obstructs such progress. The former is *Dharma* and the latter is *Adharma*. While the arrest of the progress of a motor car on the road by an application of the brake is not a danger, its arrest by collision with a tree on the road-side is a danger. Thus the distinction between *Dharma* and *Adharma* is also determined by specific conditions. Although most of the drivers of a motor car know this distinction, there are many who do not know the difficulties arising out of some trouble within the engine, sometimes of a very subtle nature. Only an expert mechanic can know this. The motor car is manufactured on a certain scientific principle; there is a certain physical law as the basis of the function of a motor car, and yet no one can draw up a set of rules for the complete repair of motor cars. If there

is anything out of order, each case has to be investigated and attended to on its own merit. This is true of all sciences like medicine ; this is equally true of *Dharma* also.

I will take another example to show how *Dharma* is an eternal, physical law. The planets move in space according to some physical law. But no planet is able to move according to its own individual law ; there are other planets also in space, and their presence and movements affect the course of that particular planet. It is the deflection from the movement of a planet calculated according to certain laws that has led to the discovery of new planets, as a result of further investigation, in astronomical science. Thus astronomy lays down the principle that planets move according to a certain law. But that law in its perfection has not yet been understood ; thus new inunciations become necessary in the science of astronomy whenever it is found that the law is not found actually followed by the planets.

In *Dharma Sastra* also, there is the basic principle that *Dharma* is an eternal law. But no one has understood this law in its absolute and eternal nature, and it is not possible to see that law operating in its perfect condition. There are conditioning factors. There is a distinction between *Dharma* which is eternal, and the observance (*Anushthana*) of *Dharma*, which is conditioned by various external factors. It is, for example, one thing to say that motor cars run according to a certain mechanical law, which is an eternal physical law ; it is quite a different thing to postulate that Ford's T Model car is unchangable in design so far as motor cars are concerned, Ford himself discarded it. Similarly, *Sanatana Dharma* found in *Smritis* is one thing, and the *Sanatana* (eternal) nature of the *Anushthana* (observance) of *Dharma* is quite another thing. Time, place and conditions act as limiting factors for the perfect *Dharma*, in the matter of its observance. As the limiting factors change, there must be change in the observance also of *Dharma*. The *Smritis* that are available now, as coming from ancient times, have a validity only for the particular conditions which limited *Dharma* in those times when the *Smritis* were written out. The change in the *Anushthana* of *Dharma* does not affect the eternal nature of *Dharma* itself, just as the change in the model of a motor car does not affect the basic principle of the mechanism of a motor car.

The *Sanatana* (eternal) nature of *Dharma* consists of two factors : one is the eternal nature of the Law governing the mutual relation of different individuals in this world ; the other is the continuity of the

actual application of this Law in the world, according to changes in the conditions that limit such application. The eternal nature does not consist in the eternal nature of any particular application of the Law.

The past is the unbroken source of the present ; the present is the unbroken culmination of the past. To this extent, there is identity between the past and the present, and to this extent there is also eternality. There is the great principal of *Satkaryavada* (the doctrine of the prior presence of the effect in the cause), according to which there is no break between the cause and the effect. The cause is the prior state of the effect, and the effect is the posterior state of the cause. This *Satkaryavada* is applicable to *Dharma* also. Just as the same piece of gold can be made into a ring or a medal, similarly the same *Dharma* can appear as different social customs at different times under different social conditions. There is no conflict between change and eternality.

A man who wants to retain the customs of the ancient days of the available *Smritis*, when conditions have been quite different, on the plea of the eternal nature of *Dharma*, can be credited with no more reason than a man who insists on using only a T. Model Ford car, even when the V 8 models were made available. If the Hindu society is to survive as a strong, organised community, Hindus must be able to distinguish between *Sanatana Dharma* and *Anushthana Bhedas* (differences in the observance of the *Dharma*).

Sanatana Dharma is not the moral code of any particular community, any more than the weather reports are meant only for any particular community. It is the Law governing the relations of man and man, irrespective of race, religion and nationality. *Sanatana Dharma* is an objective Law of Nature. It is not determined by God as conceived by any theologian ; it is not created or promulgated by any religious Teacher. They are Laws determined after scrutiny of facts, like any other Law of Nature, by persons with special faculties, as in the case of the determination and inunciation of any scientific Law by scientists. It is neither mere religion (Dogma), or mere philosophy (Abstract reasoning) ; It is science, religion and philosophy, all in one.

EDITORIAL NOTES

By

MR. S. R. VENKATARAMAM, B.A., B.L.

THE STUDY OF HUMANITIES AND SANSKRIT

Sir S. Varadachariar, ex-judge of the Federal Court delivering the Diamond Jubilee address of the Adyar Library on 2nd October made a strong plea for the promotion of study of Humanities and Sanskrit. Referring to the disfavour in which the study of Humanities was held all over the world, he observed "A proletarian interpretation of the principle of dignity of labour in conjunction with the economists insistence on 'productive labour' has tended to humiliate the mental worker. The prejudice against the idle rich has been extended against the votaries of culture by including them in the general category of the 'leisured class'. Culture has been cynically defined as the "dissipation of surplus human energy in the exuberant exercise of the higher human faculties."

Sir S. Varadachariar in reply to this specious argument rightly observes that to condemn those who have dedicated their lives to a study of the Humanities is totally unfair as "even in this democratic age scholarship has its place because it is scholarship that helps to create the intellectual background out of which changes of popular opinion and sentiment emerge."

Referring to the conflict between Sanskrit and the vernaculars particularly in the Tamilland, Sir S. Varadachariar said that there need be conflict between Sanskrit and the vernaculars. Particularly in the Province of Madras and more so in Tamilnad, there has been of late a deplorable move to assign a subordinate place to the study of Sanskrit in our schools and to dislodge it from its none too envious place in the curriculum of studies. Sir S. Varadachariar clinched the issue when he stated "Nobody need dispute the importance of the vernaculars and of the value of the literature enshrined in them. That the vernaculars are more and more recognised as offering a field for cultural and research study will be evident from the papers read at some of the more recent sessions of the Oriental Conferences. The 'primacy' and pervasiveness of Sanskrit as explained by Dr. Thomas (in his address to the Trivendrum Oriental Conference) was due to the fact that Sanskrit contains the key to nearly everything that is old and great in India and greater India and that it is constantly revealing new funda-

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mental utilities in all branches of Middle Eastern and Far Eastern studies. He added that for higher Education on the Humanistic side Sanskrit was an imperative requirement in India and Sanskrit had through the discoveries of modern times acquired an immensely increased importance."

In this connection Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri in his speech at the Rotary Club on Social Justice further emphasised the need for promoting the study of Sanskrit and the classical language such as Persian and Arabic. He stated that "Opportunity for the study of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic must be given if there was a demand for them. The regional languages and their treasures were open to acquisition by private study even in later life. But the study of the classical languages must be given early in life and the students who chose to take those classical languages must be relieved in the school from an intensive study of the original language."

The opinions of these two leaders will we feel sure carry conviction to those who may be in doubt and ere long we hope Sanskrit, and the study of Humanities will come into their own under a people's Government.

Bharathi Memorial.

Tamilians in particular and literateurs in general everywhere will be happy to hear that a memorial worthy of the great Tamil poet Bharathi has been raised in the village of Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli district where he was born in 1882. This is perhaps the first instance in the history of Indian poets that a memorial at the birth place of a poet has been erected by an appreciative public. Judging from the reports of the proceedings of this memorial meeting held on 13-10-47, at Ettayapuram, one has no reason to doubt that the function was a grand succes. Her Excellency Srimathi Sarojini Devi a great living poet in English who was to have participated in the function was unavoidably prevented from coming over to Ettayapuram. But the message she had sent to the meeting shows a deep understanding of Bharathi the Tamil world poet by H. E. Sarojini Devi. She said "Poet Bharathi has fulfilled the true mission of poet. He has created beauty not only through the medium of glowing and lovely words but has kindled souls of men and women by the million to a more passionate love of freedom and a richer dedication to the service of the country. Poets like Bharathi cannot be counted as the treasures of any province. He is entitled by his genius and his work to rank among those who have

transcended all limitations of race, language and continent and have become the universal possession of mankind." The Governor of West Bengal H. E. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar who presided over the meeting paid equally a high tribute to Bharathi. He said that Bharathi's poetry was the largest single contribution of any single writer to nationalism and renaissance in the country. Bharathi had made poetry a very powerful vehicles of emotions and made it a potent instrument to shape India's resurgent spirit. In his songs he gave us Tamil a fresh, like Agastya-reincarnate. He sang of the true spirit of the Hindu vedanta of One Supreme eternal spirit. It may be mentioned in passing that Bharathi was proficient in the sacred lores of our religion including the Gita and the Upanishads His 'sacrificial songs' 'Velvi Gitangal' and his translation of the Gita into Tamil are well known. He lived the life of a true Vedantin. His life and work deserve to be better known to the non-tamil knowing public.

The organiser of Bharathi memorial, "Kalki" deserves praise and we hope ere long arrangements will be made for publication of Bharathi's works in other Indian languages and in English, for Bharathi deserves to be known by the wider public, as he is not only a poet of the world, but also a great Vedanthi.

The Besant Cultural Centre

On 1st October 1947 at the Besant Centenary Celebrations at Adyar under the famous Banyan Tree, Dr. Maria Montessori inaugurated the Besant Cultural Centre, which has for its aims and objects the fostering of the best in the culture of the East and the West. Culture and education are inseparable, but Dr. Maria Montessori deplored that the present day system of education was devoid of both. True education should promote the physical intellectual and the emotional aspects of a child. Our system of education is deficient in all these three aspects and when we speak of education in these days frankly speaking we speak of only literacy. We are happy to note that the object of the Besant Cultural Centre will be to give a new orientation to our system of education so as to ensure an all round development of the child. It is quite appropriate that this centre has been inaugurated in memory of Dr. Besant. She was one of the very few people in India who realised the soul-less and soul-killing education and wanted to make it a dynamic and useful one, by inaugurating the great National Education Movement.

Dr. Arundale Montessori Training Centre

The Montessori Training centre at Adyar is another important limb of the Besant Cultural Centre. India in general and Madras in particular are very fortunate and blessed to have Dr. Montessori the founder of the Montessori method at the head of this Montessori Training Centre. She has wrought a wonderful revolution in the system of educating the child though I am told the Madras Government has not so far recognised school run under the Montessori system for grant in aid. It was the good fortune of the writer of this note to have listened to three private talks followed by discussions one by Dr. Maria Montessori one by Mr. Monesosri and another by the Principal of the Montessori Training centre Mr. Yooston, on Montessori methods. One of these talks was followed by practical demonstrations with the aid of the special apparatus devised by Dr. Montessori. After listening to the talks and witnessing the demonstrations, one regretted that he was not young so as to benefit by this wonderful system. It is hoped ere long that Dr. Maria Montessori with the aid of well known Indian educationists and psychologists will be able to devise equipments, suited to Indian conditions and purse, which on inquiry from people actually engaged in this work was found to be both costly and requiring modification. We hope ere long that this Montessori Training Centre will blossom into a full fledged Training College under the auspices of the Besant Cultural Centre.

Thus the Besant Cultural centre has been inaugurated under very good auspices, with all the facilities for promoting the ideas of the sponsors; The Adyar Library, the Tamil Manuscript Library, the Kalakshetra, the Montessori Training centre, the Besant Theosophical School and a first class printing press like Vasantha Press, all these being the agencies through which the aims and objects of the Besant Centre can be worked.

Srimathi Rukmani Devi while speaking about the Besant Cultural Centre made an appeal for 40 Lakhs of Rupees to enable the organisers to run the various departments attached to it. While we are confident that this sum will be realised from the admirers and followers of Dr. Besant all over the world it is imperative that India which owes so much to Dr. Besant and which will derive the full benefits of this Centre should respond in a generous measure to the appeal for funds.

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REVIEWS

Premakalavatyam. S. V. Guruswami Sastri Re. 1-8-0. Giri Press Triplicane. This is one of the earliest novels in Tamil published nearly 55 years ago by the author. The contemporary social and religious life of Tamilnad of the nineties of the last century particularly with reference to a portion of the Trichy district is well depicted in this novel. Some of the social customs and habits of the Brahmin community are cleverly woven into the fabric of the novel. A book which can be read by every member of the Hindu household.

Sri Ganesha Pancharatnam and Sri Minakshi Panchadasi Stotram (each 0-5-0) in Sanskrit with Tamil meanings by Brahmasri Thethiyur Subramanya Sastrigal and published by Sri Giri & Co. Triplicane will be found very useful by the non-Sanskrit knowing devout Hindus. Both the books are well got up.

Kambar Tharum Kannan (A. R. Tirumalai Iyengar Tamil Sangam Triplicane) deals with Kambar's conception of Sri Krishna as described by him in his Ramayana.

In the book **Tamilnad and Cinema Kalai** (Sengu publications, Seven Wells Madras 0-6-0) the present decadence of the Tamil films is deplored and a fervent appeal is made to improve the standard and morals of the Tamil films.

Bhagavat Gita. Yogi Suddhananda Bharati. Puduyuga Nilayam Pondicherry 1-4-0. This Tamil version of the Bhagavat Gita from Suddhananda Bharati maintains the high standard of Tamil writing that is usually associated with him. The yogi has classified the subjects dealt with in the Gita under various heads. They are very helpful for easy reference. The book is well printed and deserves to be in the hands of every Tamilian.

In the book **Unmai Oliyum Ulaka Olkkamum** (N. Chinniah Chettiar 11 Ayalur Muthiah Mudali St. G. T. Madras 1-2-0) the author deals with the need for an enlightened and purposeful life in order to bring about a world order of peace and amity among the nations.

Srimad Bhagavad Gita or Lord's Song. By the Magdal Ramachandra, Gitasran, 4th Cross Road. Chamarajpet, Bangalore City As. 12.

The Gita has continued to be the unfailing fountain Source of divine comfort and solace to all distressed ignorant Souls. The translation offered in this book for the lay reader conforms to the original, and there is a very useful glossary at the end explaining some of the terms used in the Gita. The book is handy, and well printed, but we desire that it has been printed on better paper. This is a book which should be found in every household.

THE BHARATHA DHARMA

The Bharatha Dharma, a high class cultural journal, is the official organ of the Arya Mata Sabha devoted to the discussion of all topics of interest calculated to promote brotherhood and unity among the various section of the people of Hindustan, such as religion, art, culture, politics, economics, sociology etc., from the point of the liberal Hindu thought.

The Bharat Dharma circulates widely in India, and abroad.

Besides individual subscribers the Bharatha Dharma is read by a wide circle of scholars and publicists, as copies of this journal are placed on the tables of many public reading rooms libraries, research institutions and other Academic bodies and colleges in India and abroad.

CONTRIBUTIONS. Articles intended for publication in the Bharatha Dharma should reach the Editor by the 15th of the preceding month to be included in the succeeding months' issue. The Manuscripts should be typed on one side of the paper in double space.

REVIEWS. Reviews of books are a regular feature of the journal. Two copies of the book intended for review should be sent.

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—The Official Organ of the Arya Mata Sabha—

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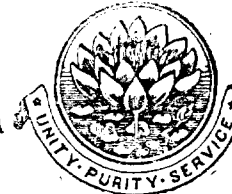
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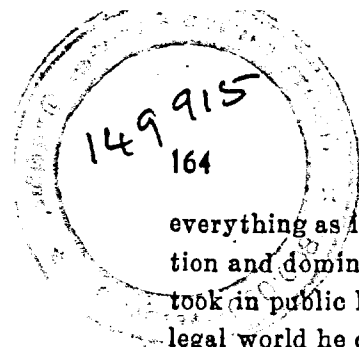
SIR P. S. SIVASAWMI AIYER

By

K. S. SANKARA AIYER, B.A., B.L. *Advocate.*

Sri P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer passed away just a year ago in the ripe old age of 82. He was one of the illustrious sons of India whose death was lamented all over India by those who knew him well. His was a life full of steady pursuit and solid achievement and his contribution to the political, educational spheres has been substantial. He was one of those rare types of men who without any ostentation or display went about doing their good deeds unmindful of praise or blame, and had the strength to express boldly and without any hesitation his views on all public and political matters however unpopular they may be for the time being. That his counsel was the wise one will be recognised by all today. He counselled moderation in India's pace for independence, opposed the division of India and pleaded for a steady advance. The events show that the course he suggested might perhaps have been the better though the longer way.

After a brilliant academic career at the college he joined the bar at the early age of 21 in 1885. At the bar his practice steadily grew. He was one of the foremost lawyers of his day. Patient he was with his clients: careful he was in the preparation of his briefs: thorough he was on his law: and scrupulously fair he was not only to the Court but also his opponent. He stood in strange contrast to his two friends and rivals at the bar. The bar is a highly competitive field where success awaits only the fighter. His friend V. Krishnaswami Aiyar carried



everything as if he was a tempestuous gale. By his forceful presentation and domineering personality he towered amongst his fellows. He took in public life a place among the leaders of the country. In the legal world he carried everything before him. But his crowded life soon came to a close and the period of his work was unfortunately brief. His other friend and rival at the bar was P. R. Sundara Aiyer who also carried a powerful personality and a dominating and impressive way in his advocacy which greatly impressed the bench and the clients. Both easily made their mark and fortune in the bar. But both had a meteoric end. Not so was Sivaswami Aiyer. He was no less learned than the other two: indeed his knowledge was more profound and accurate. His mastery of facts was no less, for he prepared his briefs with the utmost care. But in the presentation of his cases he strove with remarkable success to attain a high degree of professional code of honour and dignity which required one to be not only a successful advocate for the party but also to be fair to the other side and to the bench. Few are the advocates who aim at the ideal. He aimed at it and throughout his career never swerved from it. That won for him the regard and esteem of the judges and amply made up for him what he lost by the lack of the qualities which his friends possessed and by which they advanced in life. It is a moot question in casuistry whether an advocate pleading for a party is bound to draw the attention of the Court to previous authorities against his client's case, and that of his own accord, without being asked about it. Sivaswami Aiyer's conscience was so delicate that he preferred to lay bare even the authorities against himself in order that the judges should not be misled and justice be defeated thereby. His high character won him the confidence of the judges and the Government soon made him the Advocate General of Madras, a position which he held with great dignity for nearly five years. When later in 1912 the office of member of council fell vacant on the early demise of Sri V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, the Government appointed him to succeed in his place. That office he held for five years with great distinction. The solid work which he did as a member of council was attested in glowing words by Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who succeeded him in that high office. He said "To be in a minority and yet to hold fast to this faith and to proclaim that faith with courage and tenacity—that was the quality of that great soul which I later learned to appreciate. But people even now do not know the real nature of things about Sir. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, because his work

was done not in the light of public criticism, but within the secretariat chambers and in the sanctum sanctorum of Executive Council chambers. During the time he was Advocate General, during the time he was member of council, there was not one occasion on which he compromised for the sake of compromise and there were many occasions on which he stood alone and unpopular. This high encomium truly depicts a firmness of character and a strength of conviction and a boldness to stand by it and none other, which few possess and fewer exhibit in this world.

When he retired from his membership of council, many expected him to resume his practice at the bar, where he could easily have regained his place in the front rank; he had a reputation of being careful about his money and the allurements of the bar must have had great temptations: but he firmly resisted it. For a short time he consented to be the legal adviser to a native state; but he soon gave it up. He devoted himself to public work and gave to the country his undivided attention and wise counsel in those troublous days. His wide knowledge and experience added to his phlegmatic nature led him to follow in the footsteps of Ranade and be an advocate of gradual reform in politics. He decried the way of non-cooperation and satyagraha in no uncertain terms as fraught with grave dangers to the peace of the country. He dreaded the violence which would be its natural and inevitable issue. He believed that progress lay in the gradual attainment of freedom after one had learnt the arts of democratic government. He was a moderate in politics; and though previously a congressman, when the congress began to be led by Mahatma Gandhi, he and a few others formed the National Liberal Federation with ideals and ideologies and methods different from those of the congress, advocating and pleading for more and more reforms to the end that Dominion Status may be attained in course of time. He held fast to those views with a strange tenacity even after he found that his friends one by one were forsaking him in the faith in the honesty of Britain to fulfil with grace and in time her plighted words, and were more and more drawn along the ways of the congress. Unpopular he was, but that in no way affected his course and in season and out of season he impressed on the politicians the need for circumspection and moderation. The Mahatma understood him and respected him notwithstanding all differences.

He was the Vice Chancellor of the Madras University from 1916 to 1918, of the Benares University from 1918 to 1919 in both of which he

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did solid service to the cause of education. He was elected as a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1920 which he filled till 1929, where his advice was frequently sought after on all matters of importance, especially on Army matters on which he soon acquired such profound knowledge that he was considered an authority.

His recommendations led to the increasing association of the Indian personnel in the army which had been kept as a close preserve hitherto.

He presided over the National Liberal Federation twice, delivered convocation addresses of the Madras University in 1914, of the Benares University in 1919, of the Mysore University in 1923, and of the Lucknow University in 1934. In due recognition of his services the Government conferred on him the title of C.I.E., in 1908, of C.S.I. in 1912, of K.C.S.I. in 1915 and the Madras University honoured him with a Doctorate in 1932.

His personal life was singularly chaste and austere. He was deeply attached to his friends and relations and even more deeply attached to his dependents and servants whom he treated with the same kindness as if they were members of his own family. His friends were select: but to them he showed boundless affection. His hospitality was equally unbounded. His respect for man knew no limits and he showed the regard and consideration to all alike with no distinction of high or low, old or young. He was uniformly courteous to all. His personal neatness and cleanliness and the way in which everything about him was kept spotlessly clean and tidy were admirable. His books which had been in constant use for half a century were as new at the end as they were at the beginning. He was fastidious in his tastes, had an eye for beauty, and a love of fine arts.

He was a man of peace. He held it true that any society to be stable must be founded on the rule of law. Culture and civilization must make for peace and progress, and order and discipline are the first prerequisites of organised society. It was the spread of disorder and uprooting of civilization that he dreaded most in the non-co-operation days. Although then he was decried, we now are faced with a situation when all the ingenuity of man and all his resources are called forth in a supreme effort to bring peace to this distracted land and the warning hand he then held out acquires a meaning and significance now which we did not then perceive.

He was no less patriotic than the ardent patriots; only his solution for attaining freedom was different. He was an advocate of social

reform, but here again he was for gradualness in bringing it about, as he held that only so will the reform have lasting effect.

It was by his charities that he will be most remembered by posterity, for there he has left permanent landmarks of his greatness and generosity. He took up the management of the high school at Tirukattu-palli, a village near his native place. He was practically its founder and for long it was his first love. He took almost a paternal interest in its growth, devoted his time and attention to its progress which he planned after mature consideration and seeking competent advice, and made a substantial contribution of a lakh of rupees at first which he later increased by a further contribution to serve as an endowment for the school. Under his care and guidance the school is serving the needs of a large number of neighbouring villages and has on its rolls nearly a thousand students. His aims and hopes with regard to that school appear in a message sent by him on the occasion of the Founder's Silver Jubilee. He wrote "Let me hope that when the Golden Jubilee of the school (1856) comes to be celebrated, the amenities of the villagers in this area will have been increased by improvements in communications, by the removal of congestion, by the improvement of sanitation, by better housing all classes, by the efficient administration of village panchayats, by the growth of the co-operative movement, by a diversity of industries and occupations, by the establishment of a girl's High School and a free public library in this area and by a marked growth of literacy and public spirit. It may not be too rash to envisage the utilisation of the resources of broadcasting, cinemas, and other modern inventions as agencies for popular instruction and enjoyment. Let us hope that the new generation will enjoy opportunities, never known to their ancestors, for a healthy and richer life. The prosperity of the High School lies in the hands of the public and with the higher powers. Let us look forward to brighter and prosperous times. The real golden age belongs to the future and not to the fabled and dubious past."

The other institution, the management of which he took over, was the National Girl's High School, Mylapore. When he took it over, it was languishing for want of funds and support. He took it up, gathered an influential body of supporters, had a committee to supervise over its affairs, collected some funds, but in the main gave his own substantial contribution, and did everything to foster its growth. At the end of his life, he bequeathed to it a sum of nearly three lakhs of rupees.

No greater monument can be left of a man's good deeds than institutions like these where the mind of youth is caught at its most plastic

and receptive age and nourished with light and learning, where their eyes are open to the eternal verities of life, and where they are shaped into forms at once noble, good and true, "To give to the human mind a direction which it shall retain for ages is the rare prerogative of a few imperial spirits." The spirit in which he carried out his benefactions was even more admirable. There was no ostentation about it, no display, no publicity, no hope of reward nor expectation of praise in making the endowments. He exercised a benign providence not only in the choice of the objects of his bounty but also in the fostering care with which those objects were helped to grow to fruition.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar was a student throughout his life. His interest were very wide. Literature, ancient and modern, English and Sanskrit, Law, Politics, Economics, Education, Philosophy and Art and even Army questions engaged his attention. He read carefully and whatever he took to he plunged deep and did not rest satisfied until he had a thorough grasp. "Reading maketh a full man". He read much and he was a full man. He laid great store upon the acquisition of knowledge, and down to the end of his life, one saw him with a book on one hand and a pencil in the other, making notes, digesting, criticising and correcting the error and putting a question mark against conclusions whose validity he doubted. He held that in order to comprehend fully it is necessary to know all that has been said about it and it is only by accurate knowledge that understanding can be improved and comprehension be enlarged, and judgments shaped along proper lines.

His personality taken as a whole was even more inspiring than his deeds. His sincerity, calmness, evenness of temper, rectitude and serenity, were unquestionable. He possessed a radiating influence and those about him drew a lesson from his life which chastened their character. With goodwill towards all and hatred towards none, with a soft heart and a pleasing tongue, kind and compassionate to all, Sir Sivaswamy Ayyar embodied in himself ancient virtues which are fast disappearing at the present day. The words of Story about Chief Justice Marshall aptly describe him. "I dwell with even more pleasure upon the entirety of a life adorned by consistent principles and filled up in the discharge of virtuous duty; where there is nothing to regret and nothing to conceal; no friendship broken; no confidence betrayed; no timid surrenders to popular clamour; no eager reaches to popular favour. Who does not listen with conscious pride that he still lives the uncompromising advocate of his principles."

A PLEA FOR CLASSICS

By

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

The present educational system was introduced into the country during a period of foreign domination, and is being criticised was meant for a very limited purpose, in its main objective, namely, to recruit clerks for the State services. It is true that the system has produced very beneficial results in the case of a few talented persons in the country more as an accident than through any design; but in the case of the vast majority of the people that took advantage of (rather than became victims to) this system, it has tended only to stunt their intellect, dry up their emotions and twist their minds. Training of the mind and of the body, building up a character, encouraging original and independent thinking, fostering a sense of social service, creating a love of beauty, in short, moulding a special national consciousness—such points were never kept in view as an objective, and were seldom realised even as an accidental bye-product.

The question of reorganising the system of education has long been engaging the attention of the leaders of the nation. There has been condemnation of the present system; but the effort to replace it by a rational system of education has not been particularly noticeable. The attempts were more to prune and to adapt, rather than to uproot the unwanted system and to plant a new system.

The School Final Board of Madras recently prepared a scheme for the reorganisation of the educational system of the Presidency. It was placed before the Provincial Advisory Board of Education and the latter endorsed the recommendations of the School Final Board, after a discussion, without any change. From the point of view of general principles, the new recommendations simply produce the other side of the same counterfeit coin, and does not produce a new coin at all that can be accepted as legal tender. While in the existing system the objective may be the training of clerks for subordinate services of the State from the point of view of the State that is the employer, the objective of those who undergo the training is certainly not to serve the State, but only to earn a living. By emphasising the "earning a living" side of the issue of education, the new scheme is not different from the old; in the old scheme also, there was the "earning a living" side from the point of view of those who underwent the education. No one can deny

that the aspect of "earning a living" is a very important one from the point of view of the majority of the people, and the emphasis on the vocational side in the new scheme simply takes note of this importance and makes an extension of the old scheme. The great defect of the new scheme is that it ignores the minority, to whom some means of earning a living may not be so vital a point; to them what counts is the opportunity which education affords to become true citizens of the State. I speak about the minority of the so-called intellectuals.

These are days when the claim of the minorities is much in the forefront of public questions. And if communal, religious, and racial minorities can put in their claim in a State, how can the claim of the intellectual minority be ignored? The position of the intellectual minority may be stated more or less as follows. Indians had been great linguists by tradition, and one hears so much in early Indian literature about proficiency in six languages or even in eighteen languages as one of the accomplishments of front rank citizens and the present day weakness in the form of a dread of languages is an infection from the British who are the worst linguists among the nations of the world. When English was introduced into the country, an illusion crept into the minds of the people that English by itself is quite sufficient for all purposes in civic life; in the educational system, English became compulsory, and another "second" language was introduced more to satisfy a sentiment than to meet any specific need; and this second language was always neglected. Multi-lingualism as a personal accomplishment vanished completely from national life, though there are still many an Indian who have to carry his profession in a region beyond the jurisdiction of his mother tongue and who, as such, has to, and does, earn a command of other languages. But this multi-lingual accomplishment plays no part in the system of education. If Indians are at present scared by the thought of introducing a multiple quota of languages in the educational system of the country, it is only like the timidity of a patient convalescing from a stroke of paralysis, in trying to leave his bed. If a four-language course is introduced into the country, there would be an appreciable proportion of the population who will come out of that system of education with considerable credit. It is a great defect in the proposed new scheme that the capacities and the requirements of this vast minority (it may be a majority; I call it a minority only as a caution) have not been taken note of and provided for in the scheme.

The one-language-sufficiency theory has worked its evil effect in the country in another way. It is the antithesis and even a conflict between modern languages and Classics. Even very responsible persons who are on the top rank among leading Indians, have no hesitation in speaking about Sanskrit and Persian having acted like a dead weight on the growth of modern languages and their literatures. There have been frequent complaints that the British had been setting one part of the nation against other parts. The British have departed from the country; but the feud among the different sections of the nation continues and is receiving momentum. And in this feud, the question of the conflict of interest between the Classics and the modern languages is playing a prominent part.

This doctrine of the conflict of interest between the Classics and of modern literatures is a complete perversion and distortion of established historical facts. Every one of the poets and writers of all the modern Indian languages have been great scholars in the Classics (Sanskrit or Persian), and the growth of modern literatures is the direct result of the contributions of Classical scholars. Even now, it is the Classical scholars, in the majority of cases, who bring literary wealth to the modern languages. The literary growth of Persian after its contact with Arabic, and the literary growth of English after its contact with Greek and Latin are known to all.

Can we overlook the fact that even in the modern west, culture is not determined in its scope by nationalism and its limitations? The two wars between Germany and England has not affected the admiration which English artists have for Bach and Beethoven. Italian art and Italian literature are still welcomed among the cultured society of England. Are not modern European literatures being ever enriched by translation from other languages mutually and by interpretations and criticisms of literature and art among other nations in their own languages?

As a matter of fact, did not the whole of modern civilization come out of a mingling of cultures and of languages and literatures? When South Eastern Europe became a part of the Roman Empire, Greek study became very fashionable among the Romans and every noted Roman was a great Greek scholar also. The Romans did not neglect Greek as the language of the conquered nation. At a later stage, the Roman empire accepted Christianity, certainly not a religion started by any Roman. And gradually the whole of Europe became Christian.

The nations of northern Europe like England and Germany did not neglect Greek, which had become an integral part of Roman culture, and Latin, as literatures of other regions and of other nations. On the other hand, Greek and Latin developed in those countries which had nothing to do with the origin of these two literatures. Where would have been, and what would have been the state of, modern civilization if humanity in ancient times too had been dominated by notions of literatures and cultures of conquerors and of the conquered and of aliens. But the ancient world in this respect was indeed wiser than the modern man; ancients accepted languages, literatures and cultures as heritages of the whole humanity. The theory of "nations" is a new development among men, due to the advancement of political ambitions and of economic rivalries. It will be best for humanity in the future, if "nationalism" is kept within its proper limits of politics and economics and if literatures and cultures are allowed to develop along their free paths.

The fact is that there is quarrel only among individuals; there can be no quarrel among languages. When two languages come together, both become richer. In all the European languages, it would be noticed, those who contributed to the literature, whether as poets or as writers or as literary critics were, cent per cent so to speak, classical scholars. In India also the phenomenon is the same. I have heard some advocates asserting that in the case of certain languages, there is no dependence on other languages. It is no more significant than when one says that he can eat rice without even a pinch of salt. It may be a fact; but is that what we call good food?

The greatest glory of India is that it has started a civilization earlier than any civilization now known to history, that other civilizations were crumbling into dust and new civilizations were replacing them, and that its civilization still continues as one of the strongest forces in the life of man in this world. The modern literatures grew as natural expansions of the Classics; literatures have branched off, and yet the trunk has not decayed. The trunk is still strong enough to support the wide expanding branches. Will it not be the great glory of India if India can present to the world this great wealth of literature? And it will be India's eternal shame if we ruin this wealth and present to the world only a battle-field for conflicting interests.

There is a difference between full life and a bare existence. If a boy or girl is trained to use his or her hands and thereby is enabled to

to "earn a living", the immediate result is that he or she is given a chance to continue his or her bare existence in this world. It is art and beauty that convert a bare existence into a full life. Even animals live; but is that what we call full life? Is it anything more than an existence, which is common even to a rock? What a wealth of beauty and art, what a wealth of wisdom do we have to throw away, if we give up the Classics? The wisdom of the ancients, the pilgrimages of scholars from various countries to India to worship at the shrines of learning in the country, the spread of Indian civilization into far off regions, what a great glory in the past history of humanity we will be throwing into complete oblivion if we discard our Classics?

If only the members of the School Final Board who framed the recommendations and the members of the Provincial Advisory Board of Education who endorsed the recommendations, had just a peep into that vast region of the ancient History of India, if only they had just a glance of the vast literature, the various arts like poetry, music, dancing, architecture sculpture and painting, the diverse philosophies, the multitude of religions, the different positive sciences, innumerable treatises relating to political organisation and social adjustments and the institutions themselves working in harmony and with efficiency, the leading place which ancient India had among the nations of the ancient world, the material wealth of the country and the spiritual elevation of the people—if only a single member of either of the two Boards had thought of just opening an eye for a moment, they would not have relegated the Classics to such deplorable position in the educational system of the country. According to the recommendations, the Classics do not find a place in the scheme of examinations. Even for drawing and such other subjects, though not forming part of the examination scheme the schools *have* to make adequate provision; but for Classics, they simply *may*; they are not bound to. And for just two hours a week, the school management and the teachers and the students are *just* free, if they so desire, to devote their time for the study of the Classics.

We have been hearing so much about the possibilities of moulding our educational system to suit our traditions, our spirit, our genius and our talents. Is the presence of the Classics what militated against our traditions, against our spirit, against our genius and against our talents? Does the system of education become "national" simply by removing, the Classics from the system? In India there is talent, there is intellectual capacity, there is desire, there is scope and there is the material,

But it appears that the recent temple-entry legislation threatens to undo the usefulness of temple worship. People have not yet made up their minds to continue or abandon temple worship. Nobody can question the motive of Mahatma Gandhi in introducing this reform from a political point of view. But the usage of a thousand years and more has been destroyed by a stroke of the legislators' pen. The dissenters have no escape. There is a volume of genuine feeling among the conservative section against this piece of legislation and upto date several respectable members of the Society have ceased going into temples while others unable to give up their offices and income from temples service continue to attend. It is necessary that this state of affairs must be put an end to and the temples must be restored to their original usefulness to one and all. But I am sure that one day or other the South Indian genius will find a way out. Another Sri Ramanuja who admitted Harijans in the temple at Melkote in the 11th century may rise and end the deadlock. The emergency that has arisen now in the political history of India is none the less than the emergency that arose during the time of Sri Ramanuja and the bold stand he had then taken in spite of all shastric injunctions to the contrary may yet be taken. *Vaishnavite* creed knows no distinction of caste or outcase in relation to the ardent devotees of God "*Bhakti*" is their sole test and service is their sole *aim and end*.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Adyar & Tamil Libraries

A more auspicious occasion than the Centenary of Dr. Besant and a more fertile soil than Adyar for sowing the Besant Cultural Centre cannot be thought of. Adyar is already known as an International centre for the study of comparative religion, art and culture. The Adyar Library about which we wrote last time is a valuable adjunct to this Besant Cultural centre. Besides the Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Swaminatha Iyer Tamil Manuscripts Library which is housed at Adyar with about 3,000 Tamil manuscripts and which is under the loving care of the Kalakshetra provides facilities for research and study to those interested in Tamil culture and literature, and we must record here our appreciation of the Tamil Manuscript Library which has so far published several rare works which were till now only in Manuscript forms. Ere long we hope the non-Tamil knowing public of India and the world will have an opportunity of enjoying the treasures that lie hidden in the cadjan leaves through reliable authentic and scholarly English translations.

S. R. V.

Kalakshetra

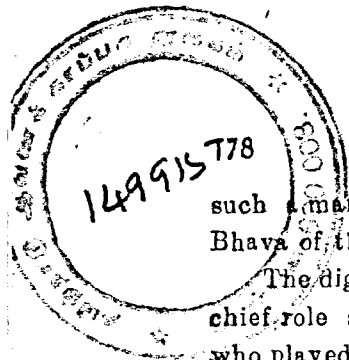
In the field of fine arts also, Adyar has earned a reputation through its Kalakshetra under the Directorship of Srimati Rukmani Devi for all that is noble and pure artistic and soul stirring in the realm of fine arts, such as dancing, drawing painting, music and artistic handicrafts such as weaving etc. In fact Kalakshetra is trying to recapture the glory that was Indian Art and retrieve Indian Art from its present decadent position. The Kalakshetra has already set up new standards in Music, dancing, painting and artistic weaving ennobling them and enriching them with forms and patterns adapted to modern needs yet maintaining the original purity of standards and ideas.

Since the foundation of the Kalakshetra Srimati Rukmini Devi and the Kalakshetra Artists have been proceeding from success to success in the new interpretations of the Indian art of dancing and adapting some of our classics for their dance programmes. The latest achievement in that direction was the remarkable adaptation of the Poet Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*, a poem that is intended to be recited and listened to. But it was left to the genius of Sri Rukmini Devi to discover in it the possibilities of adapting the whole *Kavya* to the stage. It was in the fitness of things that this feature of the *Kavya* was pressed into service in an eminently superb manner by Srimati Rukmini Devi during the Besant centenary celebrations. The result was the delectable dance play of *Kumarasambhava* that she put on board at Adyar on the 30th September inaugurating the Besant Cultural Centre. The following appreciative remark in a local daily about the play may be read with interest.

"With dance sequence (Sollukattu) punctuating the pictorial depiction of some of the enthralling episodes from this piece, the entire dance recital displays fine specimens of the art of pantomime blending with the technique of Bharata Natya and Kathakali.

Against the suggestive background of the snowy peaks of the Himalayas the opening scene shows four celestial maidens singing the praises of the mountain of the mountains in the words of Kalidas himself. Every succeeding episode upto the culmination of the epic in the marriage of Shiva and Parvathi has been worked out into the absorbing pattern of graceful movements and expressive Bhava.

Sangitha Kalanidhi Tiger Varadachariar who is responsible for the musical setting has married music to Kalidasa's marvellous words in



THE BHARATHA DHARMA

DECEMBER

such a manner as to bring out at the same time the wonderful Rasa Bhava of the Sahitya and the beauty of the pure Carnatic melodies.

The dignity and grace with which Sri Rukmini Devi performed the chief role showed once again her gift of interpretations. The child who played Manmatha was delightful."

As one who witnessed the dance drama of Kumarasambhava on the 30th September the writer of this note agrees entirely with this critical appreciation of the performance.

A word of praise is due to the remarkable service that Srimathi Rukmini Devi is doing to Sanskrit culture and literature through her Kalakshetra especially at a time when forces unfriendly to Sanskrit and its culture are abroad trying to dislodge it from its none too envious position in the curriculum of our studies. We earnestly hope that Sanskrit which has survived every kind of onslaught on it during the ages will again be able to come into its own after some time.

Pref. Ganguly on visual instruction and Art

Professor G. C. Ganguly who opened the Fine Arts Exhibition organised in connection with the Besant Centenary at Kalakshetra condemned the superstition still governing our system of education which shut out from our class rooms visual works of beauty and the graphic works of form and colour in which our best thinkers and workers had incorporated their dreams, Visualised their hopes and fears. He made a powerful plea that those "periods in our cultural history when the means of our knowledge and our education were recorded and sought for in the stimulating signs and symbols of colour and form as well as in the written and spoken world" should be revived ere long, and we hope that this will be the prime responsibility of the Kalakshetra. For as Prof. Ganguly observed the visual method offered the easiest, most cheerful and cheapest way to the gates of knowledge.

S. R. V.

REVIEW.

"Song of the Emancipated Self" by Tanguturi Sriramulu; Publishers, V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras, 1947 edition, Price As. 8.

This is a collection of verses that appeared in Federated India and other journals. In verse form the author has given a conception of the emancipated individual with which Hindus are quite familiar. It also indicates some of the Upanishadic ideas of the Universal.

(E. V. R.)

THE BHARATHA DHARMA

The Bharatha Dharma, a high class cultural journal, is the official organ of the Arya Mata Sabha devoted to the discussion of all topics of interest calculated to promote brotherhood and unity among the various sections of the people of Hindustan, such as religion, art, culture, politics, economics, sociology etc., from the point of the liberal Hindu thought.

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