

N. G. Chitnavis has reduced his own salary, as President of the C. P. Council, from three to two thousand rupees p.m. The fact has received no notice at all in the Indian Press, apparently. In most Provinces the argument runs thus: The Elective Minister in charge of transferred subjects should have an equal status with the non-elective Executive Councillor in charge of reserved subjects; status is in direct ratio to salary; therefore the Minister must have the same salary as the Executive Councillor. Why is status in direct ratio to the salary? Can it be because the wish (for the large salary) is father to the thought? Is it not more reasonable to think, with regard to executive offices, that status is measured by power? Obviously the Ministers have no powers to compare with those of the Executive Councillors. Would it not be more patriotic, more public-spirited, more wise, more true, even more expedient, for them to reverse the thought and create a new standard, *viz.*, other conditions being similar, the status is in *inverse* ratio to the salary accepted? Why not set an example of honorary work, which would include work on a 'maintenance' allowance? *Then* would status be what it truly is, in direct ratio with *honor*. *Then* could retrenchments be made effectively, without grumblings from anybody. *Then* would new taxes be borne patiently and even willingly by the public,

if necessary to impose. In the meanwhile, what do the public see? If there is any retrenchment, the small-salaried men, who do the real hard work, are reduced and dismissed and disbanded by hundreds and thousands; *and*, what is saved thus is generally overspent on the salaries and travelling expenses of one or two "high" officials, of Commissions or Committees, specially appointed to investigate and suggest and bring about such reductions!

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

About two-thirds of the total revenue is swallowed up by the military item! Little for the spread of the light of knowledge; nothing for the promotion of industries which will give food to the people; nothing for discriminate reclamation of land now occupied by vast forests, and the drafting of surplus agricultural populations to them, from the congested tracts, but very much for the big, big stick, with which to beat — whom? These very people who are to pay for it in ever swelling taxes! Does not the Commander-in-Chief say plainly in the Council that "the internal condition" of the country compels this huge expenditure? Imagine the Commander-in-chief of England saying such a treasonable thing of the British People in the Parliament! The people are "rebellious" and must be kept in order, by extra military and extra

police. And why are they "rebellious", pray? Is it not because of the unbearable burdens of the Military, the Police, the I.C.S. and the I.M.S. and the I.E.S. and the other I.S.'s of superfine character, imposed on them without *any* help being given to them to increase their producing capacity and their incomes, and with the facilities for supporting themselves being *taken away* from them, in a hundred direct and indirect ways, day after day? And the vicious circle proceeds apace with its giddy whirl! More taxes to meet more Governmental expenditure; less and less income to the tax-payer because of the dying out of real, honest, productive home-industries, and the enormous growth in the large towns of dishonest, artificial, unreal, unproductive, gambling "business"; and higher prices and worry and unhappiness to *everybody*. For, surely, the man in office, the "public servant" in power and authority, with his *confrere*, the man of capital, and land too, is no less worried to-day, and unhappy and uneasy, unable to enjoy himself at peace and leisure, with all his power and authority and money, than the man of the public, struggling underneath that power and authority!

How long can you go on squeezing juice from the sugar cane when it is already as dry as the bamboo stick? Will not its dead fibres begin to

hurt your palate and stick in your teeth? The cow, in order to yield milk, has to be fed. If you starve it, or actively exercise upon its back only the "big stick," its udders will run dry, and you will have to suffer in the end, as well as the calf. In this mutual worrying between governmental "violence" and Non-co-operational, non-violence, the productive powers of the country bid fair to be further weakened, and the bread of the masses and the salaries and incomes of the classes, may both vanish simultaneously some day.

Yet it is not so difficult for the two parties to consult together quietly. And a quiet and honest consultation could not possibly fail to bring about useful results. But Prestige has a hard heart and a strong head! It will not see that while it is jailing by the hundred and the thousand, the non-co-operators who are trying to spread the spirit of non-violence, its own policy of ever-increasing taxation will surely some day drive its co-operators to "co-operate violently."

Why are human minds so away!

VI

WHY IS IT ALL SO AWAY ?

The British man, especially when in office, thinks and says, (*vide* recent speeches and writings of Presidents of Associations, Governors, Chancellors, Journalists), [winter of 1921-1922]. "We must maintain law and order (that is to say our prestige, our will to do as we please); we cannot walk out of India at the bidding of the Congress (*ie.*, we must continue to tread and trample on the Indian people --for the Congress *never* asked you to, or even *wished*, that you should walk out of India); We cannot have the Ilbert Bill (*i.e.*, the 'spleen-splittings' and 'shootings-by-mistake-for-animals of natives' must continue); We must make India and Egypt, etc. feel our tough fibre, (for what right has the born helot to develop any fibre of his own? We conquered India by the sword, and will keep it by the sword, and if it is to be taken from us at all *it must be taken by the sword, etc.*" During the days of the Great War, old Generals eagerly proclaimed that if India was won by the sword, it was the sword of the Indian

which won it—for the Englishman—what glory !; and, now the taunt is uttered that if the Indians want India for the Indians, they must win it back by the sword ; for if the Indians were really brave, would they not fight with their fists, the only swords that they have now, the weapons that nature gave them; and break to pieces therewith the hundred-ton guns and the armoured cars and tanks and aeroplanes etc., of the conquerors !

On the other hand, the Indian, not in office but of the street, the workshops, the field, and also of other classes, begins to think and speak of “equality, liberty, fraternity.” “ We have suffered enough hurt-to-stomach and enough hurt to self-respect ; we cannot improve our lot by begging and petitioning ; we have tried that *ad libitum* , we must do something else ; ‘ none but the brave deserve the fair ’ ; ‘ the price of liberty is death ’ ; *semper vigilans* , violent fighting is neither good principle, generally speaking, nor is it good policy for India, especially in present conditions ; let us at least avoid helping our jailor to make our chains heavier ; let us try non-violent non-co-operation which is only another, fuller, larger, more refined, perfected, and public-spirited form of the ancient *dharna* (Skt, *dharana* ?) and *hartal* of this land, and of the passive resistance and boycott and strike and ‘ down tools’ of other lands ; let us try to manage our own

affairs, and see if we cannot run a State within a State, as they did successfully in Ireland."

Such is the state of affairs. "Pride in the public servant's post" and greed in his and his friend the capitalist's heart on the one side, and "Defiance in the public eye" "am I not man also?" on the other Militarism plus capitalism on the one side; emotional patriotism and laborism and 'the rights of man' on the other.

THE FALSE ISSUE AND THE TRUE ISSUE

And *neither* party cares to investigate the *root-cause* of the whole difficulty. *Neither*--for aught that is visible in writings or audible in speakings - has any real substantial idea beyond that of "Let him take who has the power, and let him keep who can," so far as the end and aim is concerned, and of thwarting the other, so far as the method is concerned. The official would worry the non-official and suppress his activities directly by violence; the non-official would worry the official by non-violence, combined with non-co-operation, and make life so unluxurious for him as to compel him to yield to the public demands. (At least that is what is understood--for, so far as I am aware, it has *never* been clearly and publicly explained *how* the successive items of the programme of non-co-operation if successfully carried out, *would* bring Swaraj--what-

ever that word might mean—which is the still more serious difficulty.)

ALL A FIGHT FOR POWER, OF BOTH SIDES,
NOT FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS

The man in office says, "I will keep the power I have." The man not in office says, "I must have the right to appoint you and dismiss you, and so your power must come into my hand." It is all a dispute as to who shall have the power. There is no comprehensive systematic thought as to how the power should be used and what should be the ethical as well as the intellectual quality of the men who should be entrusted with its use and how this quality can be secured in them, *i.e.*, how persons possessed of this ethical as well as intellectual fitness can be secured and made legislators.

Yet these are the things that are the most essential, and constitute the real meaning of Swaraj. Among the "masses," in groups of different occupations, many and dangerous misunderstandings are current as to what Swaraj will mean for them, as I have tried to show elsewhere; also among some groups of the "classes". But most "educated" persons have at the back of their minds, a system of government more or less like the British Parliamentary system. "The people should have power over the purse, the law, the military, the police,"

“ all the at present reserved subjects should also become transferred,” etc. But they do not pause to think that that Parliamentary system has failed to check, has apparently helped to intensify, the spirit of “ class-war ” which, at bottom, has plunged Europe and America and their “ dependencies ” into the Great War and nearly brought ruin to civilisation ; *and has, not finished yet.*

THE TRUE ISSUE

It is absolutely no use fighting over “ whether you will hold the power or I,” no use insisting that “ I will have the power and not you,” until it has been outlined (1) *how* power can and should be used, *so as to abate the real root-causes of the unrest, which is confined not to India, or to any one country, but is world-wide* and (2) what sort of persons are the best fitted to use it. *This should be settled first of all, as first and foremost and most essential part of his programme, by whomsoever comes forward with a programme for political reform. Because, if it is not settled, the quarrel, as to “ whether you will hold the power or I, “ will never be settled ; and will be repeated, over and over again, at shorter and shorter intervals ; witness the risings and fallings of “ leaders ” in all such movements ; and because, if it is not settled, even if the people should succeed in wresting the power from the*

present bureaucracy, *i.e.*, from the *chiefs* of the bureaucracy, they will have to put other men into the place of those chiefs, and *there is no guarantee at all that the new men will be better than the old*, no certainty that they will not make a new and worse bureaucracy. Indeed, there is much reason to believe—with the example of the Western countries before us—that *the people, in general, will be no better off than now*, and very likely worse, — witness the republics of South America. But with these things properly outlined by the would-be reformer, there is much chance that the quarrel over “I will have the power and not you,” may abate of itself; if the scheme is reasonable, its reasonableness *may* appeal to the party now in power; they *may* see that under such a scheme, they would not lose everything and that there is a fair chance of a more equitable distribution, throughout human society, of what human beings want. Or, if the quarrel should not abate; if the persons now in power should cling on, tooth and nail, to what they have grabbed hold of, and should refuse to yield even an inch, even after the offering of a reasonable and righteous programme, *then, and then only, there would be good reason, and clear conscience, in carrying on the non-violent struggle ever more and more strenuously for a clearly visualised goal.*

NO RELAXATION OF EFFORTS SUGGESTED BUT
ADDITION OF AN ITEM RECOMMENDED

It is not suggested that the efforts of the reformers, the Congress organisation here, or the Syndicalist or other organisations elsewhere, should be relaxed. No; let them be redoubled; let them all *also* make up a clear programme, let them get a clear conception of how the administration of human affairs should be carried on, so as to secure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and not "the greatest cash and power and glory of the smallest number". If there is any rule at all, then always there must be "a ruling minority and a ruled majority" so far, at least, as the daily work of administration is concerned, and even if the chief "rulers" be ultimately elective, they cannot be put up and pulled down every day, and therefore may "make hay while the sun shines", during their tenure of office, whatever the length of its period. It is more necessary, therefore, to ensure the *ethical* fitness of the legislator and of the head of any department than his intellectual or physical fitness. Every programme of political reform should provide for this, first of all, yet, so far as I am aware, no programme extant does this. At the most there is an assumption that "the fear of dismissal" will keep them in order. It has never

done so, in past and present history. Rather, the terror, which is held over the head of the man in office, is passed on by him to the head of the public, and he 'governs by terrorism.' The *fear* of "dismissal" has to be replaced by "*love of the people*," and *then* only will "*government by fear*" be changed into "*rule, or rather service by love*"

WHY THE STRUGGLE IS EMBITTERED AND PROLONGED

It is worth while to repeat and emphasise here, that the struggle between the opposing parties, whether in India or elsewhere, is embittered and prolonged *because* it is a struggle for *power*—"I will have the power and not you"—and is *not* a struggle for an unmistakably *righteous use* of power.

The men now in power instinctively feel like this. "These Congress-leaders (or Syndicalist or Labor leaders) if they come into power, will use it as selfishly as we are using it; therefore, why should *we* not cling on to what we have? If they come into power, they will harm us, as we have been harming them; therefore, why should *we* not remain in the position of harming them, instead of allowing them to harm us? If any of them will come over to our side, in return for high offices and large salaries, or titles, or mere smiles and courtesies and dinners,

let us win them over by all means. If they will not, then they had better go to jail rather than be our rivals for precious power. If they have any weaknesses of the flesh, for money, for luxuries, etc., weaknesses like ours, which will give us a hold over them, which will induce them to side with us, and will enable us to hold them to us and to our service, let them come over; otherwise, their proper place is either the jail or the jungle. The masses will always be under somebody's thumb; therefore, best under ours; and terrorising them, on the one hand, and keeping them quarrelling with each other, on the other—these are very good and ancient ways of so holding them under our thumb."

There are the old, old ways of *sama*, *dana*, *danda*, and *bheda*. And this is the way the men, who happen somehow to be in power, feel. And how can it be said that it is unnatural, or even unreasonable, of them to feel so, until the Congress leaders (and Syndicalist leaders elsewhere) make it clear that if they come into power, they will use it selflessly, and will not make life wholly unbearable and impossible for the present officials and the capitalists—but will make only *some* and reasonable curtailment of their privileges and perquisites? One main reason for the stubborn opposition of the Ulsterites to the Sein Fein was that they felt quite sure that the latter, as Roman Catholics, if they

came into power, would avenge all the old wrongs upon the former, as Protestants.

For this plain psychological reason, if nothing else, is it urgently necessary to outline a *programme* of Swaraj, and not offer *the mere word* without a clear meaning or with the mere implication, at most, of a change of *personnel* only in the *holders* of *power*. Until the spirit of humanity, of humaneness, is definitely invoked by means of a national programme, the *esprit de corps* of the Bureaucracy is sure to hold sway. "My official brother or subordinate and the Prestige of the Service—right or wrong" like "My country—right or wrong."

A RECENT ILLUSTRATION

In the U. P. Legislative Council, in the course of a debate over the item for special military police, soon after the Chauri Chaura occurrence, an elective member had the courage and the conscience to say words to the effect that the police had originated the trouble. Such is the hypnosis of the bureaucratic atmosphere and influence, and of catchwords like law and order, under which the members generally labour, that none supported this solitary defender of the People, and some even cried "shame" on him; and an official got up promptly and protested against "the defilement of the memory of a loyal and devoted servant of the

crowd." Alas! all were for the loyal and devoted service of the Crown, an inanimate symbol of the power which is *de facto* held by the bureaucrat; and only that solitary brother was for the loyal and devoted service of the living People whose salt the bureaucrat eats!

Even the official communiques had admitted that the police had fired first on the crowd, had killed at least two and wounded many, and that *after* this the crowd had rushed upon the the police and committed its crimes. Yet the protesting official member prejudged, by a gross *argumentum ad hominem*, that anything said against the slain policemen was a defilement of a sacred memory. Even by the communiques, and much more by the governmental pleader's opening of the case for the prosecution there was absolutely nothing heroic or devoted or even dutiful in the conduct of the unfortunate policemen. And if during the subsequent magisterial enquiry and judicial trial, the plea of provocation were advanced by the accused, then presumably, the aforequoted *argumentum ad hominem* would probably not be allowed to bar out the plea, whatever the ultimate result of the case might be. Yet perhaps the official member's protesting pre-judgment of a matter then *subjudice* was an "intelligent anticipation"—*because of the inevitable esprit de corps.*

The intensity of this self-preserving *esprit de corps* can be weakened only by a *rational* presentation of the *esprit de humanite*, embodied in a proper scheme of Swaraj which will mainly deal with the *qualifications* of the legislators and their electors, will make it fairly clear that the 'self-preservation of all is provided for sufficiently, and will show that, and how, it is possible to replace "the government of terror" by "the rule of love" instead of by only "another government of terror."

VII

THE LACK OF RATIONAL, COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME

In the meanwhile, neither of the parties of the struggle, neither the "agitators" nor the "agitated", has any reasoned out and comprehensive programme as to how human affairs should be arranged and administered, any pre-arranged plan, any conception of what is to happen afterwards," in the words of the writer before quoted.

Leaders of the people are, and have to be, *men and women of action*. They have seldom the temperament or the inclination to take long views ahead. So, too, men and women of thought are seldom good for sports and rapid decisions in emergencies. Great persons are great in virtues as well as corresponding weaknesses. Also, even if the the popular leaders had the temperament and the inclination, they have not the leisure and the opportunity, after the struggle has begun. If they happen to have thought out something, more or less vaguely, without due discussion with others,

before the commencement of the struggle, that has last them throughout, without chances of careful readjustment. Hence nearly failures, and disappointment *afterwards*. The longed for sweets turn to ashes in the mouth. The last state is worse than is the first. Combinations of men of thought and men of action are rare; but when they occur lead to success. Popular instinct rightly brings together Rama and Vasishtha, the Pandavas and Krishna, Alexander and Aristotle, Luther and Melanathon, Akbar and Birbal, Shivaji and Ramdas.

In the West State-Socialists, philosophical anarchists, etc., have a philosophy of some sort, a theory though provenly defective, behind their practice. Even the Syndicalist movement has its philosophers; though, as said before, their philosophy, so to say, denies philosophy. But in India, the Swaraj movement has no theory behind it at all. Gandhiji's own philosophy of life (see his *Indian Home Rule*) is by no means the accepted philosophy of the movement. It is not taken seriously by the Congress Workers at large. There is no discussion of it amongst them. The one idea is "Power in the hands of the people" whatever that might mean. On the other side, the bureaucracy do not bother their heads over any such programme either. "My country—right or wrong", "Britannia rules the waves", "the aggrandisement of the

service, and of England"—by the old, old methods of alternate sweet word and big stick, fraud and force—that is enough programme for them.

Hence, opportunism, "living from hand to mouth", "day to day", continual talking about, "do something, do something, don't talk", dealing with "the immediate issue", patchwork, is naturally the order of the day—for both sides—with the exception, of course, of the one fixed pole-star of "power"—power for good, or power for evil does not matter. Yet "One step enough for one"—may be the right attitude for the feet; but the eyes have to look a thousand steps ahead, if the feet are not to walk into the pit. "Enough for the day is the evil thereof"—is right as a consolation, or even as a guide, for the Junior member, whose day's work is assigned to him by the elders of the family; but the elders, the patriarchs, *have* to make provision for future generations, humanly speaking, if they would not themselves send the family to perdition. They *have* to propose, however God may dispose.

But, to-day, in India, or in any other country, really none of the parties struggling with each other, cares to work out any clear notion of *Wherein consists the people's welfare* which all of them *profess* to seek

CURRENT RIDICULE OF SUCH
PROGRAMME^{*}—THINKING

The very ^{*}notion of thinking out such things arouses ridicule in many quarters. The syndicalists' view, that "Reality has no place; therefore let us act impulsively", has been already referred to. The state socialism of Bolshevism is, by newspaper accounts, gradually lapsing into the old methods, and is beginning to recognise property and capital, as was inevitable. Most other people content themselves with saying, "It is impossible to think out such things." "It has never been done," "It is difficult," "It is useless," "It is impossible idealism," "It is utopia," "It will cause endless dispute, and distraction, and diversion of energy if this sort of discussion is taken up now", "It will weaken our cause," and so on. And so the waste and diversion of energy is avoided by European Wars and endless internal disturbances in every country, strikes, riots, meetings, demonstrations, processions and jailings, fining, whippings and shootings! It is not impossible to bring about and carry on the War! It is not difficult to cause Russian Revolution! It is very useful and practical to spend two thirds of each country's revenues on armaments. It is even possible to collect a crore of rupees in a few weeks for the Swaraj Fund in

impoverished India. But to think out a rational programme—that is, of course, impossible, difficult, etc. Everybody says, “Difficult, Difficult,” “Impossible Impossible”, and *nobody will try though there is no other rational solution*, and the only other alternative is to keep on with the blind, frantic, tooth-and-nail and claw-and-fang business of the past and the present. The real psychological reason of the shirking of this root-problem of human welfare is that, un-consciously and subliminally, or indeed deliberately and consciously, *every body wants power* for himself or his group or class or party, and *not* the welfare of mankind.

ELUSIVE WORDS

And yet, if we try to analyse what “Bureaucracy”, or the “People”, or any group” means—what a *Maya* is revealed! The Bureaucracy, if we include all officials, still means a continually changing personnel; if we think only of the heads, the chiefs who hold, in their hands, the real strings of the puppet-show, they show a still more short-lived and changing personnel. The “People”, is almost even more difficult to fix. It means only the representatives, and, yet more, the leaders of those representatives (witness the Working Committee and Mahatmaji in India, and the Presidium and Lenin in Russia); and these are perpetually chang-

ing, almost more frequently than the chiefs of the bureaucracy. It is like the Cabinet and the opposition of the British Parliament, though in other ways and on other scales, and with different forms and degrees of violence or non-violence of thought, word, and deed, and with other differences of detail.

THE ONLY TRUE ISSUE

Nowhere a serious, earnest, grappling with the real issue—of Wherein consists the Welfare of Human Society; How it can be achieved. How should administering, ruling, guiding, governing Power be exercised. Who are best fitted to exercise it; How to secure these best fitted men and induce them to hold the power! On the rock of this neglect ships of state have to split, sooner or later, if the sailors and the passengers continue to dispute, as at present, *blindly*, without thinking out the *rational course of future progress*. It is said that this is the Age of Reason, of Science, of Intelligence rather than question; yet the external wars and the internal conflicts do not support this claim of scientific wisdom and reason, though they do prove much scientific destructive skill. Where is that most important Science of all Sciences—the Science of regulating the affairs of Human Society, so as to bring about the greatest happiness of the greatest number? Blind

with greed and pride the Captains and Lieutenants and Sailors of the ships of State ! Blind with more or less impotent indignation, however just and righteous and non-violent—the passengers ! If they could only light the searchlight of reason, and throw its bright rays on the path ahead, if they would only do this, then the dispute born of the heat of passion in the darkness of the mind, would automatically die out in the resultant illumination of intelligence; nay, it would be replaced by eager mutual co-operation between voyagers and sailors, and the rock of disaster would be easily avoided, because plainly visible in that light of reason.

The traditions of India place before our eyes a substantial answer to the root-questions. Men like H. G. Wells, writing about Indian Unrest, express the hope that India with her special genius, her peculiar spiritual individuality, should be able to work out a special scheme of political regeneration for herself at least. And that scheme is there, requiring only to be cleared of the dust and dirt that has gathered on it in the course of ages, owing to the neglect of degenerate custodians ; a real, scientific scheme, based closely upon that most important of sciences, the Science of human nature, Psychology ! But no one has leisure to look at it, leisure from the more urgent and important work of carrying on the fight,

from day to day, over the "immediate," *i.e.*, the Ephemeral issues (With many apologies, and much diffidence, and only because there is no other writing available, on the subject, in India, so far as I am aware, I invite again, the attention, of those who may possibly become interested in obtaining some notion of this ancient, traditional, indigenous, Indian scheme of Political Health for the Community, to my feeble endeavours to sketch it in the pamphlet of "The Meaning of Swaraj or Self-Government"—published by the Gyan Mandal Press, Benares, and 'Soeial Reconstruction'—published by the Manager, *New India*, Madras.)

WESTERN ADVICE

I may here make another quotation from the book from which extracts have been made at the outset of this series.

"It is of very vital importance that we should will the right thing. This we are not likely to do impulsively and without reflection. Even if we admit that. . . impulse has more effect than conscious purpose in moulding man's lives, and agree that it is not the wakening of impulse that is to be desired, but the direction of impulse towards life and growth, yet we nonetheless assert that instinct is an insufficient guide in the determination of social behaviour, and ask how the *direction* of impulse is

to be arrived at? Surely our only hope lies in striving to make men not less but more rational, in order that they may grasp—however dimly—something of what is implied in ethical and practical ideals, that they may recognise in society some embodiment of will and purpose, and come to look upon Thought, and Reason as the unfailing aid, not abusing principles of Human Society.” We would say, for our immediate purpose, “of what is implied in the political ideal of Swaraj and may not go on chasing a word without a meaning, or with many conflicting meanings like President Wilson’s ill-fated word, Self-determination, but may have for goal *an embodiment of strong will guided by a definite rational purpose.*”

VIII

WHAT IS SPIRITUAL, POLITICAL SWARAJ ?

(a) MAIN QUESTIONS

What is Spiritual Swaraj ? What is Political Swaraj ? Is there any such thing as the former ? If there is, has it anything to do with the latter ? If it has, what is the relation between the two ? The purpose of this paper is to endeavour to answer such questions as these.

(b) VARIOUS DEFINITIONS OF SWARAJ

We often read in the reports of N.-C.-O. leaders' speeches, and in N.-C.-O. journals, especially *Young India*, expressions of opinion like the following : To obtain mastery over oneself is Swaraj. Chastity, poverty, truthfulness, fearlessness, non-violence mean Swaraj. Workers for the uplift of India who seek Swaraj for it, should possess these qualifications. Those who go to jail in consequence of N.-C.-O., attain Swaraj. The jail is the gateway of Swaraj. I, who used to think and feel so and so,

now think and feel so and so; therefore, I have attained Swaraj. Swaraj is not an outer but an inner state. Popular control over the military, the police, the law, the revenue—is Swaraj. Responsibility of the public servant to the people is Swaraj. That 'We' should be able to appoint and dismiss our public servants—this is Swaraj. Dominion status, Colonial Self-Government, with right to maintain or sever the British connection, for sufficient cause, to be judged by the Indian people themselves—is Swaraj. And so on.

(c) NEED TO RECONCILE THEM

These expressions of opinion by popular leaders deserve consideration. There is much reason to believe that they remain rather confused—a sort of pell-mell mechanical rather than chemical mixture—in the minds of most hearers and readers. There is some reason to fear that they are not quite clearly synthesised with each other in the minds of some of the utterers even. For, despite calls from various quarters during the last fifteen months and and more, no such presentation of the subject has yet been made, by any competent body of the Congress organisation, or recognised individual leader of all-India influence, as would clear up the confusion. But side by side with this fear, we have also the feeling that there is an element of

truth in each and every one of these views. There is no obvious contradiction between any two of them though neither is there any obvious connection or congruity between all. And if a person says two seemingly unconnected things, there generally is, in his mind, at least sub-consciously, some sense of consistency or even vital connection between them. To transform the sub-conscious into the conscious, when it is healthy to do so, is part of the business of education—the education of the individual, as also of public opinion.

The President-elect of the coming Congress Session, Mr. C. R. Das, has at long last, just issued a statement, in November, 1922, in which he expresses the opinion that "It would be the duty of the Indian National Congress to frame a clear scheme of what we mean by a system of government which is a real foundation of Swaraj. Hitherto we have not defined any such system of government." But he goes on to add "Swaraj, I know, is indefinable," though to others the word seems to carry in its very etymology, the the very simple definition of the thing meant, which a little thinking would make quiet scientific and indeed indubitable. Very fortunately Mr. C. R. Das goes on to add, "Yet the formulation of such a demand is necessary to-day. It is the duty of the

Congress therefore to place before the country a clear sketch of the system of government which we demand."

For the behoof of those who may be in the same case with the present writer, with regard to this jumble of opinions and who, like him, feel the need of *understanding* them *congruously*, an attempt will be made here to put forward a few considerations which may possibly help us to such understanding; and so, perhaps, help us also to better success in the pursuit of our aim of Swaraj. These considerations will largely take the shape of suggestions of answers to the questions recorded at the outset.

(d) IMPLICATION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Swa-raj, in English, is obviously self-government. This can only mean the government of the self by the self. But one governs another. The same cannot and does not govern exactly the same. The mind governs the body; or the body prevails over the mind; the higher motive controls the lower; or the baser passion dominates the nobler sentiment; the sense of duty over selfish greed; or avarice conquers honesty—in one and the same individual. The same motive does not govern the same motive; the same sentiment does not control the same sentiment. That is to say, even in the

self-government, the self-guidance, self-control, the self-determination, of one and the same individual, that individual becomes divided up into two parts, as it were; and one part (whichever is the stronger for the time being), directs, compels, governs the other.

(e) TWO SELVES IN THE INDIVIDUAL

Accordingly, it is almost a commonplace that in the individual, there are *two* selves, a higher and a lower, a better and a worse, a virtuous and a vicious, a wise and a foolish. What is less commonly and clearly recognised is that this is so, necessarily so, in *every* individual, highest angel or lowest devil. All the seeds of all the virtues and all the vices are present in every one. The only difference between the saint and the sinner is that, in the former, the seeds of good are predominant, are blossoming and fruiting, and the seeds of evil more or less starved and atrophied; while, in the latter the reverse is the case. Much more obviously in ordinary human beings are good and evil intermixed. The person in whom the good points are more prominent than the bad is called a good person; while he in whom the bad points prevail is called a bad person.

(f) INDIVIDUAL SPIRITUAL SWARAJ

When the elements of good become definitely predominant in a person, when he becomes outstandingly self-denying and philanthropic, when he has permanently subjugated his baser passions, greeds, fears, he may be said to have attained *Spiritual Swaraj*, to have become truly self-governing, in the sense that in him the righteous Spirit, the higher self, the *true swa*, has attained *raj*, lasting power and domination over his lower self, the *false swa*

(g) TWO SELVES IN THE COMMUNITY

As it is with the individual, so is it with the Community, with any given group of human beings, a family, a clan, a tribe, a nation, a race. Every such group may be said to have a corporate unity, an individuality, a self, a group-soul, or over-soul.

For those who are shy of anything savouring of the mystical, it may be noted that the words group-soul or over-soul are not at all essential to our theme. It is enough if we believe in the words 'I' and 'we.' The 'I' signifies what the 'mystic' might call the 'individual soul'; and the 'We' what he might term the group-soul, what should be borne in mind, however, is that "We" does not mean *merely* a mechanical collection of in-

dividuals, but *also* some common idea, common interest, common purpose, sympathy, sentiment, enthusiasm, en-souling and animating them all, making them act alike, *binding them together* making them an *organised* society, a *samaj*, a *jamaat*, rather than a mere fortuitous horde—even as the 'I' en-souls and holds together the limbs, organs, tissue and cells of an individual organism.

As the 'I' of every individual is divided into a higher and a lower self, so is the 'We' of every community. Every such group has also a higher self and a lower, a better and a worse, a more virtuous and a more vicious, a wiser and a more foolish. The outstandingly good and wise men and women in a community, those who have achieved *individual spiritual Swaraj*, make up its higher self; the comparatively bad and ignorant, its lower self.

(h) COMMUNAL OR POLITICAL SPIRITUAL SWARAJ

In the self-government of a community, as in that of an individual, if the higher self legislates and rules, then only have we true self-government; then only have we wise and beneficent administration which takes into account the just needs of every limb and organ of the body politic, and ministers to each such need in proper proportion, so

that the health of the whole is maintained, and the total social organism enjoys peace, prosperity, and happiness. *When spiritual-minded persons legislate and rule, then individual spiritual Swaraj becomes the foundation of communal or political spiritual Swaraj.*

(1) MERELY POLITICAL (AS DISTINGUISHED FROM SPIRITUAL-POLITICAL) SWARAJ

Political Swaraj or self-government, in ordinary English, means, generally speaking, a government in which the persons who have the final powers of legislation and of executive administration are all or almost all elected by the people, in one way or another. Because they are all chosen by the people *them-selves*, therefore government by them is regarded as the people's *self-government*.

But where the lower self of the people, its selfish, cunning, scheming, pushful, hypocritical, avaricious, arrogant element manages to get itself elected, and seizes hold of power, and so class-interest or personal interest overpowers communal, philanthropic, humanist interest; where 'private' spirit suppresses 'public' spirit; where the cravings and morbid appetites of any one organ are excessively indulged at the expense of the others; where any one class, clique, cabal, caucus, or junta becomes too preponderant; where disease-microbes begin to

reign in the body and eat up the healthy blood-corpuses; there the physical, moral, financial and all other health must fail ere long; there the organism will inevitably suffer from fevered unrest and dire disease; and if the only right remedy is not soon applied, disruption of the communal as of the individual organism will follow, sooner or later, according to the virulence of the disease.

Such domination of the higher by the lower self is essentially Para-raj, foreign-government, alien-government, other-government, even though the ostensible name and form be that of *self-government*. And this is unhappily the case with all the Western democracies of the present day. If a man takes into his system a poisonous substance, a disease-germ, under temptation or deception, believing that it will do him good, although it be an act of self-choice, self-determination, ostensibly, still painful consequences will inevitably come to him, and he will then realise that it was not *true-self-choice*, but *false-self-choice*, *false-swa-raj*, that he made. "That 'We' should be able to appoint and dismiss our public servants" is all right. But who are the 'We'? It should be only 'the best of the 'We,' the best of us; obviously not *all* the 'We,' no *all* the members of the community. The all-important question, of how to find out and elect these, "the best of us," will be dealt with in at moment.

(J) NEED TO GUARD AGAINST FALSE SWA-RAJ

The need to guard against this mistaking of *false* for *true self-government* is very great. For the mistake is pervasive and perennial. It appears under ever so many forms. The unfortunately too 'popular' notion of *self-government* is that " *I* will be able to do exactly what *I* please, and nobody else will be able to stand in my way " If *I* am able to deal with my neighbour and my neighbour's goods just as *I* like—then, and then only, there will be self-government, *suaraj*, *my raj*. Obviously this crude interpretation of *swa* makes directly for 'jungle law' and universal anarchy, wherein every one's hand is against every one else. Under it, rudeness, indiscipline, wilfulness and lawlessness, are mistaken for independence and freedom, liberty. Self-display, bluster bravado, are mistaken for dignity and self-respect. So, on the other hand, under other wrong interpretations, 'the insolence of office' is mistaken for just authority, and personal self-importance, arrogance, and high-handedness are regarded as 'the majesty of the law'.

We have therefore to be very alertly on guard against the mere shibboleth and fetish of the *word Swa-raj*, lest, glamoured by mere catchwords, we mistake *false* for *true self-government*.

(k) MISCONCEPTIONS RE QUALIFICATIONS OF
LEGISLATORS IN SWA-RAJ AND RE NATURE
OF NATIONAL UNITY

In order to constitute true Swaraj, it is not enough that the legislators and governors or executive administrators should be of the same race or nation or class or religion, etc., as the ruled. If in any of these cases, the legislators and administrators have no affection for the people, if their interests are not the same as, but antagonistic to, those of the latter, then they are not *sva* but *para*, not 'self' but 'alien'. The rule of those who have affection for us (and for whom therefore we too cannot help having affection), even if they be of different race or religion—that rule is the rule of our-*self*, of our-*selves*. Where the hearts are at one, differences of race and religion are only as differences of clothing, or of taste in food. The rule of those who have disaffection for us, who are disaffected towards us, who are disloyal and seditious towards us, (and for whom therefore we too cannot help developing disaffection)—the rule is foreign-rule, even if the rulers be our own uterine brothers.

If people instinctively want the race, creed, etc., of their legislators and rulers to be the same as their own, it is only because, ordinarily, the sameness

of these tends to make someness of interest, and a better mutual understanding. But while this may be so, ordinarily, there is, as a fact, at the present time, no nation, no state, worth mention as such, which possesses any such unity, even distantly. The small British State or Nation proper (one-twelfth of India in area, and one-sixth in population) comprises at least four distinct races, as many languages, and as many separate tracts of country, *viz.*, English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish (if we may still count the Irish in), and at least two strongly distinguished, or even antipathetic, forms of religion, *viz.*, Protestant and Roman Catholic, and many minor sects. The still smaller country of Switzerland has three races and as many languages. The U. S. A. include dozens of races and speak as many languages. On the other hand, it is also well-known that when brothers do fall out, they fight with each other more bitterly than strangers do. Indeed, the conquest of most countries by 'foreigners' is a story of betrayal by 'natives.' And, incidentally, the breaking away of the Irish Free State from Britain illustrates how 'self-government' may be a fraud; for Ireland was included in the 'self-government' of 'Great Britain and Ireland,' and used to send about one hundred members to 'the Mother of Parliaments'; but realised that the remaining five hundred and odd

members were very much 'para' or alien and foreign to her, and not at all 'self'. Merely *political* unity, based only on selfish earthly interests, is a very flimsy and brittle affair, and a poor substitute for such *spiritual* unity as the immense and varied population of India enjoyed before degeneration set in, the tattered, and dragged remnants of which spiritual, cultural, socio-religious unity it still continues to show.

What is needed to-day, as indispensable basis and foundation for true Swaraj, not only in India but in all countries, is that same deeper feeling of spiritual unity in the community, which is constituted by the sentiment, not of nationalism or territorial patriotism, etc., but of Humanism, and reasoned Humanism too—that unity of which the other unities, of race, religion, language, etc. are very imperfect expressions which have never prevented internecine oppressions, cheatings and wars.

(I) THE WORK OF N.-C.-O. IN BRINGING ABOUT THE NEEDED CHANGE OF HEART

How to bring about this revival of the sense of *Spiritual Unity, of the sense of the Interdependence, the Solidarity, the Brotherhood of Man*, is the question that arises immediately. By example and precept—is the only and the ancient answer.

The more individuals there are, in any community, who have attained 'individual spiritual Swaraj,' the more easy will the general revival become.

The Providence which guides human destinies, seems to have tried, through the precepts and example of Mahatma Gandhi, to bring about such a leavening of the Indian People by the N.-C.-O. movement; to effect a moral regeneration of the people, to fill them with the courage of conviction and the spirit of peaceful self-sacrifice, and bring about in a fair number of individual cases, and also make a general and widespread atmosphere of, that spiritual Swaraj, which is embodied in the scriptural sayings that "Hatred ceases not by hatred but by love," that the *yamas*, the vows, the virtues, the disciplines, which are preliminary to Freedom, are "Non-violence (a-himsa), truthfulness (*satya*), fearless honesty (a-ste^ya), chastity (brahma-charya), poverty (a-parigraha)," etc.

Because of the enormous quantity and the long-impo^{ve}riched quality of the material dealt with, and the many adverse circumstances, the *tour de force, coup*, of N.-C.-O has not succeeded as fully and rapidly as many over-ardent spirits hoped. But neither has it failed so wholly as jeerers and jibers love to say. Sober thinkers feel that substantial good work *has* been done, the seed of self-respect and self-dependence, and so of self-govern-

ment, *has* been sown broadcast in the heart of the Indian People, and that its sprouting and growing and fruiting are only matter of time and tending. Yet there is the danger also of the tending being neglected, of weeds and tares over-running the genuine sprouts, of even a reaction setting in, of more ground being lost than has been gained, of the last state of the country becoming worse than the first.

(m) A LACK IN THE N.-C.-O. MOVEMENT, AND
HOW TO SUPPLY IT

In order to avoid all such untoward result, to make sure that the enthusiasm of the people shall neither evaporate nor go astray into wrong channels, to secure the proper tending and the watering and the weeding of the field, it is necessary that a deplorable lack, from which the N.-C.-O. movement has so far suffered, should be carefully supplied. The moral *heat* generated by the N.-C.-O. movement requires greatly to be supplemented with a corresponding intellectual *light*. Not only does the *heart* of the people require to be educated—as it has been, by N.-C.-O., and *imperfectly because* of this lack—but also the *head*. To connect, and thereby steady, right aspirations with right ideas—this only is sound education. Mere emotion, without sound knowledge to guide it, is steam without engine and rails.

The last numbers of *Young India* that were issued by Mahatma Gandhi before his arrest, show that he was turning his attention to this subject, and would probably have done before long what was needed. But he was prevented by the Bureaucracy imprisoning his body.

The education of the public that is needed in respect of the head is not more difficult—indeed, it is, perhaps, simpler and easier—than the education of the heart. As the *implication* of self-dependence in the word Swaraj embodies in itself all the (a) *moral-emotional education* of the heart that the people need in respect of politics, so the *full and true meaning* of that word will embody all the (b) *intellectual education* of the head that they need in that respect; and the carrying out of the constructive items of the programme of the N.-C.-O. in the light of this meaning, will similarly, constitute the *practical education* of the *limbs*, so to say, of the body—politic, a re-training of the people in the almost forgotten arts of local self-government. Only on the foundations of such a threefold education of the public, can the positive and the negative sides of the N.-C.-O. movement work out to the successful issue of a stable Swaraj.

And there is no sufficient reason for the Congress to shirk the ascertainment and explication of the true *meaning* of the word, Swaraj. Indeed, if a

person uses a word, it is his duty to explain its meaning when asked. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that the leaders should take counsel together, quietly, deeply and fully, should first make their own minds clear as to what they should understand by the word and then assiduously (and authoritatively, by resolution of a competent body) instruct and clear the mind of the country on the subject. It is not enough to feel keenly that we are ill; not enough to have general idea of the disease; not enough to shout aloud for health; not enough even to know the name of the remedy. We (*i.e.* our physicians, at least) should know the exact nature of the particular remedy that is suitable to our case; should know also the correct way of taking it; and we should take it accordingly. And, in order to attain this knowledge, it is necessary to study the cases of more or less similarly diseased nations all around, and the effects upon them of the remedies they have tried—remedies bearing the same name, yet different in qualities. If this is not done, we shall only exemplify the sayings about “the more haste, the less speed,” and “out of the frying-pan into the fire.”

(n) SOME OBJECTIONS

Most people seem very averse to this thinking out precisely of the fundamental nature and

principles of that form of Swaraj which will be our special remedy. They say the discussion is impractical and will fritter away energy which is wanted for other and more important works. Yet there is no other work, at all, before the country, which is more important and more urgent than this—of getting a clear idea of the goal that we are shouting for, and of the roads that will lead to it, so that we may not run blindly in wrong directions. People do not realise that only that activity is practical which leads towards a well-understood as well as much desired goal by well-understood and appropriate means; and that all other moving about of hand and foot and tongue and pen, however energetic, is utterly impractical. Hard thinking is probably a mere painful process than muscular action, for the majority of us. "Enough for the day is the evil thereof," and "One step is enough for me," etc., occur readily. Yet one step is enough only for the feet; the eyes must look a hundred steps ahead, if the feet and the whole body are not to tumble into a pit. And the head of the household has to think of and plan for the morrow and the day after and the coming months, though for the junior member, with a fixed task for the day, the day's concern is enough to occupy the mind with.

The real fact seems to be that the leaders fear disagreement, and therefore wish blindly "to

postpone the evil day" of the discussion of the nature of Swaraj, and say lightly that "we shall do it after we have gained Swaraj." This is very like saying that "we shall learn to swim after we have been thrown into a roaring flood," or that "we shall kill the bear after having sold the skin." It means lack of will and power to tackle difficult problems, and in time. And yet the problem is not so very difficult after all. It is not the endless details that require to be settled now, but only *the fundamental principles*, only the true meaning of the very important word *Swa*, in the two-worded compound Swaraj, which is on the lips of every one and to which every one now assigns his own meaning. Many persons, as soon as the subject is broached, run away with the idea that a three-hundred-page volume of draft Bill and Act, and Bye-laws and Rules, dealing minutely with all departments of administration, is wanted. Nothing of the kind. The treaty between the British Government and the Irish free State is only a statement of principles, and occupies about two columns of a daily. Less will contain all the fundamental principles of the Swaraj that India needs. *An un-understood or ill-understood or misunderstood Swaraj, a Swaraj not radically different in some-important respects from the varieties current in the west, is not worth struggling for.*

(o) MAIN POINTS IN THE NEEDED INTELLECTUAL
EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

The widespread education of public opinion, then, as to the nature of true 'Swaraj, is absolutely indispensable. The main points in the explication of this nature, which seem, to some of us at least, to be necessary to instil into the minds of every individual member of the Indian People, are comparatively few and simple. Indeed, some of them are so simple that some may well think that they are too obvious to require telling. But arithmetic is 'obvious' and 'self-evident' and 'incontestable', yet it requires very much to be *taught*. On the other hand, some go so far as to think the Swaraj is undefinable, although its definition, as given before, is even 'obvious'. Some of these main points have been noted above already, in sections (d) to (k). The following additional points may be noted.

(1) Government by any one class or section, as such, exclusively or predominantly, of any or all other classes or sections, as such, *e.g.*, of the labouring class by the capitalist, or of both by the militarist, or of three by the sacerdotalist, or of the Hindu by the Muslim, or the Muslim by the Hindu, or the Shia by the Sunni, or the Shaiva by the Vishnava, or the Brahmana by the non-Brahmana,

or the Roman Catholic by the Protestant or *vice versa*, is as much other-government, foreign-government, alien-government, even when both the governing and the governed classes belong to the same race and nation, as when one race and nation governs another race or nation.

(2) The essence of true and good self-government (as distinguished from false and bad self-government) is the making of good laws, and the enforcing of them justly and efficiently.

(3) The essence of good laws is the equitable division and balancing of rights and duties, the attaching of an appropriate duty to every right, in such a manner that a fair chance may be given (a) of obtaining the necessaries of life, to all who are willing to do work suited to their several psychophysical constitutions, temperaments, tastes and inclinations, and, (b) of securing special rewards of different kinds for special talents and achievements; e.g., extra *honor* to the person who gathers and spreads and advances *knowledge*; special *power* to the person who shows special capacity for such administrative *action* as gathers the means of and spreads *protection*; more *wealth* to the person who possesses more ability for trade, commerce, management of agricultural and mechanical industries, and at the same time utilises the wealth in the spirit of a trustee of public well-being, who, in

short, gathers and spreads *necessaries and comforts*; more amusement, games, holidays, etc., to the comparatively unskilled manual worker; and so on.

(4) Such good laws can be made only by the 'higher self' of the community, i.e., by wise, i.e., *experienced* as well as *benevolent* legislators, each one of whom has gone through the work of some one class or another, but has retired from it; so that the legislators possess, between them, the experience of all departments of the national life, yet none of whom actively belongs to or is identified with the interest of any class in particular, and all are disinterestedly wishful of securing the well-being of all classes, by recognising the proper place and function of each in the Social Whole, and establishing a just balance and due proportion between them all. If all the *classes* within each nation are reconciled, all the *nations* will become automatically reconciled at once. It is the *class*-conflicts, due to legislation by the *un*-spiritual minded, which cause international troubles and wars also. Can any one doubt seriously that if the law-makers of the more powerful *self-governing* nations had been really *wise* and spiritual-minded persons, instead of merely *clever* and *cunning* and utterly short-sighted, the horrors of the great war of 1914-1918 and its consequences would not

have happened, and all the nations would have been friends ?

(p) QUALIFICATIONS OF LEGISLATORS IN TRUE
SWA-RAJ

(5) The securing of such legislators is the very crux of all political science and art. Western countries have been trying for the last hundred and fifty years. But the methods and rules of election, etc., devised by the current western forms of government, have all failed disastrously and admittedly (*vide Bryce's Modern Democracies*). The masses of the people seem to be no more happy, in some cases are perhaps even more miserable, than the masses in India—and this, despite the adventitious fact that, while 'self-governed' within their own proper countries, they are very much 'other-governing' outside, and exploit and drain and subject to systematic and organised and 'lawful' plunder the vast countries and immense populations of weaker nations. The internal fermentations and the external wars in and between these western self-governing countries are patent proofs of the failure of their forms of self-government. None of these forms is suitable for India, *because of the radical defect* that in none of them is care taken to ensure that the *higher* self should govern, the self that is *ethically* as well as intellectually fit.

To copy any of these blindly would be the very climax of slave-mentality for us. *We have to think out our own methods and rules of election* whereby we may make humanly *probable*—for *certainty* is obviously impossible in human affairs—that men and women of the right qualifications may be elected to the legislature.

It is a primary duty—so some of us feel—of the Congress authorities to do this thinking out. If a fairly reasonable scheme were put forward by them, after public discussion in the press, the Opponent, the Adversary of the People, viz., the Irresponsible Bureaucracy, would have at least a chance of seeing that it was reasonable, of seeing that the Congress fight was not a fight for the mere transfer of power from one set of Irresponsible to another set of Irresponsible; and so it would have a chance of giving its acceptance to the new scheme and of transforming itself from irresponsible into responsible. On the other had, rejection by it of a scheme—(in outlines and fundamental principles only)—which was *prima facie* reasonable, would not only strengthen the case of the N.-C.-O's, but would also turn the opinion of the Moderate-Liberals, and of any other non-official political parties that there may be, more definitely and energetically and actively against the present system of Irresponsible Bureaucratic Government, and would

enlist public opinion outside India too in our favour.

The discussion and declaration of the fundamental principles of the scheme would also constitute most valuable intellectual education of public opinion.

(6) It is likely that if the following principles (suggested here simply as a basis for discussion) are observed, the right quality of legislators may be secured.

(a) Legislators should be permanent residents of the country for which they are to legislate; but their creed, caste, class, color, race, or sex should not, as such be regarded either as a qualification or as a disqualification. Without permanent residence in the country, sympathetic understanding is not possible; while taking account of creed, caste, etc., in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all.

(b) There should be no 'standing,' offering of, or canvassing for, himself, by any one, as a candidate for election. The idea of self-display and seeking election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought, not burdens. The conception here should be, not that the electors confer a favour or honor

on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. *Seeking* election for oneself has an inevitable savor of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent with our ideal of the legislator. Of course there will always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be less or greater than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering" are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere public acceptance and declaration of the principles and ideas here suggested will change for better the whole tone and atmosphere of politics.

(c) As a general rule, to which there will be exceptions, of course, all heads of families, *i. e.*, the master as well as the mistress of every household, irrespective of property qualifications should be electors. A given proportion of them, with special qualifications (to be specified), should nominate a person as having their trust and being desired by them to have a place in the legislature. Only such nominees should be voted for at the general election.

d) The nominees should, ordinarily, have passed middle age, i.e., should be forty years of age or more, and they should have children of their own and so experience of the household life. This will make reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-being of others means, and has sobered and matured judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a 'pension.' So he would feel financially independent; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-beings, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving, and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties. Yet more. He should have done outstandingly good work in *some* walk of life—whether literary, scientific, educational, priestly, medical, artistic, etc or administrative, official, military, etc., or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, etc., or as a labourer and manual worker; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised up a good family, is respected and trusted in his own

and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly, is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he may be unable to sign his name than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.

(e) Another desirable condition is that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds. Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the *legislator*, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the People. He should therefore meet all his *personal* expenses himself. But of course, all *ex-officio* expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder Trust, honor, reverence—these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually *are* paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honor—a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be—is

a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (*when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and wealth*), and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as above all persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.

It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spiritualising politics by changing the whole culture and civilisation of society from its present mercenary to a missionary basis, even as the work of the elders in a family is done for the youngers not for mercenary motives, but out of 'missionary' benevolence. The right instinct is already there, it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not, give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are Justices of the Peace. The theory about the *honorarium* of the barrister is the same. But the 'trade-winds' of commercialism, capitalism, mammonism have ushered in a new season, and have flung their tinge and taint over those departments of life also which should have been beyond their touch.

(f) Intimately connected with the last-mentioned condition is another, viz., that no legislator should have direct executive power. This separation is even more necessary than the separation of Executive and Judicial. But the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. When the chief executive and the chief legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried, as in England, true responsibility ceases, manoeuvres and intrigues of party-politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested. In other places, the opposite error is observable, viz, that if the legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former.

(g) Finally, rules of election should be so framed that the experience of all the main departments of the communal life should be present in the legislature. The words "all *interests* should be *represented*" are avoided here because of their associations of conflicting class-interests.

(g) RELIGIOUS PEACE

Q.—Is it possible for Indians to get over their religious antagonisms sufficiently to agree to eli-

minate all conditions based on religious differences from election rules ?

A.--How can one tell without trying? And possible or not, we have got to try. For, is it any use assuming that it is impossible, and therefore doing nothing? Would that give us better results? Or is there any other way which is better? If so, let us hear.

More ; if it is possible for Indians to unite on the *word* Swaraj, it is not impossible for them to unite on the *meaning* of it, if only the acknowledged leaders could agree among themselves and unitedly give the lead to the country on this point. If *they* cannot agree on the *meaning*, then the Swaraj-word may also be given up altogether as well. And the true and plain meaning of Swaraj, rightly understood, covers quite naturally the highest *religious* and spiritual *self-government* and unity as well the finest political unity and self-government. We want self-government (elastic and true democracy very different from mobocracy) and a 'living legislation' in *religion* as much as in *politics*. If we do not want bureaucracy, no more do we want theocracy. The one is as mischievous as the other. We must have Religion, as we must have Politics. But they should both be Spiritual, Humanist, all-reconciling, not bigoted and narrow-minded and sectarian and nationalist, setting one against

another and tyrannising over all. As there are some *essentials* in *Politics*, which *ought* to be common to all countries and communities, amidst difference of local details ; so there are some *essentials* in universal *Religion*, which *ought* to be common to all special religions, amidst many perfectly allowable and even necessary differences of details, of customs and practices and conventions. If the Congress wishes to bring about religious peace in India, it should take its courage in both its hands and should begin to diligently educate the people to recognise and realise the obvious fact that it rests upon every human being *himself*, rests upon every one's *swa*, to retain his present religion, or cast it off and take up any other he likes. He himself, his *swa*, is the final judge in the matter. He has absolute, unquestionable, *Swaraj* in this respect. He has only to think of it, in order to realise it. If I say, "I will not decide for myself, but will believe what so-and-so tells me," this, the *decision* to put my trust in and abide by *another's* decision is still *my* decision. That this scripture is to be believed, this *avatara*, or *rishi*, or *messiah*, or *prophet*, is worthy to be believed, or is not worthy—this is *my* decision, is all ultimately the decision of the soul that is in *me*, or is *me*. It follows, then, that the soul, the spirit, the Universal Spirit in Man (and in all living beings) is the

Primal Truth, and is at the heart of all religions ; while the special rites and ceremonies and customs of the various creeds are all only like so many different kinds of clothes, suited to different times and places and conditions and tastes, which may be put on and put off at will, which it is most foolish to fight over, and which should be so regulated that, while they differ as much as you please, they should not positively hinder one another.

If this Religious Swaraj, this very important and essential aspect of Spiritual Swaraj, without the realisation of which what has been described before as 'individual spiritual Swaraj' must remain imperfect, even after the initiation has been undergone, of imprisonment or other privation for peaceful patriotism or rather humanism—if this Religious Swaraj is preached diligently by the Congress all over the land, (and so much the more effectively if it can induce the Pandits and the Maulvis and the Christian priests to rise to the height of their duty and change themselves from irresponsible into 'responsible', and help in the work), then the needed peace between the creeds will certainly be brought about. And when Religious Swaraj is achieved, Political Swaraj will certainly not lag behind. Kamal Pasha's proposal to *elect* a separate Khilafat periodically, with the due regard to mental and moral qualifications, is a fine inspiration.

Q.—Is not your faith in preaching too great and too simple?

A.—Perhaps. But do you put faith in not-preaching? That faith would be even more simple; Agitate, educate; educate, agitate—this is the advice of the most experienced political workers. Preaching is nothing else than educating and agitating. And what else than preaching is any politician of any school doing? Or have you got some better plan? If so, let us have it, and the sooner the better!

(r) RE CANVASSING

Q.—You may make a rule that there must be no canvassing, etc. But will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them?

A.—In the first place we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so. Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil *were* abolished, *good* would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is, to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good in a given time, place, and circumstance. We profess only to make suggestions towards this. No doubt, there will be room for under-hand doings.

But the *other* conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, legislators will not be entrusted with executive powers, as they are to-day, in the capacity of Ministers or Executive Councillors, etc. Judicial powers will also be separated off from the other two. And the re-formed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle, and of the principle of the separation of the rewards of extra honor, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements, etc.; the condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alertly and wakefully upon his purity—all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honor, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys.

Q.—Would not the conditions ‘of forty years’ etc., exclude many brilliant young men ?

A.—Our conception of the Legislature requires not brilliance, but *wisdom*. “Brilliance comes” and goes, and plays false, and proves tinsel, and makes messes, but “wisdom lingers.” Brilliance should wait and mature into a softer, steadier,

soberer light, and do its duty so much the better *after* attaining forty years. If it is worth anything, if it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. More ; there is always provision for exceptions. If you find that the country will go to rack and ruin if your particular brilliant youth does not get a chance of putting his Atlas-shoulder underneath, then put him in by all means. But please remember that a *wise* Legislature need not consist of hundreds and thousands. A *few* persons, *provided* they have the necessary experience, knowledge, and philanthropy, and possess the trust of the people, are quite enough. Even under present conditions, only about five per cent of, *e g.*, the members of the British Parliament are active. The rest are practically dummies. The only result of having large numbers of legislators and of other present day arrangements is to waste enormous amount of the time, money, energy, good temper, etc, of the public, over elections and Council expenses and debates, to make politics professional and mercenary, to take away men from far more useful 'productive' work, and generally to make the administration and the whole civilisation top-heavy.

(8) THE SEPARATION OF THE SPECIAL
REWARDS

The principle of the separation of the four main prizes of life should be very carefully borne in mind. The preservation of the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them—these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. It appears that Lenin, in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property, has realised that capitalism has to be restored (though, no doubt, with limitations). He is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the 'intellectuals', etc., who are necessary for the 'State,' unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple old traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, honor, power, wealth, and amusements, which constitute the main ambitious inducement to strenuous work of correspondingly different kinds. The possibility of combining

them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psychology.

(t) THE ESSENTIALS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT :
THE CRUX OF ALL POLITICAL
SCIENCE AND ART

1. Are there not two 'selves' in every community, as in every individual, a higher and a lower, a good and a bad, a virtuous and a vicious, a wise and a foolish ?

2. Is it not essential that in self-government, the good self of the community, its higher, wiser, and more virtuous self, and not its bad, foolish, and vicious lower self, should govern ?

3. Is not government, by any one class, exclusively, of any other class or all other classes, *f. i.*, of the laboring class by the capitalist, or of both by the militarist, or of all three by the ecclesiastical, or of the Protestant by the Roman Catholic, or the Hindu by the Muslim, or the Muslim by the Hindu, or the Shia by the Sunni, or the

Shaiva by the Vaishnava, or the non-Brahmana by the Brahmana, or *vice versa*, as much other-government, foreign-government, alien-government, even when both the governing and the governed classes belong to the same race and nation, as when one race and nation governs another race and nation?

4. Is not the essence of good government, the making of good laws and the enforcing of them justly and efficiently?

5. Is not the essence of good laws, such equitable division and balancing of rights-and-duties, as will give a fair chance (a) of necessities to all who are willing to do work suited to their psycho-physical constitution, and (b) of special rewards to special qualifications, *f. i.*, extra honor to the man of thought, special power to the man of action, more wealth to the man of desire, more amusement to the unskilled, etc.?

6. Are not such good laws possible to be made only by the higher self of the community, *i.e.*, by pure and wise and philanthropic legislators?

7. Is not the securing of such legislators the very crux of all political science and art?

8. Can such legislators be secured, and have they been secured, by any of the methods, of election, etc., in vogue in the current western forms of self-government? Are the masses of the people happy in those western countries?

9. Are any of these systems suitable for India? If so, which?

10. If not, what is the method, of election or other, by which the better self of the Indian (or any other) people, *v. e.*, philanthropic, unselfish, and at the same time experienced and wise men and women, may be brought into the legislature?

11. Is it not desirable that such a legislature should have full supervising control over the executive, without itself exercising any executive power directly, in order that the laws may be enforced justly and efficiently?

12. Would it be helpful towards securing such worthy persons for the legislature, to observe some such conditions as that,

(a) All legislators should be elected, from among the permanent residents of the country, irrespective of creed, caste, class, color, race or sex;

(b) They should not offer, or canvass, for themselves;

(c) Should be nominated by a given proportion of the electors, the nominators being possessed of certain qualifications of age and experience themselves; the Electors generally (with exceptions) being independent heads of families *v. e.*, the masters and the mistress of each family home.

(d) Should be at least forty years of age (with exceptions); should ordinarily (with exceptions)

have had experience of the responsibilities of the household life, with children of their own; should have retired from competitive, professional, business, or other life of bread-winning or money-making; should have done distinguished work in some, however humble, walk of life, be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give all their time, practically, to the national work, and do so without any cash remuneration, all requisites for the discharge of their duties being provided to them out of State funds;

(e) Should have rank, precedence, and honor above all salaried office-bearers; and that

(f) The Legislature should have on it persons possessing, between them, experience of all the main departments of the national life?



IX

CONCLUSION

It is Ancient Teaching—which no-thing in Modern Science can or does gainsay—that Right Knowledge, Right Desire, Right Action, lead to Swaraj, Self-dependence, Moksha, Freedom, spiritual as well as political, from bondage to the fear of Death, and from bondage to others in alien-government

India is Desiring Freedom, and is Struggling and Acting for Freedom. But what the nature of true Swa-raj and true Freedom is, she does not Know, or even knows wrongly. And therefore she is often straying, often wasting effort, often making mistakes, running risk of becoming worse bound. Let India first achieve Right Knowledge of the nature of the Goal, her End and Aim, and also of the appropriate Roads, Measures, Policies, which will lead thereto. Then only will her Desiring and her Acting become Right also. And then Spiritual-Political Swaraj will be won with certainty.