

INDIA ARISEN

By the same author :
THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM
THE SECRET OF ASIA
SRI KRISHNA
MY MOTHERLAND
INDIA IN CHAINS
THE SPIRIT AND STRUGGLE
OF ISLAM

In the Press :
KRISHNA'S FLUTE
CREATIVE REVOLUTION
APOSTLES OF FREEDOM
BUILDERS OF TO-MORROW

INDIA ARISEN

BY

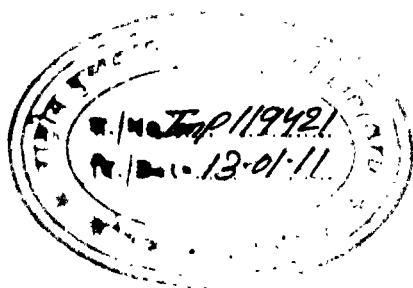
PROF. T. L. VASWANI

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

PROFESSOR VASWANI is pre-eminently a *preacher* of Swaraj. To him Swaraj is not merely a political ambition. It is a spiritual hunger. He wishes to breathe freely and pants for fresh air and believes that neither he nor his fellow-countrymen can live a full and healthy life so long as Swaraj is unattained. In the present conflict between the Bureaucracy and the Non-co-operative bodies in the country, he sees a struggle between Imperialism which insists upon a crushing conformity to an external will and an Indian Nationalism which strives after an unhampered expression of the National will. This idea he enforces in its bearing upon such burning topics as Turkey, the Panjab and the disorders in different parts of the country. Like so many of

the ardent idealists who have led movements of national advance in other countries, which have arisen from their once fallen or decadent state he feels strongly and expresses himself fervently.

At this critical hour when the Government is following a policy of lawless repression and when the people are more and more prone to resent in consequence, the Publishers hope that Professor Vaswani's writings will help the country to be calm and self-possessed and thus vindicate the wisdom of the East.

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INDIA ARISEN

IN THE VEIL OF THE NIGHT

(1)

*At Thy lotus-feet again
I stand with song in my heart ;
I come in this darkling end of the day ;
I hear the tumult and the storm ;
I hear the clamour of the crowds ;
I hear strange noises afar,
And I seek to know Thy will
In the night of this Nation.*

(2)

*I come with hope in my heart
And the colour of longing in my eyes :
I come with the prayer that there yet may be
Understanding and fellowship among Thy
[children ;
Hast Thou no stake in the struggles of to-day ?*

Will truth and justice triumph in the House
[of a People
Persecuted, exiled ? And can Thy Freedom fail
This Nation of ancient fame ?

(3)

Wilt thou let Thy people perish
In the Battle for the Right ?
O ! give me the strength to adore Thee in the
[dark ;
I will not hide my life in the lustre of the world.
Give me the grace to glimpse Thy Beauty
In the Veil of the Night ;
Give me the courage in life and in death to
[seal the Faith
My Comrades fear to keep.

(4)

We have erred ;
Lead us through error's ways to Truth.
We have gone astray ;
Lead us through darkness to Thy Light,
We have put chains upon our souls ;
Lead us through bondage into Liberty.
We have sinned against the Life within us ;
Lead us to the service of Thy Love.

(5)

*We have wandered far to alien doors,
Yet watched, again and again, for Thy Light
[to pierce the Night.
O! summon Thy Stars of Morning!
And bid them sing of the long-looked-for Day.
Of such a Day sang the Sages and Bards of
[Sind ;
For such a Day yearns the Sindhu flowing
[alone in the dark ;
And the dream of that Day is yet bright in
[Thy servant's heart
Whose joy is in kissing the dust of Thy feet.*

INDIA ARISEN

ATIBHAKTI OR ETHICS OF IMPERIALISM

IN every heart is an Inner Shrine. In mine I worship the mother, often with a Dream,—the Dream of India's Freedom. When will India have her place in a Family of Free Nations? I know not. One thing, I think, I know. India cannot be reconciled to the present system. India will not be satisfied with the shadows called 'reforms'. The reality is Freedom. Is not Freedom the heart of the world-movement? And can India be sundered from the world-movement? Only a few years back Sir Lovat Fraser said in the course of an eulogy upon Lord Curzon's *regime*:—"It is inconceivable that a Republic could ever acquire, still less maintain a hold, upon India."

The 'All-India Students' Conference at Ahmedabad showed how 'fascinating is the 'republic' idea to Young India. The strength of the idea is in the freedom-spirit of the day. That spirit is immortal.

Nothing to my mind is in so great a conflict with it as the "empire-cult". And in some frank moments British writers and statesmen have confessed that the 'Empire' is dearer to them than the Freedom that heals. Speaking to the Classical Association in 1909 Lord Cromer said "it will be well for England, better for India" if "it will be clearly understood from the outset that we have not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions and that it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity"!! Efforts have been made to magnify the "empire-builders." The first of them—Clive,—who committed forgery,—as students of history know,—has been held up for admiration in Indian schools as a 'Prophet'! Such be thy prophets', O Empire!

Through all the efforts and allurements of, 'imperialists' India has dreamt of Freedom, has believed in freedom, has struggled for free-

dom. Unrest is a sign of India's divine discontent. Unrest is her witness to her freedom-consciousness. And when was unrest so great as it is today? There is a storm today which "repression" cannot allay. "The situation," wrote the *New Statesman* sometime ago, "is more serious than anything in India since 1857." Mr. Shastri may speak eloquently of the 'empire' and its 'blessings'. The heart of India is not in the empire-cult. A Russian diplomat M. Nabokoff was in India when the War broke out. "There was not a single regiment", he writes in his memoirs "in India, British or Indian, that was not eager to go to the front"! This, he regards as a tribute to the British rule in India, "the great triumph of wise statesmanship"! The Russian diplomat does not know that one of the causes of the Punjab 'revolt' was Sir Michael's recruiting methods. After the strain of the war India bears the stress of an unrest unparalleled in recent history. India claims the *full* right of Freedom. Lord Reading meets the claim with methods of repression! Hence the stress and storm of the Indian situation.

It is often said that the Radical Party in

Indian politics is of later growth, that the moderate party was the first in the field. The truth seems rather to be that the radical party has existed from the beginning as a *protest* against the empire-cult. The 'moderate' party has been, with the best of motives, a *compromise* with that cult. The protest was voiced by Lok. Tilak from the beginning of his political career. It was taken up in Bengal by Mr. Arabinda Ghose, Moti Lal Ghose, Swami Upadhyaya, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and others. It is voiced today with greater vigour,—if in some places with less idealism,—by Muslims and Hindus throughout the country.

"Peace and order"—are the watchword of the bureaucracy. What 'I ask' has disturbed peace and order more than the policy of repression? The one outstanding fact of the situation, as we find it after over 150 years of British rule is poverty. This poverty is physical, is intellectual, is in the case of many—moral also. How many of the 'educated' place truth above expediency? And what value for nation-building has 'knowledge' which does not produce *Chitasuddhi*, purity of the heart? And

what profits a nation to secure comfort for a small class and see its millions starve and wander in a semi-naked state? Years ago Sir Wedderburn wrote in his "*Indian Policy* :—
"The life of the poorer cultivator may be likened to that of a toad under a harrow jarred in he and upset in all his dearest interests and prejudices. And it is the increasing irritation and unrest produced throughout the country by years of such a system that constitutes the real danger to our rule." What justification, I ask, can there be for a system under which millions live in "primary poverty"?

Several arguments,—I call them excuses,—have been put forth to justify India's present state of subjection. It is said that India is not fit for Freedom which England and several other nations enjoy. In more than one speech in support of his 'reforms' scheme, Mr. Montagu suggested that free institutions and self-government were foreign to Indian traditions! Mr. Montagu and other critics who speak thus of India are not strong in the knowledge of Indian history and of the ideals of Aryavarta great in literature and religion, in social activities and political institutions in

the long ago. The doctrine of relativity is misapplied when it is argued that India is unfit for the fullest freedom such as the British people are justly proud of. The ideals of freedom and self-government are 'ours' no less than British just because they are *human* and are the monopoly of no one nation or race. "The great moral issue", wrote Mr. Beaman in an article in the *New Statesman*, "which in my judgment ought to be decisive is whether the time has come when one ought in the highest interest of the vast majority of the people of India, to transfer the Government from the hands of the alien white to those of educated Indians". "The great moral issue"!! Is it *moral* for a nation to hold another nation in subjection? Sir Thomas Munro looked forward to "the time when the population of India would be sufficiently enlightened to frame and conduct a Government for themselves". That was over 120 years ago! And Mr. Beaman thinks it is not time yet to transfer the Administration to Indian control! Even the status of a dominion must be denied to India; for, says Mr. Beaman :—"The analogy is false: our self-governing dominions are of our own stock,

co-heirs of the same cultural inheritance and national traditions social and political institutions and usage; humanly speaking this can never be the case in India"! If, indeed, the cultural and social cleavage between India and England be so great, are we not logically and ethically driven to the conclusion that India should work out her own salvation and that it should be the work and duty of England to help India to do without her?

It is said that the storm is raised by the 'agitator' and that the masses are "contented" "browsing sheep-like on the soil". The 'argument' cannot come with good grace from those who damn the national movement of today as merely a movement of the 'masses'! The masses, it is true, cannot argue out their position: but stronger than all arguments are *facts*; and the masses see around them the appalling facts of *poverty* and *disease*. It can no longer be said that 'the Indian villager' 'can live on and rejoice'. It is said that things in India are moving at a break-neck speed", and that India must not be allowed to succumb to a "disruptive nationalism." The British have been in India for over 150 years; yet

the Government say India is not fit even for a dominion status, and are combating the Swarajya Movement with a policy of repression. Is this how things are moving with a break-neck speed"? Nationalist leaders have pledged themselves to a creed of non-violence, and yet critics charge Indian nationalism with being 'disruptive'?"

Empire idealism,—is another favourite trick of many of those who would see India continue to be a servile state. The empire is idealised and an impression is sought to be created that India and the East are being 'civilised' under European domination. So careful and liberal a thinker as J. S. Mill was led into the belief that the British were the best supporters of Freedom in the East. In his "Representative Government" he writes that the English are "the power which of all in existence best understand liberty, and whatever may have been its errors in the past, has attained to more of conscience and moral principle in its dealing with foreigners than any other great nation seems either to conceive as possible or recognise as desirable". Mill did not live to learn of the Jallianwalla tragedy.

Much is made of the "British Empire's mission" by Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent book "India, Old and New". It is difficult to distinguish this 'mission' from 'exploitation'. The 'Empire', we are told, is really an "Imperial Commonwealth". It is difficult to understand this combination,—Imperial Commonwealth. The concepts of 'empire' and 'commonwealth' are incompatible. Lord Reading talks of India's 'partnership' in the 'Empire' but pursues a policy of repression! Can there be partnership without equality of status? And is not *Comradeship* a higher ethical ideal than that of 'partnership' in an empire.

The more one considers the matter, the more one understands that England itself has degenerated since it developed into an 'empire'. Recall what Motesquieu wrote in praise of England in his "The Spirit of Laws". Recall the words of Voltaire congratulating his countrymen on having borrowed from England "the noble liberty of thought". As England has 'developed' imperial ambitions it has developed deeper conflict with the liberty and other inalienable rights of Eastern nations. The

conflict is inevitable. For there are wide differences, cultural and social between modern Britain and the East; and British commercial interests necessarily antagonise the economic interests of Asia. Practically the 'Empire' has meant a combination of white peoples to dominate non-white races. "It was upon the population of white men in a country", said Sir Ed. Grey frankly, "that its value to the Empire depended". Chamberlain the Imperialist brought out the logic of this view when he said in a speech in 1906:—"I humbly believe that we were destined by Providence to be *a great governing race (italics mine)*. It was Chamberlain, too, who said in 1903:—"the population of the British empire was 50 millions whites",—*not* 398 millions! The non-whites were of little account! Even scholars are infatuated with the empire-idea and justify England's domination of the East. Thus Ellis Barker writes:—"The control of Mesopotamia and of the Persian Gulf and of Arabia seems almost a necessity to the British Empire for strategical and economic reasons"! Which means that England must dominate these regions to exploit the East! As for India

Mr. Barker says :—"Great Britain, as India's guardian is strongly interested that that most important line of approach should not be dominated by a great military power to India's danger. Besides, England is on India's behalf strongly interested in Mesopotamia for economic reasons". Can sophistry further go? Great Britain is "India's guardian" in the teeth of India's opposition and is "interested in Mesopotamia" "on India's behalf",—in spite of Indian and Arab protest! A Bengali proverb says :—*Atibhakti chor* "lakshan" ("Excessive affection is a sign of the schemer.")

Consider for a moment the conduct of Europeans to the "inscrutable Oriental". Read Kipling and his perversions of the Indian attitude to life. See the 'sahib' as he behaves towards the poor clerk or the *chaprasi*. I have heard of European officers having actually asked their servants to beat respectable Indians—themselves watching on! In a recent book on "South India", the author "a Civilian" is constrained to agree with an English woman who said to him that the thing which struck her much in regard to Anglo-India was "the extraordinary lack of

rudimentary manners "not towards Indian men only but "specially towards Indian women,"! The treatment of Indians in the Dominions is another illustration of the 'empires' 'altruism'. "The Asiatic Exclusion League" has European members who take the pledge of not employing Indians and not having any dealings with Orientals! That sincere friend of India, Prof. Andrews has told us in his own modest manner, how some Europeans treated him recently in Kenya. They insulted him; "some European ladies, I think", he says, "were brought" to the door of his carriage at the Kenya station to insult him". "It added greatly", he says, "to the misery of the situation to be mocked by English ladies. Again and again, different people were brought up to join in the mockery." "They called him names such as "you white bastard". They assaulted him. What was his sin? His love for India and his earnest efforts to vindicate the rights of Indians in East Africa. The European residents were only too willing to 'teach' him the lesson that the 'Empire' means the white man's ascendancy over non-white races! What has been the 'Empire's' conduct to Egyptians? About 40

years ago British forces occupied Egypt after suppressing a popular rising. The British said repeatedly that their occupation was 'provisional'. The War came to the help of Imperialism. The Occupation was changed into a 'Protectorate' as a 'war measure'. The war ended. The 'Protectorate' continued. Nationalists denounced it as 'annexation'. The Milner Commission visited Egypt. They found that Egypt was united in demanding withdrawal of the British. Negotiations continued for some time. Adly Pashaw and his comrades,—the 'moderates' of Egypt,—were led to believe that England would redeem its pledge. The *Times* announced in sensational terms that as a result of the negotiations Egypt was to have 'Independence.' The talk of 'indépendence' proved to be a 'comaflouge.' Adly Pashaw returned from London,—a sadder and a wiser man. The *West Minister Gazette* publishes the reply of Lord Curzon to the deputations of Adly Pashaw. Here are a few extracts from the reply:—"The progress of Egypt towards her ideals will not only be retarded but completely jeopardised if her people are tempted to indulge their national

aspiration, however legitimate in themselves, without sufficient regard to the fact which governs international life'. *The fact is British imperialism!* And so "His Majesty's Government", Lord Curzon says, "will set their face" against nationalism (which Lord Curzon calls a 'fanatical' and 'disruptive' cult) "as firmly in Egypt as elsewhere"! Lord Curzon can only find excuse in the discredited old argument that eastern nations are 'unfit' for self-government. His Majesty's Government Lord Curzon says, "must insist on effective rights and powers to safeguard both Egypt's interests and their own, until the Egyptian people have shown the capacity themselves to preserve their country from internal disorder and its inevitable corollary, the intervention of foreign power". There speaks the true imperialist! He would have Britain dominate the East as a 'guardian' of the 'weaker' peoples! The insincerity of imperialism cannot be concealed by fine phrases, 'guardianship', 'mandates', 'trusteeship'! Phrases, phrases! The fact is British Imperialism is in conflict with the national aspirations and interests of Eastern peoples. It was the *Nation* which said :—"the

hypocrisy of the 'mandate' system leaves little hope that these areas (Mesopotamia etc.) will be anything else than preserves for the victors". The problems of the day, it must not be forgotten, have their *economic* root. Can Asia protect herself *economically* against the industrial invasion of the West? Then there is hope for the East. If she cannot, she will be engulfed by Europe's aggressive civilisations. India's political problem, as I have said more than once, must be interpreted *not* in terms of some 'reforms' to be snatched from England but in terms of the indigenous life,—economic, cultural, and social,—of the Indian people. India is not free until she returns to her own life and is unhampered along the line of her own evolution. The problem of her freedom is, to my mind, not merely political, it is also *cultural* and *economic*. There is interconnection between the three. And our emphasis I humbly submit, should be not on what we can get through the British but on what we may *achieve ourselves* by a *recovery* of our own cultural and socioeconomic life. This is, to my mind, the one supreme lesson of history. *Swarajya* can never come as a *gift* from one

nation to another. It cannot come to India as a gift from British Imperialism. British imperialism *means* economic exploration.

A Government, in the ethical sense of that word, is an evolution of national life. Therefore must the life of a nation be trusted to develop its own Government, a *swarajya*. Therefore too, to stand in the way of *swarajya* is to come in conflict with a people's life-force. And government of a nation by another is a struggle with the nation's soul. The only just, the only stable, the only efficient, government is national government. I do not believe that India's salvation can be achieved by Round Table Conference with the bureaucracy or by 'Reforms' schemes offered as concessions to the national spirit. *Our Emancipation is through ourselves*, our character, our conscience, our resolve to be loyal to the law of our own life. I look for India's Freedom not in 'Round Table' resolutions or Council debates but in *the awakening and sacrifice of the "divine average"* often called,—miscalled "the mass". Some months ago an Englishman met me in Karachi. He had been in India only a few weeks. But one thing he said, had impressed

him. There seemed to be so few, he added, to bestow thought and care upon the masses! Was that Englishman wrong in his estimate? As I have seen the state of the "masses" in Sind villages and looked into their pale sad faces, I have said to myself, again and again:—India's freedom may not be achieved until the divinity locked up in the 'mass' is liberated. *When the "divine average" in India is awakened and disciplined and inspired by passionate love for freedom*, then will grow that great thing which we call the soul of the Nation and which no imperialism *can* resist. Therefore I plead for bands of youngmen to work in the villages:—youngmen who would not seek the applause of city-crowds but who in the spirit of *sanyasin* would work with groups of peasants and shopkeepers spreading the message of freedom and converting as many villages as they can into real *Swaraj* villages in the domain of education, *Swadeshi* and sanitation. Weary may seem the way before us. But if we will trust the Life of the Nation and dream in our aching eyes there will, I profoundly believe, come a "benediction" on our Night and India will achieve her quest. Never has India died. The

unrest of to-day is a witness to her vitality.
Only let *H*er follow *h*er star. And a free India
will vindicate the Wisdom of the East.

THE TWO GREAT WAVES

TWO mighty waves, come from the depths of the spirit of Freedom, have in recent years touched Indian life. The one wave is represented by the Movement of to-day the other was represented by the earlier movement of which the immediate occasion was the Partition of Bengal. I may speak of that earlier movement as the *Bande Mataram* Movement. Its *mantra*, its inspiration, its watchword was in these words:—Worship the Mother. I was in Calcutta in the years 1904-1908. In that brief, beautiful period of my stay in Bengal I had opportunities, as a College teacher, to come in touch with young men and understand what yearning was in their hearts to set India free. In the course of a speech he made in Calcutta, Lord Curzon, then the Viceroy of India, said that unrest in India was “skin-deep”: So Lord Chelmsford said that the non-co-operation movement was “foolish” and

would "fizzle out": To-day Lord Reading recognises 'difficulties' of the situation. He understands that Non-co-operation is anything but a 'dead or dying cult'. An English paper even suggests that Government should come to terms with Mr. Gandhi!

The unrest during the earlier agitation was less wide than the present one; but it was anything but 'skin-deep'. Mr. Hyndman wrote:—"Bengalis were long derided by us English as a people incapable for centuries of resisting oppression in any shape. We have contrived to rouse such a spirit among them that anarchists and assassins are openly cheered when living and treated as martyrs when dead even in Calcutta itself." Some of these martyrs were philosophical anarchists; some, unfortunately, believed profoundly in the cult of "violence"; but their motives were altruistic; they entered into the Struggle prepared to go to the gallows if only to help in India's liberation. One of such martyrs was Swami Brahma-bandhav Upadhyaya. I deeply regretted that a man of his fine intellect and his religious patriotism should have been led to believe in a cult of violence. But not one

who had, as I had, the privilege of personal fellowship with this great Bengali patriot could, for a moment, doubt that he had a passionate love for India and Freedom. And when he died a huge crowd of about 25 thousand, accompanied his body to the burning ghat. Such a crowd had accompanied to the burning ghat the body only of one other Bengalee, the greatest Oriental of his generation, Sri Keshub Chandra Sen,—so a Calcutta friend told me. Swami Upadhyaya, was a vigorous exponent of what the masses felt in Calcutta and East Bengal. The unrest was anything but 'skin-deep'. I saw students and young men assembled in their thousands in the Maidan in big squares of Calcutta, thrilled by the eloquence of Surendra Nath and Bepin Chandra Pal. Bengal found a new birth of her soul in that unrest. Bengal idealised nationalism as I believe no other nation has. Bengal celebrated the Partition Day as a Nation-Day in a spirit which was something more than political; it was a spirit of worship. I well remember how when on one such day I entered my class-room bareheaded, barefooted, clothed in simple white 'swadeshi

dhoti and *chadder* and saw the students before me clothed in *swadeshi* garments bursting for a few brief moments into the solemn cry :—*Bande Mataram*, there fell upon me a hush of holy awe and I felt I had entered not a lecture-room but a Temple. This mantra,—*Bande Mataram*—was prohibited by Sir Bamfylde Fuller. I know of schools in which the words *Bharat Mata ki Jai* have been prohibited in these days. An Englishman was accused in those days of having beaten a boy for shouting “*Bande Mataram*”; I believe the lower court fined him; I am certain he was acquitted on appeal. A policy of repression was started. The Risley Circular was issued to schools and colleges; it placed politics under a ban. Some of the prominent leaders of public opinion in Bengal, the Punjab and Maharashtra were jailed. Lala Lajpat Rai was deported. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal suffered simple imprisonment for some months. That Prince of politicians, Lok. Tilak,—was sentenced to 6 years’ transportation and a fine of Rs. 1000. One thinks, to-day, of the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Shyamsunder, Chak-

ravarty, Prof. Jitendralal Banerji and several others. The Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal was dispersed by Police. The intellectual leader of the *Bande Mataram* Movement, Sri Arabindo Ghose was prosecuted and his brother was sent to the Andamans. Indeed, the Andamans Islands "our modern counterpart of Van Diemen's Land",--as Mr. Hyndman said,--were "overflowing with political prisoners." The Anushilan Samati was suppressed and its leaders deported. One recalls the recent *communiqués* of Bengal, Behar, Punjab and U. P. Governments, declaring Congress and Khilafat Volunteers Corps as unlawful. It was in 1908 that the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act now pressed against national Volunteers was passed. Government thought they had only to persevere in the policy of repression to end the National Movement. So its Calcutta correspondent wrote to the *Times* recently that the Government never had greater "determination to put an end once and for all to Mr. Gandhi's nonsense." The earlier movement did *not* prove to be 'nonsense'. 'Sedition' spread even to Hindu Shrines. And the bureaucratic policy was

defended by so eminent and liberal a thinker as Morley. This disciple of J. S. Mill justified Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation! In answering questions in the Commons in May 1907 he said in self-defence,—“ My Parliamentary record will show' that no one dislikes repressive measures more than I”. Yes; but, Morley, like most Englishmen, thought that repression while repugnant to the political sense of England was a necessity in India. India was not England! As a Liberal paper said :—“ India is *sui generis*. Between Ireland and India there are, in fact, a hundred essential differences”. Repression in India is defended on this *principle of “ differences ”*, and so is justified by the bureaucracy as being necessary to preserve ‘ peace ’ and ‘ order ’! Indeed, Mr. Montagu recently said in the Commons that there was nothing in India which should be described as “ repression ”; only action had been taken, Mr. Montagu added, to prevent civil disturbances! The Anglo-Indian Press supported the bureaucratic policy and influenced opinion in England and on the ‘ Continent ’. The *Times* and other papers spoke of ‘ repression ’ as ‘ firmness ’; And

Sir Valentine Chirol in his *Indian Unrest* glorified Curzonian Imperialism! Sir Valentine is wiser to day, and in his recent volume "*India, Old and New*" he urges that the hope for British India lies in "progress towards full responsible government!" It was said the way to deal with the Indian was to show power! The Oriental appreciated 'firmness'! "Let the Babus clearly understand", wrote the *Civil and Military Gazette*, "that we have admitted them into the administration as our servants, not as our partners". It went on to speak of "babbling B. A.'s". Swadeshism was damned as "ruffianism" "unveiled disloyalty" "racial antagonism". So in our days, non-cooperation has been condemned as "conspiracy against the Raj" and "race-hatred"! The *Englishman* wrote recently that this "seditious agitation" could no longer be "paltered", and a British gentleman signing as "major" suggested "the desirability of collecting all the *lathis* which exist in thousands" in Bombay, "making it a possible offence to possess such a weapon after a certain date without a written permit from the Police authorities." In Sind, indeed, more than one Magistrate issued orders,

on more than one occasion, prohibiting the people from using *lathis*; When did panic measures put down a People's Movement?

The methods the country adopted in the earlier Movement to vindicate its faith in freedom were:—(1) *swadeshi*—boycott (2) national education (3) national festivals (4) national volunteers movement. It was the *Sanjibani*, edited by Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra which wrote:—“Oh brothers, we will not pollute our hands by touching English goods. Let English goods rot in the warehouse and be eaten by white ants and rats”. Let me say I would not characterise touching English goods as a ‘pollution’. And I have wished that the foreign clothes set a-blaze had been passed on to some of the poor men, women and children who are in a semi-naked state. What pollutes is not an English garment but our own indifference to the economic happiness of the people. *Swadeshism* can endure if it grows *not* out of a feeling of rejection of the West but of reverence for our own countrymen millions of whom may be saved by our wearing *swadeshi* clothes. In the *Bande Mataram* Movement, the weavers of Bengal profited

immensely by *swadeshi*. Women took the *Swadeshi* vow and considerably helped the Cause. Picketing was resorted to. Students would throw themselves prostrate before the feet of those who would purchase foreign cloth. Public opinion became so sensitive that an influential Barrister who was found at a shop where foreign cloth was sold had to write to the press explaining that the cloth was purchased not by him but by a Sindhi friend staying as his guest ! Bengal villages took up the *Swadeshi* idea with enthusiasm. Bengal took up, also, the cry of national education. National schools were started. The National Council of Education came into being. The idea of a National University was projected and a young man full of fine patriotic impulses offered a donation of one lakh. The people conferred upon him the title of Rajah. They attached little value to the titles bestowed by Government. We must blame ourselves if a foreign government becomes a fountain of social honor. The importance, too, of National Festivals was realised. Every National Festival strengthens the Nation's memory ; a Nation lacking in memory has lack of life.

The Partition Day was observed in Bengal and in several places outside Bengal as a nation-day. Lok. Tilak in the Maharashtra imparted a national meaning to the Ganapati Festival and revived the Nation's memory of the Mahratta Liberator—Sivaji. There was in Bengal, also, a National Volunteers Movement. Some of these Volunteers Associations did fine social work. They were all suppressed by bureaucracy. The bureaucrat fears the volunteer! He smells 'sedition' in the volunteer's work! So Lord Willingdon attributed the Moplah riots to "an organised conspiracy" of Khilafatists! So Lord Ronaldshy raised the cry that 'non-co-operation' volunteers were a danger to peace in Bengal! Civil disobedience was not emphasised in the programme of the earlier movement but it was discussed and, at least once, practised. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, as I said, prohibited the cry of *Bande Mataram* and Bengal delegates of the Barisal Conference said they must disobey the bureaucrat's order. Some police officers told Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt,—the leader of East Bengal,—that the Magistrate could allow the delegates to utter the words "Bande Mataram" only for the short

distance between the College and the Conference Hall; the two places were very close to each other; the great patriot Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt said they were unable to accept the proposal of the Magistrate. Babu Motilal Ghose at a meeting of the Delegates said he must utter the cry "Bande Mataram", no matter what the consequences. Policemen armed with 'regulation clubs' stood at the police lines; some guns were also in view; the Asstt. Police Superintendent was on horseback to overawe the people; policemen began to use their *lathies* against delegates; Mr. Surendranath Banerji was approached by Mr. Kemp who said he (Mr. Kemp) had been ordered to arrest him. Mr. Banerji coolly answered:—"I am at your disposal"! This is perhaps the earliest instance of Civil Disobedience. And it was pointed out by more than one leader of the earlier movement that the way to meet the situation created by the bureaucracy was to offer Passive Resistance.

It will hardly be correct to say that the earlier movement was political and that the present one is 'religious. I do not separate politics from religion as many seem to do. A

Parsi gentleman said to me some days after the Bombay riots :—Can you still be in sympathy with politics ? By ‘politics’ he meant non-cooperation. I said to him :—Politics are applied Religion ; and my regret is the religious ideal suffered defeat in the deplorable riot. It is true the present Movement owes much to the Khilafat question,—a question which is to the Muslim a question of ‘religion’. But it is equally true that the earlier movement owed much to a religious impulse. Lok. Tilak was regarded in the Maharashtra not simply as a political but also as a religious leader. And Sri Arabindo Ghose urged again and again that national movement was meant to be ‘religious’. The Goddess Kali became to many in Bengal a symbol of India, the Mother. The idea of a ‘spiritualisation’ of politics was the inspiration of the writings and utterances of men like Sri Arabindo and Swami Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav. Bhagavat Gita became a text book of young nationalists. ‘Religion’ was one of the moving forces of the earlier Movement as it has been of the masses, at any rate, in the present Movement.

But I must not ignore the points of difference

between the two Movements. *Hartal*—has proved a pretty powerful weapon in the hands of the people in the present movement. The *Hartal* against the Prince's visit has unmasked Simla's mentality. It has been resented by the bureaucracy. It has exposed the political motive behind the Prince's visit. Why were the Government anxious to prevent *hartal*, anxious to secure large crowds to welcome the Prince, if not to create an impression that India was loyal still? loyal i.e. to the bureaucratic State? The *Times* spoke of the Prince as "a good ambassador"! The bureaucracy was naturally anxious to make political capital out of the visit of such "a good ambassador"! Government would use the visit to recover their prestige and break the force of the national movement. The *hartal* is a protest not against the person of the Prince but against the bureaucracy. It is India's voice to the world:-- Behold! a Nation in bondage!

Again, the present movement is 'national' in a larger sense than was the earlier one. And this, as it seems to me, on account of two forces,—Hindu-Muslim Comradeship and Mass-Awakening. Hindu-Muslim Unity, as I have

often urged, is the greatest guarantee of our future. Very few Muslims entered the earlier movement and Government found it easy to secure Muslim support in Eastern Bengal for the 'partition' policy. Several villages in Bengal *were* touched by the Bande Mataram Movement. But not many outside Bengal. The present movement has awakened the mass as nothing else in the political history of this country. Some of the receptions accorded by the masses to Mahatma Gandhi have recalled to ~~me~~ accounts in medieval books of the affectionate reverence with which thousands received Sri Chentay during his pilgrimages to the holy Places. The national message has to-day reached many more villages than in any other period. Very many of India's villages, however, are still ignorant of the Message. My hope for India is in the rapid spread of Freedom's Message to the villages. The process of disintegration in the village life must be checked, and if swadeshi and education inspired by the Indian ideal of life enter the life of the masses, there will be that re-creation of the Nation which I have sometimes referred to as a bloodless Revolution,—a Crea-

tive Revolution. Not in an Empire, but in the village is my faith regarding freedom's future in India.

Unfortunately, there developed in the earlier movement a cult of violence. Murders disfigured the Movement. There was an attempt even on Lord Hardinge. Lord Curzon's imperialism could not crush nationalism; but it did make several nationalists aggressive militarists; After the *Bande Mataram* was suppressed in Calcutta, a paper bearing the same name appeared in Geneva and it openly advocated violence. The *Talwar* or "sword" was the name of another journal which was published abroad and which preached violence as essential to India's freedom. The impressionable hearts of students and young men received the violence-vibrations of India's mental atmosphere; and some shocking murders took place. Sir W. Curzon Wyllie was murdered in London. Was it a sin to be an Englishman? The *Pioneer* wrote that several English officials in India carried their lives in their hands! I remember how one afternoon there came to me a young intellectual Bengali, one of the best students in the B. A. Class. He wished to say

to me some things privately. He was exercised in the mind, he said, over Sir Bamfylde Fuller's policy of 'repression'; he could not bear to see patriotic men arrested or jailed; he felt, he said, he must throw a bomb at Sir Bamfylde Fuller! He realised, he added, that he might have to go to the gallows for making that attempt. But he felt, he said, he must do his duty by his country, come what might! It took me some time to bring him round and knock the notion out of him that violence was what *dharma* demanded. He was but one among several such young men.

And this reminds me that the earlier movement while less extensive was more idealistic than is the present movement in some parts of the country. The masses are in the present movement in large numbers; and the masses have their superstitions. I miss in many young men to-day the beautiful idealism of the Bengali youth who sustained the *Bande Mataram* Movement. I did not hear in those days, as I hear today, of the young misappropriating public funds. I know of young men in the Movement who love Tilak Swarajya Fund more than 'soul-force'. I know of men who

are in the movement with mixed motives. There was less hate in some of those believers in the bomb-cult than there is in some of us to-day, who confess the creed of non-violence. When will the passionate idealism of the earlier movement return? And if we combine that *idealism* with *ahimsa*, should we have to wait long to win swaraj?

An India freed by means of violence will not be worthy of her name and mission. An India sustained by *spiritual idealism* alone can enrich the life of humanity. And for a realisation of the dream of Freedom India must look not to an 'Empire' but to her own Children. The whole history of Empires rebukes the notion that they can, for any considerable period, be instruments of liberty. To "Govern India", Lord Curzon said, was his dream. He made it clear, says his biographer Sir Lovat Fraser, "to the people of India that Great Britain is still strong to rule". A liberal thinker like Lord Morley,—and I have high admiration for him,—when introducing the Indian Councils' Bill about 12 years ago, said he regarded Parliamentary Institutions as altogether unsuited to India! "It is understood", says a cable sent

by the special correspondent of an Anglo-Indian paper "that despatches reaching the Government of India from the India Office point out that self-government demands the adequate performance of *duties* as well as the exercise of *rights* and *privileges*"! This reminds one of the exhortation of a well-known bureaucrat asking the Muslims "to deserve" and then "desire"; This indeed would be the eternal answer of Imperialism to the Indian people:—deserve and then desire; And when did a Nation become free by another nation 'bestowing' upon it 'free institutions'? Freedom is not bestowed, freedom is achieved. India has many things; she needs but one thing,—the *will-to-win*. There is in Russia a pretty woman of 30 named Olga Gorokoof. A paper called her "the real ruler of Russia". She has a wonderful influence upon Lenin. She was driven out of her home with her parents in the first revolution. They died of exposure in winter. She dedicated her life to Russia. Lenin, they say, has wished several times to marry her. She has declined, saying her "mission is to serve Russia"! She protected Lenin against the plans of Trotsky who

wished. "to push Lenin off the Presidential chair". She spends the whole day in the service of her People. The passion of her soul is-Russia. And for the sake of Russia she refuses to marry; Here is a wonderful case of devotion to the Nation. Young men of such devotion, such *will-to-serve* are the Nations's need at this anxious hour. They may perish in the Struggle; but their sufferings will lift the ban which has fallen upon this Ancient Land.

ENGLAND AND ISLAM

THE unrest has developed into a crisis. "All the authorities", wrote the *New Statesman* some weeks ago, "agree that it is a crisis". "As a problem of statesmanship", wrote the *Nation* "India is Ireland once more on an enormously magnified scale". Who is responsible for the situation? Imperialism,—is my answer. *The Times of India* wrote:—"It is not the Government which has created the position which exists to-day." *The Times of India* blames non-co-operation for the present situation. But why this non-co-operation? The Movement of Non-co-operation registers the people's protest against the conduct of Imperialism to India and the Muslim world.

I have been asked, again and again, by Hindu friends why I, a lover of the Hindu ideal, should have any sympathy with the Khilafat Cause! In the measure of my love of the Hindu Ideal, is my love, of the great

ideals of other Faiths. And I confess Islam is dear to me. Is not Asia the cradle of Islam? Was not Mahomed a Prophet of the East? Did not mysticism travel to Persia from India and develop there into sufism? Is not the Islamic civilization democratic? The dismemberment of Turkey and the consequent danger to Islam proved an eye-opener to Indian Muslims. They had stood aloof from the earlier National Movement. Several of them had even opposed it. England's treatment of Turkey showed the Indian Muslim that Imperialism endangered not alone India but also the Muslim power in the world.

For the problem of Turkey is, to my mind, not merely the problem of an Islamic State in Europe. It is the problem of Europe's Imperialisms threatening the cultures and civilization of the East. The Partition of Turkey is a deep denial of the right of self-determination to Muslims. The denial is in the interests of Imperialism. It is admitted that Indian Muslims took part in the war on being impressed by a statement in which the Premier was understood by them to promise integrity of the Turkish homelands and Muslim Holy Places.

The Premier himself admitted that:—The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment. They were not all Mahomedans but there were many Mahomedans among them". Imperialism, however, demands domination of the East. Turkish dismemberment would leave European victors in the war almost absolute masters of western Asia. It is easy to understand the anxiety of England to enter into a 'treaty' with Persia and to have a 'mandate' for Mesopotamia. That 'Treaty' meant British domination; that 'mandate' meant British occupation. The Anglo-Persian Treaty compelled Persia to recognise England as the one power to guide the financial and military destiny of Persia. And the oil-fields in Persia, like those in Mesopotamia, afforded a rich field for 'exploitation'! The *Nation* was cruelly frank in its criticism. It said:—"Discussion of the problems of resettling the estates of the old Turkish Empire have proceeded, as a rule, on the assumption that the capital problem was that of adjusting the ambitions of different European Powers"! England's ambition was to strengthen her naval situation, her

political position, and her commercial interests in the East. Islam stood in the way of British Imperialism; Islam must, therefore, suffer. The downfall of Islam must also mean the political servitude and economic serfdom of the East. Such is the view I have taken of the Khilafat problem. . My sympathy, therefore, with the Khilafat Cause is due at once to my love of Islam and my anxiety to see that the East is emancipated from Imperialisms which threaten the Indian Ideal and Oriental cultures and civilizations.

Some time ago, Muslim co-operators presented an address to Lord Reading at Delhi. Even they were constrained to protest against the Turkish Treaty. They referred to "the international" control over Constantinople, the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece, "the destruction of the centuries-old religious suzerainty of the Khilafat over the Holy Places of Islam;" they condemned these as "utterly unjustifiable on any principle of justice and equity" and, as "in the highest degree, detrimental to the best interests of the British Empire." And what did Lord Reading say? He recognized the 'intensity' of the 'Muslim

feeling'! Yet the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and several other Muslim leaders who voiced that feeling in words not half as strong as the feeling itself, are rotting in jail! He expressed "great sympathy" with the Indian Muslims who, he said, "were seeking to remedy what they conscientiously believed was an injustice to their religion." And his Government is pursuing a policy of repression, and sending Khilafatists to jail! The strongest part of his Excellency's speech was that in which he defended England's attitude to Turkey. 'Britain's position', he said, 'has been that of strict neutrality' in the matter of conflict between Turkey and Greece; reports to the contrary he dismissed as "malevolent rumour"! Yet a little before Lord Reading made that speech, the *Daily Mail* spoke of the "pro-Greek policy pursued by Britain. "Britain," Lord Reading said, "has always been ready to lend her good offices to bring about an end of the War."! Yet this is what the *Nation and Athenæum* wrote a short time ago:—"The present position in the Near East is largely due to British policy. Given a certain amount of good-will, open mindedness and impartiality

in our Government we might, a few months ago, have had a good chance of establishing workable settlement there." And this English organ of Liberal opinion proceeded to point out that England's blunder was in "following the old diplomatic traditions of 1878 in foreign policy, of "backing" nations,—to-day it is Greece, whereas yesterday it was Turkey,—as if they were horses!" "The British Empire", said Lord Reading, "has every reason to wish for peace between Turkey and Greece." And his Excellency said this to support his diplomatic view of the 'strict neutrality' of Britain in the Turco-Greek War. But Kamal Pasha,—saviour of the Turkish Nation—repeatedly complained of "the rank injustice of the Allies in permitting the occupation of Smyrna by Greece." And the *Nation* wrote in clear terms, some time ago:—"There is no doubt that we have been backing Greece recklessly and encouraging her not only in her just aspiration but in her imperialism." Some of the best friends of Britain indeed, have spoken of her being "friendly to Greece;" But Lord Reading speaks of her "strict neutrality"!

The truth is events in Asia Minor have

changed; and British imperialism must make an adroit move! The Kemalists have shown wonderful courage and persistence; France has undertaken to support Turkish claims to Ionia and Thrace; peace has been concluded between the French and the Kemalists; and England can no longer afford to play off Hellenic imperialism against Turkish nationalism! Hence the cry of opening 'joint' negotiations with Turkey! The cry only shows that British imperialism has been, for the time being, outstripped by the ambitions of France. The Angora Agreement has offended England! It has been a game in *real-politik*. Both Britain and France have been anxious to control Turkey. France has outstripped England in the race! France has made a separate peace with Kemal Pasha. England is outwitted. England's notion, says a well-known English writer, was "to make Turkey harmless servile and weak." And France's agreement with Angora comes in conflict with England's aims. According to the Agreement France promises to withdraw her troops from Cilicia which had been made over to France as "mandatory for Syria." Cilicia thus comes back to Turkey.

Then, the Bagdad Railway,—an important section of it,—is to belong to Turkey. The working of the Railway is to be in French hands, but the Railway can be used by Turkey “for purposes of military transportation.” This disturbs British ‘prospects’ in Mesopotamia! Again, France undertakes to help Turkey in the recovery of Thrace and Smyrna and in securing full control of Constantinople and the Straits. Britain cannot appreciate this, for say what Lord Reading will, the so-called “internationalisation” of control has meant, in practice, British control. “We have made ourselves the master of Constantinople and the Straits under the cover of certain delusive international institutions,”—wrote the *Nation*. France promises to provide the Kemalites with artillery and to help in organising Turkish education on a modern basis. Angora in return promises to give economic concessions and privileges to French capitalists. France thus ‘penetrates’ Turkey economically, and supports her politically! England’s dream of dominating Turkey is, for the time being, shattered! She has no option now but to come to terms with the Turk.

Her new cry of "stopping the useless war" and securing a "prompt, unquestioned settlement of the Near East question" is, I think, at once a concession to the Indian Muslim sentiment and a diplomatic move to make the most of a bad business.

England says she has "throughout upheld the necessity of inter-Allied solidarity," and complains that France's action is a "departure from that principle." France says the Angora Government is only a "local arrangement." It is not. It is a departure from the principle of Inter-Allied solidarity. But has Britain been faithful to the principle herself? Did not the British Premier help the imperialist designs of M. Venizelos inspite of French opposition? Did France appreciate the British control of Constantinople? Has not France complained of England's trade agreement with Russia? Both Britain and France, as it seems to me, have been playing a game; each has tried to 'penetrate' the East. If France has got the better of Britain, the British Foreign Office must thank itself for it. The British premier tried to use Greece as a tool against the Turk. The *Observer* of London wrote:—"We may of

course, have to alter considerably the Treaty of Severs, but it should be because events in Asia Minor have changed since the Treaty was drawn up, and not because the agitation has developed in India." I believe the new move of Britain is due *both* to the Indian agitation and to "change of events in Asia Minor." British imperialism, however, is in no mood to abandon its *interests* in Asia Minor! It would make some concessions to Turkey; it does not seem it is yet prepared to recognise the full terms of Islam. Lord Curzon recently said 'there was room for both Greeks and Turks in the Near East;' and he thought only 'the outside fringe of non-Turkish populations has been lopped' off with regard to Turkey! Lord Reading talked of the "internationalisation of the Straits" as being "in the interests of Turkey."! The "internationalisation" would practically mean the Allied control. It is idle to talk of 'international' control in an arrangement which is dictated by the "Victors". "It may be," Lord Reading added, "that all that you would wish cannot be achieved." What a poor consolation to the Muslims! In a recent English

play, I read the following words put in the mouth of Lord Beconsfield and addressed to Queen Victoria:—"The Turks *are* beaten, Madam! But England will never be beaten. We shall dictate terms—and under your Majesty's protection the throne of the Khilaphat will be safe,—once more. That, Madam, is the key to our Eastern policy; a grateful Khilaphat, claiming allegiance from the whole Mahomedan world, bound to us by instincts of self-preservation,—and we hold henceforth the gorgeous East in fee with redoubled security. ! ! !"

Not even the best of British statesmen have, as it seems to me, a better attitude of the Muslim. A revision of the Turkish Treaty will still be guided, I believe, by the motive of imperialism "to hold the gorgeous East in fee with redoubled security"! Great Britain's 'great sympathy' with the Muslim has no higher motive than 'diplomacy.' It is not the sympathy born of an appreciation of the values of Islam for the modern world. The Muslims rightly resent the British attitude to Turkey. England has dominated Constantinople; England has set up puppet princes in the Muslim

Holy Land. But Turkish nationalists, under the great leadership of Kemal Pasha, have saved a sinking nation. The moral for modern India is clear. A Nation has only to *persist* to win freedom,—*if it is united and has justice on its side.*

CULT OF JUSTICE

BELIEVERS in the Empire-cult defend the bureaucratic state in India on grounds indicated by two words:—Efficiency and Justice. Lord Curzon's watchword was 'Efficiency' that of Lord Reading is 'Justice'. In his farewell speech at Simla, Lord Curzon said in 1905:—"If I were asked to sum up my work in a single word, I would say:—*Efficiency*. That has been our Gospel, the key-note of our Administration." In his defence of Lord Curzon, Sir Lovat Fraser urges that that Viceroy tried to make all departments 'efficient' in order to make "British supremacy "impregnable"! And Lord Curzon's cult of 'efficiency' plunged India into a deep unrest! In his farewell speech at the Byculla Club at Bombay, Lord Curzon said:—"Let India be my judge". We know India's judgment upon the 'efficient' Viceroy. What will be India's judgment upon Lord Reading? His Excellency signalled his

appointment as Viceroy of India by publishing his faith in 'Justice'. In the very first speech he made on being appointed as the Viceroy, he expressed a hope that India would recognise that "in selecting a representative of justice from this country (England) to take the place of the King's representative in India, it was the desire of his Majesty and His Majesty's servants to make it manifest to India that justice would remain the supreme guiding factor in the destinies of India so long as it was possible for human beings to hold the scales of justice." And we have since heard much from His Excellency of the cult of 'justice'. To the British public, the 'Empire' has been often represented as the instrument of justice in a country having 'warring sects and communities'. Writing in the "*Contemporary Review*" in 1883, Sir Richard Temple expressed a hope that Indians would "look up to the foreign Government as an embodiment of moral as well as of political power."! An American paper published the following as a "well-authenticated story" coming from a "civil officer in a remote part" of Burma:—"One early morning not long ago this officer found an ancient Burman squatting

on his heels in front of the bungalow, whom he recognised as the headman of a village distant fifty miles away in the hills. Questioned by the officer as to the purpose for which he had undertaken so long a journey through the jungle, the old man replied as follows:—

“Thakin (Master), my villagers wish to make some return for the favors bestowed upon us by the British Government. The Government has lessened our taxes, killed the leopards, given us good water, and appointed a most discriminating policeman to visit us when need shall arise. And now I am come to tell you that we have in our village eight guns, ancient and well-tried, and all held under a license granted by the most honorable Thakin; we have also four pounds of excellent gunpowder in a bottle, and a bag of bullets these being neither more nor less than the Thakin’s license permits us to hold. Moreover, there are in our village two trackers who have proved their skill in the capture of dacoits. Thakin, we have heard a rumour that the British Government is in great trouble with its enemies. Wherefore our villagers have empowered me to say that the eight guns, the bottle of gun-

powder, the bag of bullets, and the two trackers are freely at the disposal of the British Government." There was a time, indeed when several educated people believed that the British official was an impartial dispenser of justice. And efforts were, doubtless, made by the bureaucracy to help a propaganda of which the object was to create an impression on the masses that they lived under a *mâh bâp sircar*. The belief, —the illusion—of a *mah bap sircar* was broken for ever at the Jallianwalla Bagh. The 'realities' of the Imperialism which holds India in subjection have come home to the people during the last few years. The cities are storm-centres of 'agitation.' The masses no longer believe in a *mâh bâp sircar*. They have heard of the Jallianwalla tragedy. They have, in Sind, learnt of the Matiara tragedy and the Sanjoro Police torture case. They have not, in Bengal, forgotten the recent Chandpur tragedy. Referring to it in the course of a letter to the *Nation*, Mr. C. F. Andrews who was on the spot writes:—Since the days when indentured labour was abolished and the worst evils of professional recruiting were abandoned—days which have made the names of "indenture"

and "recruiter" to be words of dread in Upper India—the condition of the labourers in the Assam tea-gardens has improved. The one evil that has not been eradicated has been the immorality with Indian women, practised openly by many of the planters. But in the labour itself there has been all the while a certain flaw which this exodus has disclosed. For, though the tea-garden managers are allowed to send down to the plains and bring these ignorant men and women many hundreds of miles from their homes, there is no regulation whatever which obliges these same managers either to pay a living wage in times of trade depression or else to repatriate the laborers whom they have imported. The consequence has been that in this special instance, when life on certain estates became unbearable owing to shortage of wages, the men and women, hearing that Mahatma Gandhi would give them relief started to walk back to their homes, with all the inevitable suffering that this involved. In their exodus they were obliged to take a river journey from Chandpur to Goalundo. They became congested on the river bank, in many thousands, at Chandpur ;

and the Bengal Government, influenced by the tea-planters, stubbornly refused to help them forward on the river journey. Therefore they perished miserably in large numbers of cholera and pneumonia. To add to the horror of it all, some Gurkha soldiers were turned on to them at dead of night, at the beginning of the monsoon, to drive them out of the third-class passenger shed of the railway station, where they had taken refuge. They were driven on to an open football ground, with no shelter provided. The Gurkha soldiers behaved most brutally. I arrived the very next day and saw the wounds which they had made with the butts of their rifles on emaciated and sickly women and children. Sir Henry Wheeler arrived ten days after, and saw with his own eyes sixteen wounded persons, seven of whom were women and two were children. He gave details in his report about these women's and children's wounds and then stated, '*the force used, in the circumstances, was not excessive.*' These words, which I have italicized, display, I am afraid, a mentality which is much too common in India to-day." Lord Reading came with his 'Cult of Justice' at a

time when a large number of Indians no longer believed in 'British' justice. When Lord Reading said he would do justice to India there were many who took him at his word and hoped for better things. But the *word* justice is not the *thing*; and *propaganda* of 'justice' is very different from the reality of justice. Lord Reading's "Cult of Justice," like Lord Curzon's "Cult of Efficiency," is rooted in the 'Empire-cult' and it is no wonder it has come in conflict with the spirit of Freedom.

Religious Freedom and the *Right of Association* are the two main issues of the present situation. Both have been antagonised by Lord Reading's 'cult of justice'. The Muslim and Sikh agitations involve the issue of religious freedom. In the name of 'justice', several Sikh leaders have been sent to jail; their sin is they have addressed Sikh religious meetings and refused to accept Government interference in Gurudwara matters. The Sikh religious meetings are banned under the Seditious Meetings, Act! The Sikh feeling was well expressed by a Sikh leader who, when brought before a Magistrate under a charge of helping sedition, lit a candle and began to make a search

in the court room! When asked by the court as to what he was doing he said:—"Searching for justice"! The trial of the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and other Muslim leaders at Karachi brought out, as perhaps nothing else did, the issue of religious freedom. It was said the Ali Brothers and others had 'conspired' against the King at the Khilafat Conference! The charge of 'conspiracy' failed. It was said they had tried to tamper with the loyalty of Indian sepoys! They never 'seduced' any one; leaders of the non-co-operation movement do not countenance secret methods; their one great virtue is they have laid all their cards on the table; the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew did not 'seduce', they openly said that Muslims must no longer serve in the army and they asked their co-religionists to carry that message to Muslim sepoys. They frankly said they considered Britain as an enemy of Islam. They love Islam; they felt that Britain must not be helped by Muslims to do harm to Islam. To punish expressions of religious opinions is to revive European 'Medievalism' in a country which has been most wonderfully tolerant of religious views and sentiment, It was not till

the Turco-Greek War that the Ali Brothers felt it their duty as Muslims to ask their co-religionists to withhold help from Great Britain. "There is no shadow of foundation," said Lord Reading "for the suggestions which have sometimes been made that Britain is helping Greece in some shape or form in her war with Turkey". Yet the semi-official French paper *Temps* admitted in a recent issue that the Turco-Greek War was due partly to the 'indiscretion' on the part of the Allied Powers in having "too precipitately allowed the Greeks, in fact, invited them to land troops at Smyrna"! Lord Reading defended the supply of munitions to Greece as being in accordance with "established international practice." But the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew are in jail for having asked their Muslim brethren to act in accordance with what they believe to be the injunction of Islam! Lord Reading's defence of Britain is all the more strange when we remember that if Britain and Greece which are both signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations had complied with the provisions of the Covenant, there would have been no "private manufacture of arms" for Greece in

the allied countries. As for Turkey, Kemal Pasha, the Turkish nationalist leader, who carried on the war of defence against Greece is *not* a member of the League of Nations. It was Britain and Greece which broke the Covenant in the Turco-Greek War.

And can his Excellency deny that Britain was largely responsible for the Treaty of Severs? Did not that Treaty abandon Smyrna to Greece? Does not every student of this question know that the will of the inhabitants of Smyrna was not taken into consideration in promising away Smyrna to Greece? On whom, if not on Britain, rests a large measure of responsibility for the exhausting war with Kemal Pasha? As a Continental paper, the *Independance* of Bucharest wrote, the Treaty of Severs proved "disastrous for everybody". The Ali Brothers urged that what was needed was not a *revision* of the Treaty but repentance and renunciation of the entire policy of Britain with regard to Islam. It was a policy which subordinated the Muslim world to Imperialism. "I am very conscious", said Lord Reading, "of the strength of Muslim feeling in India in all that affects the Khilafat and the Muslim

religion." Yet the Ali Brothers are in jail for voicing the strong Muslim feeling! *Nation* accused England of "excessive partisanship for inflated Greek claims." But Lord Reading would have us believe that "His Majesty's Government adopted an attitude of strict neutrality" in the matter! "There is no room for intolerance in religious opinion," said his Excellency in a Simla speech. Yet his Government has tabooed the Khilafat agitation,—an agitation which aims at asserting what Muslims regard as their religious rights and religious creed. And in the name of 'justice', the Ali Brothers have been sent to jail! Lord Reading's 'Cult of justice' has come in conflict with Islam and has opened up a big issue, that of religious freedom in a country which is the most sensitive in regard to matters religious. The Quran says:—"Who killeth a believer purposely, his reward is hell." And if there be conflict between the Penal Code and the Islamic Code, it is easy to understand what view an orthodox Muslim should take. Maulana Mahomed Ali in his able Statement urged that the Muslims placed the law of God above the laws of State. Lord Reading's cult of justice

places the laws made by a bureaucracy in the interests of an empire-cult above the 'Law of God.' It is an intelligible position ; it is a position which, I believe, is inevitable once you accept imperialism as your political creed. Make an 'empire' your absolute and you must subordinate everything to imperialist considerations. The bureaucratic state, then, as an agent of imperialism must be obeyed *under all circumstances*. That men are not *Machines* but *souls* with sentiments and ideals which are not the less vital for being imponderable is a view which Lord Reading ignores. It is a view which does not fit in with a materialistic conception of justice. Lord Reading's law is a weapon of power, not an instrument of liberty. But India has not at any great period in her history separated *freedom* or *justice* from *dharma*. The issue opened by the trial of the Ali Brothers is *religious*, not *sectarian*. For it is an issue which may be defended on broad *humanitarian* grounds. Is there, I ask, a single *humanitarian* who will encourage the idea of Indian soldiers, being used for the purpose of promoting the political and commercial ambitions of imperialism in India, in Mesopotamia, in the East? The

vision, however, of Humanity is *not* the vision of imperialism. For lack of this vision, too, it worships *power*, not the Moral Law. And I know not how civilization which lies bleeding to-day can be saved if the nations will not acknowledge supremacy of the Moral Law and place Humanity above the State. A Jesuit author of a suggestive little book which discusses the "Principles of International Morality" rightly says:—"Stable peace in Europe can only be secured by bringing international relations once more under the Moral Law,—that is to say, by insisting on States keeping the Law of God in their dealings with one another." Will Britain keep the "Law of God" in its dealings with Islam, with India, with the East? Then must she abandon imperialism, undo the wrong done to the Muslim world, recognise India's full rights of Freedom and be *not* her over-Lord but her Comrade in the one service of Humanity. For the notion of 'the great Asiatic Dependency' substitute the great idea of Asian Free States. For 'power' substitute 'service'. And you will help in the building up of that Brotherly Civilization which is, I believe, the piteous need of the Nations.

LAW ' OR VIOLENCE?

THE watchword of the Lawrences, it has been said, was:—"Faith must be kept whatever it costs us." Honesty has been, with some administrators, the best *policy*: it paid the Lawrences in their administrative work in the Punjab after the Mutiny; it reconciled many to the British rule. Can any one who has studied the Khilafat Question honestly say that England has kept faith with Muslim India? "English valour and English intelligence," wrote Macaulay, "have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity"! And he went on to speak of the English as "the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed."! One realises how very flattering was Macaulay's account when one remembers that the very founder of "our Oriental empire" committed forgery! The East India Company in its administration of India showed some virtues; but 'English veracity,' I

am afraid, was not one of them. And "English veracity" has not been conspicuous in England's conduct to the Muslim world. Imperialism is well-versed in diplomacy; and diplomacy is oftener than not, duplicity. Some change is perceptible at this hour in England's mind with regard to Turkey. The motive, however, of that change is no appreciation of Islam and its place in Civilization but diplomatic imperialism. England's ambition has been crossed by the purpose of France; and England would allay Indian unrest, if it can, by offering some concessions to Muslim sentiment! So liberal a paper as the *Nation* wrote that the Indian Muslim claim concerning the Khilafat was "an impossible claim"; "and yet," it added, "altogether to reject it might be to hang a peril over India and to risk the loss of what has been traditionally the most loyal of the Indian populations. It would mean solidarity between Muslims and Hindoos and no longer on the lines of Home Rule within the Empire" The "Empire" is the Absolute that must always be safe in the "best English interests"! So in a letter to the *Times*, Sir Theodore Morison expressed an anxiety that the Prince's visit

be 'utilised to conclude peace with the Muslims'. They will then return, he said, "to their old position of Centre Right among the Indian parties": Which in plain English means:-- they will be detached from the Swaraj Movement! A similar feeling was expressed by Lord Meston who said recently that it behoved "British statesman to be generous to Turkey" and that "we must persuade the Moslems in India to work with us for the political regeneration of India."! This "political regeneration" means Britain's domination! To "govern India" was Lord Curzon's dream. It is the dream of every imperialist. Some of the best Englishmen are unable to shake off a belief in the 'empire cult.' Mr. Norton sympathised once with Indian aspirations; to-day he justifies the incarceration of the Ali Brothers! "Having locked them up for two years," he says, "you will give yourself breathing space to consolidate the progress now being made and to ensure a further satisfactory advance"! Many more arrests have since been made; and the Indians locked up at the moment I write these words include some of the greatest of India's political leaders. They have disobeyed

the State and the laws of the State must be vindicated ! Such, in brief, is Lord Reading's defence of his policy. The State-but does it represent the People ? The 'laws',-but are they made by the People ? Lord Reading does not trouble himself with these questions. There are two conceptions of the State. I may call them the *bureaucratic* and *spiritual conceptions*. According to the one, the State is a law unto itself, an end, an irresponsible *Power* : according to the other, the State exists to minister to the Nation's Life,—a guardian of the People's Rights. The first is the materialistic conception which can find for the State no better basis than *force*. The Second is the *idealistic* conception which finds the essential meaning of State in its obedience to and expression of the Moral Law. Lord Reading's 'cult of justice' rests on the bureaucratic conception of the State as Power. That Power must submit to Moral Law or the Law of Freedom. This is what the Nation is striving to vindicate, to day.

The Right of Association is one of the fundamental rights of the People. It is this right which Lord Reading's policy has challenged. A bureaucracy naturally looks out

for opportunities, to crush National Movement. One such opportunity came when the earlier movement was infected with a programme of violence. The present movement is pledged to non-violence. Lord Willingdon thought a chance was found in the Malabar riots. He attributed them to "an organised conspiracy"! It was difficult, however, for even the bitterest opponents of the Movement to show any causal connexion between non-co-operation and the riots. The Congress committee even urged that riots in Malabar did not take place in those places where non-co-operation had been preached the most, and that they took place in areas to which the non-co-operation workers had been denied access by the Magistrate. Lord Reading was soon persuaded to take up the cry that 'non-co-operation' was a danger to peace in the country. The bureaucracy, it would seem, expected that the arrests of the Ali Brothers would be followed by riots and afford a 'proof' to the world that the Movement was a danger to peace and order! The bureaucracy was disappointed! In the meantime the day of the Prince's visit was drawing nigh. The Visit, the bureaucracy

believed, could be used for political purposes ! The visit, it was¹ thought, would impress the Prince and the British public with India's 'loyalty' to the 'Empire'. An Englishman represented as "an authority on India" said in an interview with the *Daily Mail* that only "a small group of extremists in India" was possibly against the Visit ! The Congress Committees passed resolutions boycotting the visit and making it clear that no ill-will was meant to the person of the Prince. The reason for the boycott was simple. Those who felt that the bureaucracy stood in the way of their recovering their birth rights could not, with any sense of honor, take part in any of the functions the bureaucracy would organise in connection with a visit having behind it a political motive : Lord Reading denied there was any political motive ! But the people's instinct saw better : Mr. Elvin worte in 1907 :—"The official world imagines that much greater progress has been made in rendering 'India' an integral part of the Empire than is really the case. Great demonstration like the Durbar at Delhi though *externally they may point to strong Imperial feeling* make no im-

pression on India in general. Many of those who take part in such scenes regard them as *England's way of showing her power.*' (Italics mine). The people led by a right political impulse protested against the political motive of the visit. *Hartals* took place throughout the country on the day of the Prince's arrival. The *hartal* at Bombay was disfigured by deplorable disturbances. Mr. Gandhi condemned the riots in no uncertain terms. Lord Reading's Government saw in Mr. Gandhi's Confession, a 'confusion' of mind and were appalled at the success of the Calcutta *hartal*. The bureaucracy felt the hour had come for them to strike. The Movement must be crushed. Any extreme measure could be justified, if the British public would understand it to be taken with a view to ensure 'safety' of the Prince! Lord Ronaldshay opened the campaign in Bengal. The officials in different parts had looked for an opportunity to 'act'; it had come at last! Volunteers organisations were declared illegal. Government must 'govern'! There, is, at the hour I send these papers to the press, a reign of repression.

Anglo-Indians praise the policy! Most of

them share the view of Col. Gidney who in a Simla speech described Mr. Gandhi as "the biggest fraud and humbug" and urged Government to "follow a full-fledged policy of repression beginning with the lock-up of Mr. Gandhi." The *Englishman* was glad that Government had taken "advantage of confusion in the ranks of the enemy" after the Bombay riot and had launched a "determined pursuit" to free the country of non-co-operation! Lord Willingdon in a speech made it clear that he was determined to see that "the great sums of money which had been invested (in India) in industrial concerns in the past were not jeopardised" by 'non-co-operation.'! Sir Harcourt Butler said he was "convinced" that if the policy was "pursued and pursued steadily for some time, one might reasonably hope to break the back of non-co-operation" which he damned as a 'conspiracy'! The British press on the whole, supported the policy. The *Times* congratulated Lord Reading on his attitude and assured him that he would have "no serious trouble," so long as he remained "firm"! The *Westminster Gazette* wrote:—"The time had certainly come when it must be somewhat

sternly pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that sincerity is not sufficient cover for a stubborn refusal to face the consequence of his actions." The *Morning Post*, a reactionery journal, urged that if "the Government of India is to be saved it must answer the insolence of Mr. Gandhi with the full weight of the law which is its duty to uphold"! Repression was justified in the name of "law"! These 'Orientals' must be 'governed'! The *Daily News* admitted that repression was proved to be unwise in Ireland but added that it was the "only wisdom" in Egypt and India! "Happily," said the *Times*, "Lord Reading has made India understand that he means to *govern*" (*italics mine*). The *Nation* asked Lord Reading to go for advice not to Simla but to "the makers of Irish peace and to Mr. Gandhi himself"; but it did no more than offer a very mild criticism of Lord Reading's 'panic expedients.' The only paper, I think, which entered a strong protest against repression and asked for a complete reversal of British policy was the *Daily Herald*. But that paper represents Labour; and labour does not yet control the Commons. Even if Labour came to power, it would not, pledged as it is to

Free Trade, accept a *swadeshi* policy for India. Major-General Sir Charles Townshend put his finger on the very heart of the Indian Problem as the Imperialist understands it when, in a recent lecture in London, he said:—*If we should have to listen to Egypt's and India's demands, what would then become of the British Empire?*'' "If," he added "you wanted rule in India you must have a Government which would rule; for, India must be governed"!

"India must be governed"! That is the mind of Simla. That, his fine phrases notwithstanding, indicates the present attitude of Lord Reading. The 'Reforms' he said to the Liberal Deputation at Calcutta "had not been fully tested." The Parliament was to be the judge of India's fitness for Swaraj! In another speech, he defended his policy of arrests on a strange ground! How otherwise, he asked, could law be enforced against "the common criminal", the thief or murderer? Lord Reading forgets that the thief or murderer is punished by a law which has the support of public opinion; but Indian patriots have been sent to jail under laws which the bureaucracy, not the people, have made. Indian patriots are being

punished for standing up against 'laws' which violate one of the fundamental rights of life,—the right of association. But, your Volunteers Organisations,—Lord Reading would say,—are instruments of violence! Are they? Is not non-violence the creed they are pledged to? If, indeed, some members of these Organisations use intimidation or violence, let the courts punish them by all means. Prove and punish. But is it according to 'law' to declare the Organisations themselves illegal? Lord Reading invokes the aid of the Criminal Amendment Act. That Act gives power to the Governor-General in Council to declare an association unlawful which "constitutes a danger to the public peace". Have Congress and Khilafat Committees been a danger to "public peace"? Government may as well declare all organisations of the police and army unlawful: have not some policemen and soldiers done bad things? Remember Jallianwalla, Matiāri, Chandpur. In 1907, there were bands of "Volunteers" in Bengal. Some of them, consisted of students who nursed the poor in villages, who distributed medicines to persons suffering from cholera and small-pox. They

were put down, as picketting has been put down in our days, as a "danger to public peace"! The bureaucracy is always afraid of volunteer bands. Such associations develop the people's power of *self-organisation*. And what promotes *self-organisation* robs the bureaucrat of his *prestige*! *Swaraj is self-organisation*. Where the power of self-organisation is weak, the people are at the mercy of an irresponsible executive. A Nation jealous of its rights does not tamely submit to orders directed against its power of self-organisation and therefore its spirit of freedom. Recently there was a meeting in New York. It was held for the purpose of discussing the question whether birth-control was morally justified. The hall was filled; a crowd was outside trying to get in. There was excitement but no disorderly element. An ecclesiastic was dead against the idea of limiting birth-control. It is an intelligible view. And there are devout Christians who believe literally in the Scriptural saying: — "Go ye and multiply." But there are others equally honest who believe that in the present stage one way to stop wars is to *control* birth-rate; and they have every right to discuss

the subject of birth-control. The ecclesiastic, however, had requested the police to stop the meeting! Two policemen appeared and announced that the meeting could not be held! One of the ladies present boldly stepped to the front of the platform; she challenged the police order; she addressed the meeting; she was arrested; but the case was quickly dismissed by the Magistrate! Another meeting was held on the same subject; the police arrived, *not*, this time, to stop the meeting, but to help in preventing possible disorder: The Magistrate and the police in a free country realise that they are servants of the Nation; the bureaucracy in this country are anxious to impose their will upon the People. Carson and his Ulster volunteers marched in full military uniform and were not declared unlawful. Congress and Khilafat Volunteers Associations pledged to non-violence are declared unlawful in this country! India, Lord Reading will say, is not Ireland!

A law, to bear the character of 'law,' must be derived from the national will of the People. Where that will stands opposed to it, it has no moral sanction. Such a law the great saint-philosopher of the Middle Ages, St. Thomas,

has rightly called "rather an act of violence than law." And to study Lord Reading's Cult of Justice in the light of recent events is to know what acts of 'violence have been committed in the name of 'law'. What has been the sin of "political offenders" who are in jail to-day? Patriotism. And on several of them the bureaucracy has inflicted rigorous imprisonment! Think for a moment of the savage sentences, inflicted by the magistrate on men like Lala Lajpat Rai and Prof. Jitendra Lal Benerji. Trials have been held *in camera*. Ladies have been arrested for selling *khadar*. The Principal of one of the biggest Colleges in India has been assaulted by a sergeant! Some members of a marriage party have been thrashed! Their sin? They shouted:—*Gandhi-ki-jai!* Swaraj flags have been pulled down from houses! Section 153 A. of the Penal Code has been applied to Congress Committee meetings! Justice, indeed!

Authority of the State must be upheld,—say the apologists of the Administration. But which State? The Bureaucratic State stands for Power, not the People's Rights. Authority? Yes! But what when the men in authority do

not respect a People's will? Laws? Yes! But what when they antagonise the inviolable rights of a Nation? Hobbes made the man in power,—the 'ruler'—the arbiter of political conduct. And even Austin could not outgrow the notion that law is only a command of a 'superior' person. Imperialists easily accept this view of law with reference to the Orientals. These Orientals, they say, do not know! The white man is the best judge of what is good for them! Their virtue lies in 'obedience'! Lord Reading with his faith in the 'Empire' interprets law in this country, in terms not of National Liberty, but of imperial interests and power. He speaks of sanctity of law; he does not pause to consider if there can be a law not made by *right* authority. What share have the People in the passing and application of the laws which his Excellency's Government has pressed against India's patriots? Laws must embody the Freedom-Spirit of a Nation. Then are they sacred. Not otherwise. According to Hindu theory, laws must be tested by the practice of the virtuous. But the 'laws' which Lord Reading is idolising have sent to jail so many of India's virtuous men, idealists,

political leaders, young men and students moved by the purest patriotism.

“ I leave you,” said the King on his visit to India years ago, “ a legacy of hope.” What will the Prince say when he leaves India? What legacy will the policy of Lord Reading’s Government leave to the People? In the course of his reply to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha, the Viceroy said :—“ the Government could not contemplate abandoning its policy ” ! “ Government ”, he added, “ had not taken action without considering consequences.” As a result, indeed, of the policy, some of the greatest of India’s political leaders are in jail. The policy of repression has, doubtless, given satisfaction to opponents of India’s freedom. A Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper praised Lord Reading for having departed from the policy of Lord Chelmsford who thought the movement of Non-co-operation would ‘ fizzle ’ out ! Lord Reading says Government must prevent ‘ intimidation and coercion.’ Have the leaders who are now in jail done anything to ‘ intimidate ’ and ‘ coerce ’ others? Have they not always stood for non-violence? Is not Government open to the charge

of pursuing methods of 'intimidation' and coercion'?

The Government's attitude, Lord Reading said, "has been consistent". Yes; and *consistency* is the one great sin of a bureaucratic State. It is as in against the life of a Nation. It makes, as Lord Reading said, "its power and authority felt." Lord Reading's cult of justice, it is now becoming increasingly clear, is this *power-cult*. It caused him great regret, he said, to see that citizens of reputation and respectability were defying law. Why? 'For political reasons,'—says Lord Reading. His Excellency knows that the leaders voice the demands of an overwhelming majority. How does he meet the demands and the political reasons behind them? He makes the 'power' of Government felt: Power-cult, indeed, is the first and last argument of bureaucracy. It failed in Russia. It has failed in Ireland. It will not succeed in India. Only we must be courageous and scrupulous in our struggle. To the strong hand let us oppose a strong mind and character. The present policy of repression may even be extended to the nationalist press. An Anglo-Indian paper has already

given us a hint of what may happen, any day. It says:—The “proclamations of the Government making the Volunteer organisations illegal had a very good effect for the time being, but their leaders have now found a means of counteracting this. Obviously the Government must retort by placing the leaders in a position not to do any more mischief. This can be done in two ways. They can either be arrested under the extra-ordinary power the Government possesses, or what would be better still, the publicity they obtain for their orders and pronouncements through the medium of the Extremist press stopped by the simple expedient of closing down that press :” The developing situation must be met not by compromise, but by loyalty to truth, by moral strength. No policy of force can break a nation at once upright and indomitable. Repression leads to Liberty.

THE 'SATAN' IN CIVILIZATION

YOUNG men have asked me several questions concerning my Creed of *ahimsa*. Many of them, with the best of motives, fight shy of this Creed. Many quote with approval the utterances of Western patriots and point with appreciation to the Sinn Fein methods of violence. Many sincerely think the way out of the present situation in India is—*violence*. I know of a bright Brahmin under-graduate who came to me for blessings saying he had made up his mind to kill a big British official! And then? "I shall go to the gallows", he said "in the service of India—the oppressed". He spoke the mind of many young men who in their studies and work dream the dream of India's Freedom. It took me sometime to bring him round and carry home to him my faith that to live and bear the Cross of the Country day by day was nobler even than to die on the gallows!

One cause I suppose, of the attitude of young men is the defective system of education. The current system imitates some of the superficial features of European education, it is out of touch with the nobler spirit of Western culture. In some measure it cultivates *mentality*. But it neglects the region of *higher emotions*. And the highest emotion, to my mind, is *maitreya*, *ahimsa*. Students learn many things but their *ahimsa*, -*consciousness* is not trained as it used to be in Aryavarta. A few things, as it seems to me, are needed for a training of this consciousness. Fellowship with nature is needed; and most of the schools in this country are in crowded quarters out of touch in the influences of nature. Concentration or silence is needed so that what is beyond the mind, viz. *intuition* may be developed. The current system develops *aggressive* intellect, not the *soul* of man. *Sat-sang* or fellowship with great souls is needed. The school-master, to-day, is oftener than not a mercenary. And there is needed that *simplicity* which involves self-control. The modern student spends much of his time in *bhōg*, excitement, 'sensations'. Is it a wonder the teaching of ancient India carries little

appeal to him? There is but one Life in all! That truth is uttered, again, by Indian sages. That truth is ruthlessly trampled by modern civilization. There is Evolution because of the one Life-Force 'evolving' through the 'forms' and to commit *himsa* is to sunder the Life-Force from a form in which it has chosen to dwell. What right have I to separate the Life-Force from a particular form and thus prevent it from manifesting Itself?

By this faith has India lived through the ages. If I were asked to express in one word the very *soul* of India, I would say:—*ahimsa*. And the eternal quest of India has been to utter and embody *ahimsa* in thought and art and worship and life. Not without reason has India worshipped the Buddha, though he preached against ecclesiastical Hinduism. "Let him not destroy," said the Buddha, "or cause to be destroyed any life at all or sanction the acts of those who do so. Let him refrain from hurting creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world." Conquer nature, has been the dominant note of western thought and literature, The principle of *ahimsa* influenced India in her dealings

with the world. She dreamt no dreams of dominion and conquest, and she became a *guru* of Japan and China,—countries jealous of the ‘stranger’. India was never a militarist nation; her reverence for Humanity saved her from imperialist ambitions. It was a great political truth which Buddha expressed when he said:—“Unhappy are both the victor and the vanquished. The vanquished because of oppression, the victor because of the fear that the vanquished may arise and triumph”. These words explain the psychology of a servile state. India did not attempt to enslave other nations; to do it was to commit *himsa*.

Young men quote European History to show that violence is necessary to achieve national freedom. They forget that Europe has not yet solved the problem of freedom. Europe has wandered from violence to violence, and its *cult of power* is often mistaken for *freedom*. There is no freedom without *sadhan*, without *discipline of the moral law*. Europe does not yet recognise a law above the States and Nations; hence national conflicts; hence the nation-cults of the West; hence the malady of imperialism; hence the great War. And the

war is not yet over. The war continues in Asia Minor for Europe has not yet learnt to build national life upon reverence for Humanity; Europe is swayed by selfishness, greed, race-pride,—by a cult of power. The Buddha rightly placed the Law above the States, pointing out that Nations like individual men should be under the control of the Moral Law. There is to-day, a 'League of Nations'; but the League must obey a Higher Law if it is to guard peace and progress and not be a League of exploiters, a League of the Victors to exploit weak nations and races.

There are false notions of national freedom, of *swaraj*. There is something higher than self-determination; it is self-dedication to the service of the Ideal; and true *swaraj*, freedom is for the service of Humanity. If this notion of freedom as power for the service of man dominated the thought and life of Europe, *imperialisms* would give way to *humanism* and the current belief in violence would vanish. Europe still believes in violence; therefore has Europe missed the deeper values of Freedom. "Only an armed people can be a true support of the people's

freedom". Such has been the belief of European Nations; and the belief in its heightened form became the war! In Russia the priest Gapun expressed the dominant mood of his countrymen when he said:—"We have no more a Czar. A river of blood separates the Czar from the people. Hail the struggle for Freedom". The struggle for Freedom is mistakenly measured by "rivers of blood". Has War solved Europe's problem? Is it not true that war brings war? Millions of lives were lost during the war; what is the result? Europe lies exhausted to-day. Millions of children are starving in Central Europe; Russia is in the grip of a terrible famine; peace has not yet conquered the earth; the spirit of war,—of greed and hate and strife is stronger to-day than it was before the War; Europe has not renounced the fallacy of force.

Modern States believe in the *cult of power*; and in the consequent struggle, civilization is exhausting itself. There is struggle between nations and races and the result is *dehumanisation*. Think only of the British soldiery:—what a stroy of frightfulness is told by their work in Ireland for instance! And how, after

all, has the machinery of force worked in that unhappy Isle. It has not cowed down the Irish people. Some time ago there was a raid upon the Connolly Labour College ; and the students said :—" Our heads are bloody but unbowed ". They expressed the mighty resolve of Ireland. As an Irish leader said " This movement of ours in Ireland is not a new movement. It is the Soul of Ireland coming from the people upwards pleading again the old cry of Irish liberty, speaking in the name of seven centuries of honoured men and women who have braved death rather than that liberty should perish ; the spirit of liberty burns brighter than in any other day, and I want this message carried, I want every man and woman here to carry it, that there can be no peace and there will be no peace,—not until England is prepared to recognise the right of the Irish people to the undictated control of their own country ". England has had to recognise the right of the Irish people. Force did not subdue the Irish nation ; *force* cannot conquer *life* ; and the Irish sustained the struggle to victory in the spirit of the saying common in Ireland :—" We are not going to leave this

struggle to our children". Egypt's sufferings, again, are due to England's desire to dominate that country in the interests of imperialism. But not all the force Britain has used has served to crush the spirit of Egypt; The soul of a people cannot be killed except by a seed of decay from within; students and young men and peasants and the masses of Egypt struggle to day for freedom under the inspiration of Zaglul Pasha. The arrest of the great leader has not arrested the National movement in Egypt. One may safely predict the future is *not* with the *power* of England. Consider the situation in India. 300 millions are waking up. Government is spending more for the army and its 'new equipment'; what army, I ask, can strangle the awakened spirit of a nation?

Cult of power may, at any moment, become a cult of violence. Political persecutions in this country are only one expression of the bureaucracy's belief in *force*; vast armaments are another. Much of race-repugnance is due, I believe, to an unconscious feeling that power should be concentrated in the hands of one group or class or nation. But power pressed

against the soul of a people is, in my theory of life, *violence*; and the *domination* of one nation over another must in the last analysis, be one of mere power or force and therefore a form of violence. Hence the inevitable failure of militarism, navalism, imperialism. Hence, too, the *ultimate* failure of wars and blood-revolutions. The sword cannot settle national and international disputes. Force calls up hate, strife, force; it cannot solve any of the great problems of Humanity. What has the policy of force done in Ireland? Listen to what an Irish leader says:—"I say, as calmly and deliberately as I can that if Britain does not stop her campaign of murder in Ireland, then we will preach to our millions all over the world a race vendetta and demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." There is hate against the British in Egypt, in India, in other parts of the East. The negro, long persecuted and despised in America, is now developing what Mr. Stephen Graham in a beautiful book calls the "religion of being black." And the essence of this religion, alas! seems to be intense race-hatred', a 'deep hate' for the white man. "Every negro child," we are

told," is learning that the white man is his enemy." Hate-vibrations are multiplying in the world,

Can the inner sense of Humanity be satisfied with the 'nation-cults' and 'race-gospels' which rest on hate and force? It is my faith that passion and destruction cannot sustain Humanity. Already civilization is dying and Europe lies exhausted because it has listened to counsels of war and violence. The world's piteous need is that sentiment of fraternity which the Books call *ahimsa*. We are one another's in the great Life of humanity;—that is the thought the nations need. And without it there cannot be a world-peace. The 'Satan' in modern civilization is the *cult of force*. And this must go if there is to be a change of heart, a new spirit in the life of the Nations. Who, if not India, will bear the message in the present Struggle for Freedom? Government believes, I know, in force, in violence, but in opposing to its organised force our undisciplined force we shall not be helping the Cause of Freedom, we shall only be giving an excuse to Government to try conclusions with us on a plane where it is admittedly our superior; we shall be

throwing India back, it may be, for half a century; we shall be doing injustice to our higher selves, to the soul of India. Withdrawing our co-operation from a State which does not reflect our will, let us build a New State—a State of our own,—one which may embody the national ideal in education, in economics, in social life. And the socio-economic and moral power of the New State the present Government will be unable to resist. So may we work out our freedom by non-violent methods; and in solving *her* problem of Freedom, India may help the Nations in solving their problems, too, in ways strictly non-violent. What nobler mission can a nation have than this to which, I believe, India is called to give the Nations the message that, above the States, is the moral Law, that above the Nations is Humanity,—that evolving through all is the One Life,—that Freedom, to be worthily won must be achieved with *ahimsa*,—that for the building up of a New Civilization, the Nations must work together as comrades in the one service of the God-in-man?

Young men, I know, have their doubts as to the value of *ahimsa*. They naturally resent the

humiliation inflicted on the Country by a bureaucracy intoxicated with power. But the secret of strength in our struggle for freedom is the discipline of patience and self-sacrifice. This *ahimsa* I speak of is not *weakness*, it is the meakness, the *strength* of Christ who could have driven out the Roman, but who chose to build his kingdom on the Cross. The *ahimsa* I speak of is not *fear* of death ; it is reverence for Humanity. I believe profoundey that India will be Free if she to Her Own Self be true. I believe profoundly that, as the Upanishads suggest, *ahimsa* is *yagna*, is sacrifice, is a world-force. And at this hour of repression and agony, I whisper to myself as I go about my work a text adapted from the Gita :—" O son of Kunti ! my *Bharata* will never perish ".

NATIONALISM AND HUMANISM

IT has seemed to me again and again that, there is some danger at this hour our succumbing to a narrow nation--cult. Nationalism is essential to human evolution. It is love of one's country; and love-emotion is the greatest of the building forces of humanity. Nationalism in India is a necessity of our life. India is in bondage; and until India is free, she cannot realise herself. Nationalism is a necessity of human life. But may it not be overdone? It is overdone when it refuses to be controlled by the ideal of *Humanity*. When a Nation aims at building up its greatness by trampling upon humanity, it falls a victim to arrogant, exclusive, aggressive nationalism. Such nationalisms may be strong but are mad; they build 'empires'; they exploit 'inferior' races; they stir up passion and strife; they are infected with race-pride; they are intoxicated with cult of power. Such nationalisms

were at the root of the World-War. What have they achieved? Look at Europe! Look at Asia! Europe and Asia have been bled by Western nationalisms and Western imperialisms. India under the domination of the British Nation has sunk into a poverty almost unimaginable; the East is in agony; and Europe, as a result of the War, is starving and suffering from social chaos.

There are not a few in India to-day who think that India must give tit for tat, must meet Europe's aggressive imperialism with an aggressive nationalism of her own, must meet the *sircar's* power with hate and strife. They remember Mr. Bernard Shaw's advice:—"*Behave as a nation*," and they think to 'behave as a nation' is to hate and be aggressive. I have heard young men:—"say that damn'd Englishman!" There are many who in the heart of their hearts believe in a creed of hate and violence. When Mahatma Gandhi asked the people, in view of the Ali Brothers' prosecutions, to "remain calm", a responsible nationalist journal wrote:—"While we have nothing but unstinted praise for the humerous sacrifices of which the Mahatma has been and is capable,

we would like to add that under the regime of relentless terror and massacres inaugurated by the Indian Bureaucracy, the sorely tried patience of the desperate millions of India is bound to exhaust itself". The arrest of the Ali Brothers, according to this paper, would be "the signal of a storm, the incidences of which we shudder to foretell". I have repeatedly said that a 'storm' of violence, no matter by whom provoked, would throw India backward for many years and plunge the country into an anarchy which may inflict much greater harm upon Indians than European residents in this country. A 'storm' of violence would not indicate that we behaved as a 'nation'; for our *national dharma*, as I think of it, is non-violence.

Young men point to the nations of Europe and say:—Look! they are *progressive* nations; and they believe in violence. They *do* believe in violence; and they have achieved much on the physical plane. They have built up big cities dominated by industrialism; they have harnessed science to war; they have used sea and air for destructive purposes. All this,—the 'miracles' of destruction—may be called

progress',—if you will. But can such 'progress' be called *moral*? Can it help Humanity? There is the story of an English Major—he was invited to a Christmas party which, with the Christmas tree, was given to the children of a village. The Major was requested to make a speech. What did he say to the little ones? "I want you", he said, "to keep your patriotism and your hate of Germany always burning like the candles on this Christmas tree." That is the ordinary conception of patriotism. If I would love my country, I must hate the 'foreigner'! Love-emotion and hate-emotion,—I wonder how the two can dwell together in one and the same human heart! I have known speakers cheered lustily at public meetings for abusing the *sircar*. The more you abuse and hate, the greater your patriotism! There is a famous saying of the late Lord Fisher:—"Think in oceans and shoot at sight"! An Anglo-Indian magnate who thought in "oceans" sent a letter to the press recommending to Government that three Indians be "hanged on the nearest tree"! What was their crime? They had criticised the economic policy of the British rule in India; and they wanted no more

than Home Rule within the Empire! The Anglo-Indian gentleman was the manager of a big European firm! I have known Englishmen justifying Dyer's deed at Jallianwalla! Dyer is their countryman! I have known Indians who have said with deep sincerity that it didn't matter what moral rules were violated, if only we could drive out the British! Everything is supposed to be fair in love and war with your enemy!

This narrow 'nationalism' is a spur to *politics* of passion and power. If power be the dominant motive of a nation's life, there is bound to be conflict with, or exploitation of, other nations. The whole cult of power must go if violence is to cease. Nations, like individuals, must break the *mâyā* of "bigness". A man does harm to his fellow-men only to realise his dream of becoming a 'big' man! A nation does harm to other nations only to achieve 'greatness'! I wonder if a Pan-Indian State will really solve the Indian problem; I have sometimes thought what India needs is a Federation of *small* States. So it was at one period in Indian history. Democracy, I believe, can fulfil its purpose much better in *small* than

in 'big states; and when states become big enough for 'empires', they cease to be truly democratic. The politics of power are only strengthened by big navies and armies. And a big standing army becomes a source of military slavery and a danger to the free growth of neighbouring nations.

A hopeful sign is the fact that the masses in different parts are having a sense of their importance to national life. We are in an age of the masses. If there grow in them the vision international, they will not let 'politicians' and 'statesmen' play upon their passions. Some time ago, Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote in an American paper that "the next military enterprise to which Mr. Lloyd George has expressly committed himself is nothing less than a conflict with the United States for the command of the seas". If the masses awaken to the ideal international, they will by refusing to co-operate with such 'enterprises' check aggressive programmes of imperialists and worshippers of nation-cults. The masses were for a long time passive,—content to carry out the instructions of men in 'power'; they are no longer passive. The Awakening of the masses

in India has begun. Just on that account there is upon those of us who believe in Freedom a great responsibility. It is that we do nothing to stir up hate and passion among the masses ; it is that we say nothing to mislead them or spread cheap counsels of violence. He who wills hate wills war. And if India be plunged in a War, result will be a world-conflagration. The winning of India's freedom *without violence*,—this to my mind is the message we should take to every village. Violence in the name of ' religion ' or ' patriotism '—this to my mind, is the danger which the National Movement must avoid. The world's need is Brotherly Civilization. What greater privilege may India have than to help in the building of such a Civilization? Her prophets never preached a narrow, exclusive nationalism ; they gave the message of Universal Kinship and Brotherhood. Will India reward it to a waiting world? Then must those who want India to be free interpret India's problem with reference to the world-problem. You cannot, even if you will, *isolate* India from the world-movement. India's freedom means, I believe, the world's freedom, and it must be interpreted in

terms of the world's need. Sound if you will the depths of the mind and heart of the world; and you may know there is a craving for something nobler, richer, diviner than nationalism. Not many, but groups here and there in different parts of the world look to-day to India for the coming again of a message for the healing of the Nations. There is agony in my soul when I feel that vibrations of hate and violence are multiplying in India. And the prayer of my heart is that through all the difficult day of this struggle for freedom, India may be loyal to the vision of her sages,—the vision of humanity.

WHO RIDES THE STORM?

Clash and conflict! Excitement! Agitation! Sufferings of patriots in jail! These are *mâyâ*! The reality is the *Bharat Shakti*, the Life of the Mother making Its way through the stress and storm of to-day. India's life,—a portion of that *Shakti* which has moved eternally to build the universe,—calls for fuller expression. India's Life,—deep and silent for over a century,—seeks self-utterance, self-realisation. The State refuses to co-operate with this Life in the school, the factory, the field, the Council, the platform, the press. This *will-to-war* against India's Life accounts for the present situation. Centuries ago, an Indian poetess uttered a noble aspiration in noble words :—

I salute the Life

That ever appears, yet ever eludes,

The Life in the house and the Life

[abroad in the Unknown.

It is the Life of the Nations which the bureaucracy has refused to salute. Hence the Unrest. Sir Valentine Chirol in his "*Indian Unrest*," and "*India, Old and New*," Sir J. D. Rees in his "*Modern India*," Lord Ronaldshay in his "*An Eastern Miscellany*" and several other British writers have discussed the question of Indian unrest. They have been, more or less, apologists of the Bureaucratic State when India's quest is for a Free State. There are critics who think unrest is due to "want of sufficiently whole-hearted support of the police-force!" "Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Gen. Dyer acted on this theory. They gave 'whole-hearted support' to the 'police-force' and the military. The result was,—Jallianwalla, and deeper unrest. Some critics trace the Unrest to sentimental Radicals; Labor Members and the Parliament." But how many of the "sentimental Radicals" and M. P.'s support the policy of Non-co-operation? Even Col. Wedgwood criticises the Movement in his book on "*Indo-British Commonwealth*." The National Movement of to-day looks up to no British party for support. It continues to grow! There are critics who trace the unrest to "the current

educational system." But how many of the teachers and Professors have given up their Schools and Colleges in response to the resolution of the Congress? Some attribute unrest to the "activity of the seditious Press and reluctance to prosecute editors since the Press act was passed." There has been no reluctance to "prosecute editors" since the Press Act was passed. But the "sedition Press" far from dying is very much alive to-day! "It is the Babu class," writes a critic, "which controls the Indian Press which invented Swadeshi and the Swaraj." The "Babu class," may have controlled the Indian Press in the earlier Movement. It does not control the Press to-day. Yet the cry of 'swadeshi' and 'swaraj' rings from one end of India to the other. The "Government", wrote the *Pioneer* "has been patient and long suffering. It has tried a policy of inaction and conciliation. Its forbearance has been interpreted as weakness." Even the *Pioneer* will now admit that Government is no longer "patient and long-suffering." There is a reign of repression to-day. And the unrest to-day is deeper than ever before. In the 'strength' of Government

has been its weakness: "India", wrote the *Times*, "must be told plainly and firmly that the question of constitutional changes cannot at present be re-opened, that the law will be upheld." Lord Reading *has* said so to India *has* upheld the bureaucratic 'law' of 'repression'. With what results? More arrests, more volunteers, deeper unrest! The Indian Movement, as I understand it, is not merely a protest against this blunder of Government or that: it is something deeper; it is a Call of the Mother to the People:—*My Children! return to yourselves: how long will you wander as beggars at alien doors?* The Punjab and Khilafat wrongs are to my mind *occasions* rather than *causes* of the profound restlessness of India. The Cause is:—*India's protest against subjection.*

Mr. Weale in his book "The Conflict of Color" says:—"the White man in India still boldly remains a conqueror in possession of last stretches of valuable territory,—a conqueror who has no intention of lightly surrendering his conquests and who, indeed, sees in every attempt to modify the old order of things a most hateful and unjustifiable revolt which must, at all costs be repressed. This is so

absolutely true that no candid person will 'be inclined to dispute it.' Resistance to India's will-to-freedom,—this is the glaring fact of the Indian situation. It explains Indian unrest. The 'new era' of 'reforms' has proved to be a new era of 'repression'. Why? 'Reforms' do not mean Freedom. The Declaration of August 20, 1917 affirmed that India was to realise 'responsible Government' only 'by successive stages' as they may be judged *not* by India but by Great Britain! And Sir Harcourt Butler simply made clear the logic of 'reforms' when he said the other day at Agra that "the Government must be the best judge of action necessary within the limits of their duty to people"! The *Times* made the logic still more clear when it said that "the price of progress" in India "is a steadily increasing native bureaucracy and more taxation"! *Increasing bureaucracy and more taxation*—in these words you have the meaning of 'reforms'! One result of such 'reforms' is:—financial bankruptcy! Even if the result were prosperity, the Nation would not be satisfied. For, Freedom is more than material prosperity; and a good government is no substitute for National

Freedom. Bernard Shaw in his "*Back to Methuselah*" develops a curious theory that foreigners govern a country better than its own people! He represents the English people as having handed over the Government of England to a Civil Service composed of Chinese men and Negro women! Mr. Bernard Shaw's picture is true neither to history nor the psychology of a nation's life. A living nation would always prefer self-government to good government by foreigners. In a sense, indeed, there is no such thing as government by one nation of another; it is domination, and domination is mis-government. What sits upon the Life of a People is bad, however good its 'appearance'. J. S. Mill rightly said:—"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, —but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and can not exist." Such a 'government', he elsewhere calls, a "provisional administration." A Nation's Government must reflect *its* genius, *its* culture, *its* ideals. The cry of "India within the Empire" forgets that a Nation may be a free ally of another but cannot be *within* another. Such *inclusion* of one in the other, were it possible,

will be resented by the culture and manhood and genius of the one as if must react upon the character of the other. It must, in due course, demoralise both. Such is the Law of Karma. British imperialism has meant decline in English character and emasculation of India's moral manhood. Where, to-day is the England of old,—the England of Byron and Shelly,—the England that watches in keen sympathy Italy's struggle for freedom,—the England that greeted Mazzini and Kossuth and Krupotkin and other 'Rebels' to her shores? And would the Indians who, forgetting the spiritual ideals of India, hate the Englishman to-day do so if England did not dominate India? Let India be free and Englishman will I believe, be liked for several of his fine qualities. He is hated, alas! by many to-day, because he is in this country an 'overlord' of the Indian.

The demand of the Indian is really *not* for a 'share' in the Administration; the demand is not for 'reforms'; the demand is for Freedom. The demand is resisted by the bureaucracy. Hence the Unrest. The epitaph which the historian will write upon the tombstone of the

'Reforms' Act will be:—Died of Non-Co-operation! The strength of 'Non-co-operation' is in its witness to the Spirit of Freedom. That Spirit calls for the building up not of 'empires' but of a mighty Brotherhood of Nations inspired by common ideals for the service of Humanity. The measure of my reverence for the Ideal of Brotherhood is the measure of my protest against ascendancy of an 'Empire' or a Nation over another People. The 'empire'—idea, let me confess, is odious to me. The Brotherhood-idea must build the Future.

The 'Unrest' is a witness to the fact that India is re-arising. Her Life is re-asserting itself. The men in authority believe in imperialism. It suits them to believe, too, that India is not fit for *swaraj* and they believe in *force*. The "panic-stricken brutality of Amritsar", as the *Westminster Gazette* characterised Dyer's deed, has not helped them; the Unrest has grown into a great storm. To-day they are out to try yet another experiment. They are using the weapon of repression to fight a Nation's forces. Lord Reading calls it "firmness." Patriots and boys of tender age

are in prison, And His Excellency calls it 'justice'! He would let his liberal theory go thus far, no further. He, too, has his notions about an 'Oriental' country. He fears Freedom!

As I have said more than once I do not expect the Struggle, to be a short-lived one,—Round Table conferences notwithstanding! It is a Struggle for the full rights of Freedom. Impressionism will not do. Mere protest, must grow into a positive, constructive movement. Swaraj, as I have already said, means Self-Organisation. If we organise our *socio-economic* life on a national basis we shall, I believe, have helped much in solving the problem of Freedom in this country. Of this socio-economic life, the main aspects are (1) education (2) justice (3) *swadeshi* (4) social habits and ideals, Self-organisation in Education. They call it 'national education'. I prefer to speak of it as Indianising of Education. Our schools and colleges must be shaped by the Indian ideal of life. And there must be a net-work of such institutions in the country. The country's future should be shaped not by the dictates of a few but by the collective wisdom

of many. Therefore must opportunities be given to the great mass to get knowledge and develop the power of national thinking. Japan has been helped much by mass-education. In 50 years, the masses were educated in Japan. In India the British rule has continued for over 150 years, but we are still *talking* of mass-education! Four things, I have often felt, this country needs to work out its salvation:—(1) independent minds (2) strong characters (3) loyalty to Indian Ideals and (4) co-operation with the world-forces making for freedom. Honest, independent thinking is a *service* to the Nation. We must build up schools and colleges which may become centres of sincere courageous ‘thinking’. Sometimes, to love the country is to oppose the popular view. Patriots are not often the men who receive ovations from the crowds; patriots are often the men who have the courage to oppose—the courage to speak the truth against odds. To follow blindly a party which is popular or in power is not to serve the Nation but to lower oneself. India asks for the love and service of *free minds* and honest hearts. The day of our Freedom is not nigh until there sets in a New Renaissance such

as may give to Indian letters and Indian art and Indian philosophy a new power for spreading India's Message to the Nations.

I wonder how many of the Arbitration Courts set up in answer to the call of Non-co-operation have proved a success. • If they have not,—some, I know, have not,—is the reason far to seek? The Sein Feiners so managed their Courts that they compelled admiration even from their opponents. The justice they dispensed was so impartial that they won the confidence even of Unionists! There are able, honest men to work as judges in the Sein Fein Courts. Such men there are also in this country but most of them are still in the service of the *Sircar*. A new education will help in the building up of new minds.

Swadeshi is essential to a right development of our socio-economic life. It can help much in checking the progress of imperialism. To England imperialism is profitable. A good home trade in England is indissolubly connected with a good export trade. England gets, among other things, raw cotton from India; Lancashire alone supports about 6 lacs of cotton workers. England gets from us our

raw products and sends manufactured goods to this country. Imperialism means scramble for Eastern markets. It was Peter the Great who wrote :—" Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and that he who can exclusively control it is the master of Europe." *Swadeshi* can break England's control of Indian markets. If, then, we would achieve Freedom, we must patiently build up *swadeshi* centres throughout the country. Indian villages should be organised on *swadeshi* basis. Peasant unions and labor unions should be organised; and economic education should be given to the 'masses.' *Swadeshi* will, in a large measure, solve our bread-problem; it will encourage simple life; and once we have *economic* swaraj we shall have secured the power to put upon British imperialism a strong political pressure.

A 'Positive,' Constructive Movement of Freedom, such as I conceive of, demands better social habits and social ideals charged with profound reverence for man as man. The Movement cannot construct *mechanically*. Freedom is builded by *man*; and a society, in order to throw up men of the right sort, must have the strength

and vision of some great Ideals. Once in her history India had real love for man as man. And she attained to the heights of a Civilization mightier, I believe and more refined than was even the Civilization of ancient Greece. In the whirligig of time, that reverence for Humanity was lost by the majority; it found lodgment in the hearts but of a few,—Indian poets and prophets, Indian sages and saints. From the World-Heart it calls us to-day to meet it with reverent recognition in the Struggle of to-day. The ‘depressed classes’ claim their human rights. And woman, too,—depressed I know, in some parts of the country,—claim *their* human rights, social and political. India has re-arisen. May the gods so bless Her that she may be filled with a new reverence for the poor and weak!

The present agitation may continue or it may surrender its strength to a prudential Round Table compromise. One thing I feel sure of. Neither compromise nor repression can revoke the Call of India’s Destiny. The Movement of Freedom was there before the present Agitation came into being about two years ago; it will continue after this Agitation

is over. The Movement is deeper, mightier, greater than 'Non-co-operation'. And the Leader of the Movement is the Mother, *Bharat Mâtâ*. She takes up this man or that for a period, short or long, as it may suit the time. She is wiser than all who work in Her name, as the Master is greater than the servant. She is stronger than the *Sircar* or the 'empire', and the Unrest of to-day but spins Her purpose. Many years have passed since the Struggle began; many of India's children have suffered in many ways for their faith in the Mother; no repression can repress Her; no arrests can arrest Her; and millions bow to her to-day in loving worship, singing:—*Bande Mataram*. Victory is *not* in sight. But the Ancient Mother is not dead. Her Purpose is in the very rage of Repression. I believe in Her and, therefore, in the face of all our faults and failures, I believe in the Day of India's Freedom. I believe in Her, and so I worship a Dream in my heart even when the Storm is blowing and I tune to myself the message:—*In the wild beauty of this storm, let's build for the Future.*

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