

to four years according to the subjects and the pupil's intelligence.

Most cities and towns should be secondary school centres, admission to the secondary school being secured either by means of a scholarship, or by payment of a reasonable fee.

Four to six years in the secondary school should arouse in the student an intelligent interest in the affairs of everyday life, and, in a measure at least, make him clean thinking and clean living, cultivate his powers of observation and generalization, develop in him such elementary virtues as industry, thrift and voluntary co-operation with his fellows, awaken his innate sense of citizenship and public spirit, and give him a good general grounding for his future career. The practical subjects taught should include civil and mechanical engineering, technology, agriculture, commercial methods, medicine, cabinet-making, pottery, handloom-weaving, dressmaking, metal work, leather work and other handicrafts and practical workshop trades, especially those connected with house-building.

These practical courses should not in any way interfere with the liberal education. Both should go hand in hand, or a general education might be followed by a special vocational course, in which theory and practice would be developed concurrently.

In many cases a student well qualified to proceed from the secondary school to the university, but unable to take advantage of a full university course, may yet be able to devote a certain amount of time to higher studies. To meet such cases, the universities should assist the local education authorities to provide training in the more immediate and practical phases of "higher" education. Voluntary agencies would undoubtedly be found willing to assist in affording such opportunities, as is the case in Japan and other countries.

In addition to the usual professional and commercial subjects, such university extension courses might include languages, finance, natural science, music, painting, etc. The object of such classes should be to enable students to qualify themselves to

take a leading part in a specific trade, art, or profession.

The disadvantages of a purely literary education are so apparent that many great rulers have caused their sons and daughters to be trained in practical trades and handicrafts. This is always done in the case of the children of the British Royal Family. Cities in the United States and Canada show much enterprise in providing commercial and technical education. It behoves Indian cities to do likewise.

The university should, of course, aim particularly at developing leaders, governors, thinkers, administrators and directors for every branch of political, social, commercial and industrial activities. Among the subjects taught should be medicine, architecture, civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, chemistry, mining and metallurgy, scientific agriculture, forestry, ship-building, economics, finance and statistics. The subjects which will give the best results for the country at present are commerce and mechanical engineering and technology.

Within the next five years; the number of universities should be raised from the seven now in existence to about twenty. Official control should be entirely withdrawn, and, as in Canada, each university made a self-governing institution with provincial support.

Every province should also provide for the maintenance in progressive countries of bands of students, who should pursue advanced studies in some particular branch of industry or carry on research work. These students should be selected from those who had acquitted themselves well in commercial and industrial subjects, chemistry, economics, civics, sociology and other courses. In addition to special training for research work, it should be necessary for them to have mastered a foreign language such as French, German, or Japanese. The provincial Governments should at first find one-half of the money required for this foreign travel and study.

But for the work done by the Japanese trained abroad, dyeing, tanning, oils and fats, paper-making, machinery, glass, porce-

lain and pottery, and other industries would not have made the phenomenal progress which has been achieved. If India is to go forward, she must follow the Japanese example in these respects.

Schools for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and other defectives, will no doubt be established as adjuncts to general education, as soon as the new educational machinery is set in motion.

The development of ordinary and special education in India depends largely upon the effort put into the work of training teachers. The facilities for this purpose at present existing are utterly inadequate, while the character of normal instruction leaves much to be desired. The salaries paid to teachers are much too low to attract the right type of men and women to the profession.

Both the Government and the people must recognize that only by pursuing a liberal educational policy, and making generous financial provision for schools and colleges can they lift India out of her present low condition and ensure rapid progress.

Shaping the Future

CHAPTER XV

NATION-BUILDING

Do the people of India propose to profit by the lessons which world experience has to teach them, or will they be content to allow matters to drift and themselves grow weaker and poorer year by year ?

This is the problem of the hour. They have to choose whether they will be educated or remain ignorant ; whether they will come into closer touch with the outer world and become responsive to its influences, or remain secluded and indifferent ; whether they will be organized or dis-united, bold or timid, enterprising or passive ; an industrial or an agricultural nation ; rich or poor ; strong and respected, or weak and dominated by forward nations. The future is in their own hands. Action,

not sentiment, will be the determining factor.

Nations are made by their own efforts. No nation can shape the life of another. It has been said that the politician, the sociologist and the educator should put their heads together and determine the kind of world they wish to create, and then order the processes accordingly. It should be easy for India, if she made the effort on an adequate scale along lines suggested by world-experience, to will the character of her future, and so to shape that future that, like Canada and Australia, she will soon become a self-governing unit within the British Empire.

The United Kingdom, for instance, as was recently stated by Mr. Lloyd George, is more than four-fifths industrial and commercial and one-fifth agricultural. The country does not grow its own food, but concentrates its attention upon industry, commerce, ship-building and ocean freight, economic exploitation, and ruling the weaker and backward races. It finds this form of activity to be more remunerative, and provides an incomparably higher standard

of comfort for the nation than if the manhood of the country remained at home and grew crops. There are risks, of course, in following such a national policy. Political hostilities may be roused, food supply may run short, and emergencies of one sort or another may arise: but the country faces the risks with courage and determination, because of the great advantages and high standard of living assured by its present policy.

Japan is closely following the example of the United Kingdom. Already her production from industry is double that from agriculture, and her commerce is growing rapidly.

The United States of America and Canada, on the other hand, are so vast in area and so replet with resources and opportunities, that they have no incentive to acquire more land for the sake of providing lucrative employment for their people. On the contrary, they are inviting immigrants to settle there with a view to increasing production and profits. They have developed agriculture and industry

to a high level of efficiency,' and as they want markets for the products of both, they are now, particularly since the close of the War, extending their shipping industry and foreign trade.

While the rest of the world has been forging forward, India has been standing still. Her resources in materials have remained undeveloped. Her administration, industry and trade have been so organized that they have given but scant opportunities for the employment and development of the talent and energy of the people of the soil.

Experience shows that a nation is the most effective unit of combination for securing to the people composing it the maximum benefit from their aggregate activities and efforts. Scattered communities cannot benefit themselves or their country. In order to develop the political and economic strength possessed by the Dominions, India must in future cherish and develop a spirit of nationhood. Ex-President Taft, of the United States of America, has said :—

"I believe in nationality and patriotism, as distinguished from universal brotherhood, as firmly as any one. I believe that a nation spirit and patriotic love of country are as essential in the progress of the world as the family and the love of family are essential in domestic communities."

Addressing the International Congress of Philosophy at Oxford so recently as September 27th last, Mr. A. J. Balfour claimed that nationality lent itself more than any other system to modern development, and to all the complex interests of a very highly complex modern community. He thought that among all forms of producing human co-operation, the best way of getting a full democratic constitution was through the principle, as far as they could develop it, of nationality.

India must develop the idea of nationality, and endeavour to organize and work out her national destiny along broad lines. Love of country should be encouraged, for India as a whole as well as for the provinces, the city, town, or village of residence. By means of suitable propaganda, pride should be cultivated in all good and great things inherited from the past and enthusiasm

to raise the country from good to better as years go by. Love of fellow-men and pride in national leaders, both past and present, should be inculcated. The individual citizen must be made to understand that in helping his fellow-men he is doing good to himself, the country as a whole, and to succeeding generations of his countrymen. By organization and united effort every individual and the nation collectively will gain. The lesson for India from world experience in this respect is that she can promote her interests only by working after the example of the Dominions as a united nation.

A nation that goes counter to world-experience and world-standards is bound to bring about its own ruin. This is what is happening in India. Sound economic laws are being transgressed, and the experience of foreign countries is being ignored. The lines on which the country should advance in future are quite clear. If Indians do what ten other nations have done successfully, they cannot possibly go wrong. Where the Government helps

them in their objects and plans, the public should render whole-hearted co-operation. Where 'the Government fails to act, the people should have an independent policy and organizations of their own to accomplish their object by their own effort, making the most of the opportunities open to them.

A nation is a super-combination of organizations consisting of the leading men of the country and large sections of the population engaged in various occupations, held together by mutual interest and the authority and influence of Government.

The Government and the people usually supplement each other's efforts in policy, organization and production; and the object of establishing national organizations with the Government at the apex of the system, is to increase political power, national industry and social betterment. As the aims of the leaders of the people and of Government are not identical in India, there are at present no organizations common to both for promoting the general welfare. If the country had a definite

scheme of national life, and definite national programmes which commanded the confidence of the majority of the people, individuals and associations would be able to shape their own activities in accordance therewith. As it is, the absence of common ideals has led in local areas to inaction and stagnation and much misdirected and unproductive effort.

To avoid this waste in future, a definite move should be made towards building up an Indian nation by outlining national plans and programmes in the political, economic and social spheres. An attempt has been made in previous pages to indicate the character of the national plans necessary to deal with India's reconstruction problems.

If the Government helps in the work of nation-building, the British nation will rise in the estimation of Indians, and will win their deepest gratitude. It is, however, too much to hope that the Government, as at present constituted, will do much in this direction. This being so, the people must prepare for themselves a

programme of reconstruction that will advance their own national interests.

The speediest way for Indians to win complete responsible Government is to deserve it and work for it. If they expect to receive it as a gift from the British Government, it will be very slow in coming.

Canada experienced the same difficulties. The British officials there considered themselves the custodians of Imperial responsibilities and at first opposed the growth of the nationalist sentiment. What followed may be stated in the words of Sir Robert Borden, the late Premier of that Dominion :—

“ Step by step the Colonies have advanced towards the position of virtual independence as far as their internal affairs are concerned, and in all the important instances the claim that has been made by Canada has been resisted at first by the Imperial statesmen and finally conceded, proving an advantage both to the Mother Country and the Colonists.”

Writing in *The New Era in Canada*, Mr. John W. Daffoe, a well-known journalist, observes :—

“ Influences radiating from London have sought from time to time to check or discourage the march forward of Canadian nationalism in the supposed

interests of the Empire, and these have never lacked the zealous co-operation of strong Canadian groups in Canada. Experience has shown, however, that, despite the strength of the 'ultra-British group, the programme of national Canadianism goes forward, and a position once occupied is never lost."

The best method of national activity should be selected. This will be possible only if delegations of Indian statesmen, students and business men are sent abroad to study up-to-date foreign systems, theories and practices.

Such a plan has been followed by Japan ever since she set her feet upon the path of modernization. Men and women students were sent by the Government to every country in the world to study foreign institutions, educational methods, jurisprudence and social relations. The information they carried back with them was pooled, and from it, were selected the methods which, it was felt, were best suited to Japanese requirements. These were made the bases of national policies. As Professor W. A. Osborne said in a speech recently delivered in Ottawa, referring to the presence of Japanese students in Canada :—

"They (the Japanese students) were not there (in Canada) in a purely personal capacity . . . they were there as part of a great body of the chosen youth of Japan who had been sent out from that country to rifle the intellectual resources of the countries to which they were accredited or sent in the interests of their own nation. That is to say, their Government practically hand-picked those men and sent them out to study. . . . That was a great national scheme, and I have not the slightest doubt that it was the eclectic educational methods that Japan adopted thirty or forty years ago . . . that enabled Japan to pass so quickly from the rank of a hermit feudal state into the rank of a first-class power, with which even Great Britain was proud to make an alliance."

India must develop a type of national life suited to her circumstances and aspirations. She desires to be a self-governing Dominion like Canada—to possess autonomy within her own borders, and to be allowed to co-operate for defence and development with Great Britain and other self-governing units within the British Empire. Such a type of national life will be impossible unless the people are taught to unite, and to fraternize for the promotion of essential objects of interest common to large areas of the country and to India as a whole. The discordant elements among the population must be gradually har-

mônized. They should learn to acquire the spirit of unselfish service and of responsibility for the public good.

The process of unifying the tastes and mentality of a population differing in race, religion and language, by means of education and training, is at present going on in the United States of America, where the heterogeneous immigrants who have gone there from all parts of Europe are being "Americanized." Acting on the same principle, India must recognize that certain standards of taste, thought and sentiment are necessary to union, and should devise and carry out a comprehensive scheme of "Indianization," with a view to creating a new type of Indian citizenship and building up an efficient unified Indian nation.

The principal characteristics to be developed in the life and habits of the people under an "Indianization" programme should, in essential, be as follows :—

- (1) Love and pride of country (nation, province, city, town, or village); a high sense of self-respect and

personal honour, and a spirit of service, combined with loyalty to the Sovereign and to the British connection.

- (2) Use of a common language in every province, and of English as the *lingua franca*.
- (3) A minimum of six years' compulsory general education, and a further two to four years' vocational course for every boy and girl, due attention being paid to games and sports and physical development, and to moral discipline.
- (4) Training in civics and thrift in schools, and, for adults, in special institutions, or by lectures and cinemas.
- (5) Organized effort to eradicate unhealthy ideals and practices known to handicap the Indian and to standardize existing good traits, practices and traditions in the country, and protect them from disuse or decay.
- (6) Cultivation of a spirit of initiative and

habits of closer association ; uniformity of dress, as far as possible ; acquisition of business discipline and the usages of civilization ; travel among all classes of people, including the establishment of hotels and better railway facilities for the middle and poorer classes.

- (7) Equipping all classes of the people with correct ideals and objectives to work for, so that individual and local effort may be in consonance with national objects and aspirations.
- (8) Training all leading men and women to take part in international life and intercourse.

In order that individual and collective citizenship may be developed, the Indian people must be equipped with a general knowledge of the conditions of success, with skill in some profession or trade to enable them to earn a living, and with sufficient character and discipline to harmonize human relations and promote co-operative effort.

The manner and rate of national development will depend upon the opportunities for training enjoyed by the people, and the extent to which they avail themselves of such facilities and submit to discipline.

Most well-informed persons will agree that a stimulus is necessary if new habits and practices are to be introduced into the country. Some of the suggestions made in this book will be distasteful to a section of the public on account of the exertion and discipline they will demand. Others will object to them because they run counter to their cherished traditions and prejudices. To others, again, some of the changes, such as common dining, suggested for the great majority of the population, may seem revolutionary. It must be remembered, however, that the interests at stake are very great, that world ideals are shifting very fast, and that responsible government demands a new type of citizenship.

The characteristics to be developed in the Indian population should form a subject of earnest study by all politicians,

business men, sociologists and educationists interested in Indian progress. A committee or board of leading men should be appointed in each province to study this important question, and to recommend, within a period of one year, definite standards and methods for the guidance of the people. This committee should refer the subjects and correlated questions to persons qualified to give advice both within and without the province, and representative Indians residing outside India. A symposium of the opinions elicited may be collected and published along with the committee's own recommendations. The "Indianization" proposals should be printed in English and in the vernacular of each province, and should be brief and have literary finish, so that they may be attractive and readily referred to. Each province may have its own "Indianization" scheme, but the recommendations of one province, although intended for practice in that particular province, should be available for study and comparison in all the other provinces.

The tentative "Indianization" programme approved by the committee may be recommended for adoption and practice from the date of issue. It may be revised once every year for the first three years, and after that period once every three years. A revision at intervals will be necessary to adapt it to the changing conditions of the outer world; but after two or three revisions, it may be assumed that the standard will change but slightly, only yielding to acknowledged world changes.

The people should be persuaded, by means of effective organization and otherwise, to practise the standards prescribed by the leaders. An essential characteristic of every such organization should be its healthy spirit of self-improvement and self-development.

CHAPTER XVI

ORGANIZATION

INDIA is very weak in organization. In small matters connected with religion, caste, social practices, etc., the people have preserved some remnants of their old organization ; but in other directions, particularly in the control of economic matters affecting the material well-being of the people, such as industry, trade, transportation, banking, etc., it has been seen that whatever organization exists is British. Independent indigenous organizations of any magnitude, have had no chance.

Regarding the need of organization in India, a well-known Bombay journal, the *Indian Social Reformer*, observed in 1912 :—

“ There is nothing in which we in this country need to be instructed so much as in organization, whether

of industry, education, or charity, or even political activity. Organization is, broadly speaking, such a disposition of the energies and resources of the community as to enable them to be rapidly mobilized and concentrated on the points where they are most wanted or can be most useful. There is plenty of almost everything in this country, but one great defect is that nothing is where it should be, and everything is so dispersed that it is almost impossible to bring it when and where it is wanted. Thus in the midst of plenty we have often to starve."

Nothing really large, however, is ever done without organization, and the strength of organization in any particular country depends upon its political condition. In democratic countries like England or America, most organizations owe their origin to popular initiative. Government is always anxious to render help to public organizations and earn their good opinion, because the personnel of the Government owe their position to the support of the people. In India, where the people's support counts for nothing, the work of organization for any public purpose beyond a certain stage is difficult and oftentimes impossible. In countries like Japan, which have their own national Government, the initiative in this respect chiefly comes from

Government, which is composed of a few far-sighted statesmen chosen from the people. On account of the paternal character of the administration, the public in that country have willingly surrendered their interests into the hands of an oligarchy.

Organization for a country like India is the process of arranging or combining the constituent parts into a co-ordinated whole, and of utilizing the working forces of the country to produce the most desired composite effect. This is true also of local organizations. As was observed in a paper recently issued by the Washington State Board of Commerce:—

“Community organizations have already been recognized as a necessity to any community which expects to grow to any great degree, but with the changing conditions in this country brought about by its rapid development on the one hand and the great changes due to the recent War on the other, community organizations are now recognized as an essential part of every town and city. Such an organization provides a medium through which the citizens of a community may pool their best efforts and ideas for the welfare of the community, for its expansion as a trading or industrial centre, and particularly to bring into the community life those things which will promote true . . . citizenship.”

Every organization or association, according to the latest practice, must have working members and supporters, an adequate income, a competent secretary and working staff, a good office system, a definite programme of work, specific rules for committee formation and control, an agency for publicity and propaganda and intelligent local service.

When an association or society is organized for a public purpose, the executive and the members proceed to collect the necessary information and data, and study and discuss among themselves the subject or subjects connected with their purpose. The study and discussions lead to a common understanding on many points and to the clarification of issues on doubtful ones. The doubtful points are then discussed and decisions and conclusions formed by a majority, large or small. The next step commonly taken is to act on the decisions. The three stages of the work of an organization therefore are : (1) study ; (2) decision ; and (3) action. Where an organization is

effective, all three stages are covered very quickly.

Unanimous decisions are reached only in matters which are obvious to everybody. Decisions are usually taken according to the opinion of the majority and these are, or have to be, acquiesced in by the whole body, to enable the organization to proceed to the next stage in the case.

The number of subjects which crowd upon the attention of any particular organization being usually very large, the selection of subjects for treatment from the large mass of problems and indefinite alternatives which distract attention is a difficult matter. Skill and forethought are necessary to concentrate attention upon the essential and the attainable.

In this work of selection, the people would be wise to be guided not only by British examples, but by the varied experiences of all the progressive countries of the world. For many local problems in India, ready-made solutions will be available in countries like Canada and Japan. It is not wise to attempt to

create a new world for ourselves by shutting our eyes to the experience already accumulated by the mistakes and patient labour of the people of other lands.

In connection with every organization, continuity of purpose and policy should be held in view. A clear record must be kept of the decisions and schemes determined upon in every branch of the country's activity. From month to month and year to year, new decisions will be taken and new practices introduced and new codes of decisions built up and many of them translated into action. The accumulation of practical results in this way, of work done, decisions accepted, rules and practices codified, will constitute an asset indicative of the true development and progress of the country.

Propaganda is the means resorted to by individuals and public bodies for popularizing national ideals and programmes; spreading useful information; promoting organization and co-operation for general or specific objects; bringing to notice defects and wants and inviting opinions

and action thereon; rousing enthusiasm for any public reform or scheme, and promoting any object of public interest whatever, temporary or permanent. Propaganda will be necessary to educate the public or to secure popular support for, or stimulate dynamic effort in, any public cause.

It takes the form of a campaign or drive, when it is undertaken in an emergency to accomplish a specific object or purpose within a given time.

Propaganda was resorted to for correcting wrong impressions and spreading reliable information during the late War. It might be most beneficially utilized in India in the coming years for popularizing national plans and programmes and training the people for full responsible government.

Among the principal propaganda agencies are public meetings and periodical gatherings. An agency even more important is the Press. Newspapers have a three-fold object—supplying news, publishing advertisements and instructing the public with opinions and comments on current questions. Where they are not worked in a

purely commercial spirit or in the interests of a class, they do much good by ventilating public grievances, by rousing public opinion and stimulating activity on the part of both public associations and the Government.

Propaganda is carried on by magazines, booklets, pamphlets, leaflets, folders, etc., and also by public notices, placards and posters, often exhibited on street walls, in tramcars and railway carriages.

In future every public election, whether for Imperial, provincial or local councils, should be taken advantage of for purposes of propaganda.

Cinemas might be used for spreading sound ideas on such subjects as civic life, housing, sanitation, industries, etc. Indigenous professional reciters and musicians, whose normal vocation is to recite stories from ancient epics, may be most effectively employed on propagandist work. As is done in other parts of the world, the professors of Indian universities and colleges should be free to instruct the public. Short treatises like the *Oxford Tracts* will be

serviceable if written by university professors whose view of current problems will be disinterested and whose motives, therefore, will be above suspicion.

The extent to which propaganda is resorted to in this way in any public cause, and the persistence with which the work is continued, will be an indication of the earnestness of the people concerned, and of their capacity to build up unity of thought and action in the country.

Public associations in India might adopt the business methods of the West more scrupulously and carry on propaganda in a more active spirit than is done at present. Some of the existing associations in the country are badly managed through inattention to discipline and the omission to collect funds to maintain a good secretary and effective staff. Meetings are irregular, subscriptions are in arrears, one or a few persons monopolize the whole responsibility, and reports and accounts are not rendered punctually.

Associations get into a rut and growth is prevented where the whole responsibility

is monopolized by one or two persons. The originators of associations should ever be seeking for others upon whom they can throw work and responsibility, thus at the same time broadening their own mental outlook and the sphere of influence of the association. Constant touch should be kept with the rank and file of the members through widespread local committees, each with its own officers. Every member should be made to feel that he is a valued unit of the association and given some office or responsibility directly he reveals any special capacity.

As public opinion will receive recognition and consideration from Government in future, popular associations will vastly increase their influence. They will begin to feel what a useful part they can play in public affairs and realize their responsibility for efficient operation.

In the immediate future the aim of the Indian leaders should be to keep the people thinking and working; to rouse in them a spirit of development and progress;

increase their scale of combination and organization; and until complete responsible government is conceded, to maintain a separate unifying agency or agencies independent of Government in order to secure continuity of purpose and policy, and unity of direction in regard to all affairs and activities of a national character.

For securing unity of direction, it will be found an advantage to hold a few reliable men responsible for a fixed term at a time for the production of results and to change the men at regular intervals so as to avoid the common faults of Indian organizations, viz., slackness of effort or autocracy.

For the purpose of organization, the whole country may be marked out into seven spheres or regions, thus: (1) All India, (2) province, (3) city, (4) town, (5) village, (6) district, (7) sub-district (*taluk*).

For the sake of uniformity, the entire activities of the country may be divided into three classes, as has been done in this book: viz. (1) political and administrative, (2) economic, and (3) social. The

proposals under the "Indianization" scheme will come under the third head, "Social."

In any area coming under any one of these seven spheres or regions, the leading inhabitants interested may come together and start a central organizing agency to be known as the "Development Committee."

This committee should be non-political and non-partisan, and its chief business should be to bring into existence all the public associations and agencies needed in the locality according to the example of advanced countries, and to help to keep these agencies alert and active and absorbed in investigating public questions and supplying the deficiencies and wants of the region or area concerned. The development committee in any region or area will be started in the first instance by persons who desire to promote the interests of the locality, but when the region or area is equipped with all the usual organizations, the committee itself may be grouped with, and merged in, the economic organizations of the area and

derive its funds and support from them. At a later stage uniform regulations may be introduced so that the development committees, wherever they may be, may all work on a common plan of organization and so eventually form a national development league: but it is not desirable to aim at such uniformity at the very start.

The reason why the development committee should be classed with economic organizations is that it has to be operated on national lines without party bias. Association with either political or social reform organizations is undesirable, since these latter deal with subjects of a controversial character and are apt to divide instead of uniting the population.

Among the essential duties of organizations in each of the seven spheres or areas may be enumerated: the preparation of succinct statements of national plans and programmes to enable the public to visualize the future; preparation and maintenance of lists of urgent and important problems; formation of study circles for investigating

and elucidating the problems ; frequent publication of the opinions of study circles and of symposia of views of leading men on current topics ; issue of standard circulars (by recognized leading central organizations for the guidance of the public) ; and bringing into existence institutions and agencies needed both for thought and action in the area, one by one, according to civilized standards.

In general terms, the organizations in each sphere or area should provide for (1) the work of initiative in order to bring into existence the activities, institutions and agencies needed in the area and (2) the work of leadership to co-ordinate all the activities and ensure central control and action.

The organizations needed for, (1) all India and (2) each province will be similar in character. For all India, there may be created a central council consisting of seven members and 200 associates for developing and unifying the political work of the country. This council would work in close association with the existing all-

derive its funds and support from them. At a later stage uniform regulations may be introduced so that the development committees, wherever they may be, may all work on a common plan of organization and so eventually form a national development league: but it is not desirable to aim at such uniformity at the very start.

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India political organizations. The central council should prepare and maintain lists of current political and administrative questions and large problems requiring continuous attention, and it should distribute these problems among study circles formed from the 200 associates and other co-opted workers, drawn from public men, statisticians, business men, university professors, etc., throughout the country.

The central council and associated organizations and study circles will keep under study Imperial, national and international problems, and will from time to time publish the results of their study and recommendations for the information and guidance of the public. Such recommendations will be discussed at the annual sessions of political federations like the National Congress and Moslem League, and definite lines of action settled upon.

For the economic work of the whole country, a central national council of seven persons and 200 associates may be formed on similar lines. The council will work in association with the industrial conference

and other economic associations in the country on the same lines.

If sufficient interest is evinced in social matters, a similar central council of seven leaders and 200 associates may be constituted also for the social work of all India on lines very similar to political and economic councils. This council will work in co-operation with the all-India social conference or congress.

For the present, at all events, it is not desirable that the same leaders should be represented on any of these three central councils for more than one year at a time, save in the case of persons who evince exceptional zeal, energy and ability and who are willing to devote most of their time to the work of the council.

In the same way every province will require three classes of central councils with 200 associates each. These provincial councils will be responsible for the work of the province for a year at a time, and will carry on their duties in consultation with the corresponding conferences and other existing provincial organizations.

For each of the remaining five spheres or Areas there may be one or more associations, societies, clubs, etc., under any or all the three heads, political, economic and social. The organizations and their activities will differ in quality and scale according to local circumstances. In a city, for instance, there may be a political association, a ratepayers' association, a foreign travel association and so on. For economic work there may be a Chamber of Commerce, an economic conference, a manufacturers' association, an agricultural association, etc. For social work there may be associations for social reform, civic survey, town-planning, child welfare, education, physical culture, etc. Many of the organizations required in each area have already been mentioned in different parts of this book and need not be repeated here. It is sufficient if a correct impression is here conveyed how such associations and agencies fit in with a comprehensive organization for the whole country.

Enough has been said to enable the residents of any given sphere or area.

whether it be a province or a city, town or village, or a district or sub-district, to prepare a working organization and programmes on the basis explained.

The public bodies and associations which may thus be brought into existence may be independent at first. Any city, town or village may start any association or society for which there is use in the locality and there are the men to run it. No city, town or village need wait for another to make a beginning. In due course some form of co-operation will come to be established between the various associations engaged in like activities through the provincial and central agencies. Such co-operation may be kept in view, but need not be attempted from the very start.

Some spheres or areas will require all three classes of organizations; others one or a few only; in others again, existing organizations will need supplementing. Many towns and villages, through lack of men of ability or other resources, will be unable to maintain all the organizations needed.

In each sphere there may be several organizations, sometimes rival associations, working for the same or similar objects. In such cases it is the duty of all these to come together and appoint, for short intervals at a time, a central unifying agency to work upon objects common to all of them. In a number of organizations of the same class, one of the senior organizations may be entrusted with this work, say, for a year at a time. The latter will prepare statements of wants to be provided and defects to be remedied and questions to be solved and will constitute study groups, and in some cases committees or sub-committees, in order to investigate problems that are of common interest and suggest solutions.

As public men doing honorary duties will not be able to work with the same earnestness and energy or to give the amount of time necessary for long intervals, it is enough for the present to select national and provincial central councils for one year at a time. The leaders should be selected with scrupulous care so that the

public of all denominations may confide in their judgment and accept advice and recommendations coming from them. No public man, however influential, should be on the council of seven members unless he is prepared to devote a considerable portion of his time to its work during its life of twelve months. When he is replaced, he will, in the ordinary course, be brought on the list of associates and will continue to render service on the study circles and otherwise.

Under this arrangement, large numbers of persons will be engaged in the study of current problems and in keeping themselves in touch with what is happening in progressive countries. All matters of public interest will be watched and studied. The services of men of worth and ability will be utilized on the study groups, the activities needed for progress will be maintained and mass consciousness developed. All the material and spiritual powers in each area will be mobilized and energetic action throughout the whole country stimulated and sustained.

CHAPTER XVII

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

INDIA'S fundamental problem consists in relieving the soil of over-pressure of population by the development of industry, and thereby attacking at its foundation the appalling poverty which is crushing her people. Such advance is possible only if illiteracy is banished from the country and education of a practical character liberally provided, and if the social evils which obstruct progress are systematically removed.

An honest endeavour has been made in this book to state the causes which are responsible for keeping India in such a low educational, economic and social condition, and to outline the measures of reconstruction immediately needed. These may, in conclusion, be briefly summarized.

As regards education, the requisite number of primary schools should be started and compulsory attendance of all children of school age, both boys and girls, should be enforced by law. When the new education programme is in full operation, the attendance at schools in towns and villages should be not less than fifteen per cent. of the population. In cities it should be more. Persons under eighteen years of age who have to earn a living and are employed, should be required to attend continuation schools for at least six hours every week to learn some profession or occupation.

Elementary practical science as applied to agriculture and industry, elementary book-keeping and rudiments of information concerning the economic structure of the world and of India in particular, as well as instruction in the duties of citizenship, should form part of the primary school curriculum. The initial outlay on buildings and equipment and the training of teachers will be very considerable; but it is an obligation that must be met, even if

money be borrowed to supplement the funds available from current revenues.

Every province should have its own university, and at least one good technical and one commercial college for every 15,000,000 population, giving the highest education in their respective subjects. Some twenty universities should be brought into existence during the next five years. Civics and economics should form obligatory subjects of study for seventy-five per cent. of the students attending the universities. Thus it will be possible to train the organizers, statesmen and leaders so badly needed at present, and for whose services, if all goes well, there will be an ever-increasing demand in future.

Each province should depute, for training in foreign countries, fifty or more students at a time—the exact number depending upon the population. Nearly half of these students should be maintained by the provincial Government. In addition, the provincial Governments should dispatch, at regular intervals, deputations of prominent Indians to Canada, Australia

and Japan, and maintain agencies in those countries to supply information and answer communications from the people of the province.

A study of the political and economic framework and machinery of other countries will be of the highest value in devising schemes for building India's national life, and will save the country from many blunders; for, when ready-made models are available, it is not the part of wisdom to shut the eyes to them and resort to the costly alternative of making new experiments.

India must depend chiefly upon the development of large factory industries for creating wealth. They will also give a lead to medium-scale and minor industries. A dozen large industries, including railway supplies, machinery, motor-cars, paper, oil, porcelain, glass, leather and other articles should be started. Iron and textile manufactures should be greatly extended, and shipbuilding given special prominence.

A Board of Industries composed of Indian members and aided by British,

foreign and Indian experts, should be given a free hand to direct industrial enterprises in every province, under the control of the Minister of Industries. Funds to the extent of Rs. 10,000,000 to Rs. 30,000,000 per annum should be at the disposal of each provincial Government within the next ten years for financing industries. The accounts for this expenditure may be subject to the strictest audit, but the Board, consisting of men enjoying the confidence of the provincial Legislative Council, should be free to grant all reasonable concessions to *bona fide* local business men. A research institute, experimental stations and other agencies, institutions and laboratories required, should be provided for making experiments and training organizers, works managers and the labour force of the province. Local organizers with directing ability should be sought out and given financial and other facilities and encouraged to start large concerns with the aid of experts. A reasonable measure of protection should be afforded by levying import

duties to safeguard the interests of infant industries.

Five to ten years of such sympathetic and systematic encouragement would make phenomenal progress possible.

Further increase of production from agriculture will be possible if resort is had to intensive cultivation and the use of scientific methods of tillage, better farm and chemical manures and labour-saving tools and machinery. Irrigation, if extended, will prove a great source of wealth. Approved agricultural methods should be taught in experimental stations and in schools as well as by propaganda. India's salvation in this respect lies in introducing new ideas—in gradually training the farmer to develop himself from labourer into an intelligent and self-reliant worker.

Agricultural associations, co-operative societies and banks will be needed for every town and village group. At the commencement, a deputation of half a dozen leading farmers, accompanied by one or two graduates in agriculture, should be

sent every six months from each province to Europe, America and Japan.

Government agencies to protect Indian traders, and Indian banks to finance their trade, should be provided in England and in selected foreign countries. Foreign language schools should be established in the principal cities, and Indian-owned shipping encouraged to facilitate foreign intercourse.

A review of the position of Indians in foreign countries, accompanied by reliable statistics, should be prepared and published as a necessary preliminary to the development of this phase of national progress.

A central system of banks like that under the Federal Reserve Board of the United States should be created and, simultaneously, a system of industrial and agricultural banks should be brought into existence, to afford financial facilities to manufacturers, tradesmen and farmers, both large and small, throughout the country.

Complete statistics should be specially collected, giving full particulars of the material resources of the country and the employment of the people, and every

facility and encouragement should be given to the public to study and discuss problems concerning their industries, occupations and material wealth, and to form a correct idea of the economic status of the country.

Coming to the more important administrative measures and changes needed, it must be premised that rapid development will be possible only when complete confidence and understanding is established between the Government and the people, that is to say, when both the central and provincial Governments become constitutional. The basic principle which should be recognized and practised is that the Government exists for the people, and that its sole business should be to place Indian interests first and to work for their advancement, at the same time helping and co-operating with the Empire.

The Indian provinces should be rearranged and re-grouped so that, if possible, no single province may have a population of less than 10,000,000 persons. This will provide sufficient resources to enable every one of them to equip itself with the educa-

tional and other institutions that have been suggested.

The town population of India, which is very inadequate for the demands of its trade and industry, should be doubled, in order to provide the leaders, middlemen and labourers the country's work demands.

The new form of village government suggested might be introduced, so that every group of villages containing 500 to 600 dwellings, or 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants, may have a village Government with its own officers and council, and the necessary educational and other institutions, agencies and associations for carrying on reconstruction work.

A special Reconstruction Ministry should be created both in the Central Government and in each provincial administration to recommend the appointment of commissions and committees for investigating new and important problems, to prepare new schemes of development by the study of local conditions and foreign models, to urge the provision of funds to give effect to them, to advise individual departments

of Government in regard to their spheres of reconstruction work, to stimulate a spirit of initiative and self-help in the people, and to do everything needed to obtain speedy results.

A Ministry of Conservation should be created, both for the Central Government and for each province, to develop the natural resources of the country and the efficiency of the people. This commission should make an inventory of national assets in the shape of material wealth, and the intelligence and energy of the people, and at once begin to mobilize both in order to increase production and develop the people's working capacity. One of its chief functions should be to find employment for those people who have not sufficient work, and to help men of capacity and worth to find occupations for which they are most fitted, and which are congenial to them. This Ministry, like the Ministry of Reconstruction, should be only a planning and advisory authority. The executive work connected with the new measures should be done by the departments concerned, or

by agencies specially created for the purpose.

A loan, beginning with Rs. 100,000,000, and rising gradually to Rs. 300,000,000 per annum, should be raised to finance education and industries. Each province should raise its own share of this loan and bear the responsibility of repayment. The loan may be repayable in thirty years, the annual charge for paying instalments of debt and interest being met from current revenues. The charge will be small at first, and within the capacity of the province to bear. It is safe to assume that, as a result of the operation of the new measures, at the end of thirty years the country will be fully able to bear the charge. Education and industry are great national functions, and education is, in a sense, a primary industry. Both these have been woefully neglected for at least a generation past, and to make up for time lost and opportunities sacrificed, they should be given a good start.

Reference has been made to the direct

action needed, on the part of the people to ensure unity of purpose and ideals in their public work, and to bring into existence, independently of Government, a connected organization for the whole country for the purpose.

The ideals to be placed before the Indian public should be, politically, to change the present conditions of administration, peculiar to a dependency, to those of a self-governing Dominion like Canada ; economically, to develop gradually a new system patterned upon Dominion models for production, transportation, trade, finance and banking ; and socially, to raise the standard of living, and promote freer intercourse between the various communities within the country, as well as between India and foreign lands, while retaining all that is best and ennobling in the indigenous ideals and traditions. Attention should be focussed upon making India a nation economically strong, socially accomplished, and politically a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth.

The rapid realization of these objects

depends upon securing the co-operation and support of the Government of the country, and forming an effective organization to ensure co-operative effort on the part of the people.

On a proper organization like the one suggested in the last chapter, or any parallel organization, being accepted by the majority of the nation, the people should welcome what help they can get from Government, and in directions where Government does not see eye to eye with them or cannot render help, they should have specific plans of their own as to what they are to do both for the country as a whole and in individual areas, and labour unceasingly for their realization to the best of their opportunities. Organization is the key to the situation. Nothing big can be done without organization. The point now is :— Can the nation gather up sufficient energy and make a disciplined effort in this manner by formulating and carrying into practice a comprehensive, yet simple and connected scheme of organization such as we have outlined? It would be a great victory to the

forces of progress if this could be done.

A spirited propaganda should be maintained to correct the many wrong ideals in which the country abounds, and to plant new and healthy ones in their place: new ideals calculated to promote the future safety and progress of the people. Some of the methods, mottoes and precepts adopted in Western countries will be found to be suggestive. A pamphlet recently issued in a Western city, describing the city's opportunities, observed:—

“ Here is no thralldom to the past, but a trying of all things on their merits and a searching of every proposal or established institution by the one test, Will it make life happier ? ”

In a tramcar of another city was posted a public circular which read:—

“ You are doomed to disappointment if you sit back and expect the other man to make the city grow: there is a real job for every citizen.”

Yet again, in a third city, the motto on a journal published on behalf of its business and civic interests was:—

“ Cities do not grow. • They are built.”

The people of every region or area should be urged not to lean on others, but to think out their problems for themselves: individual problems by self-help, and collective ones by co-ordinated effort. They should have warning that disuse of their natural powers is fatal to their progress.

When any question of importance arises, the local organization should see to it that the best minds in the locality qualified to deal with the question, study every aspect of it, take counsel together, come to sound conclusions, instruct and persuade the people and take prompt action in a collective capacity with the people's co-operation and help. It may be a question of increasing the production of a commodity, popularizing a new reform, removing an anomaly, establishing a new institution, or collecting funds for a public purpose. The rapidity with which such objects as these are accomplished will be an indication of the power of organization, of the capacity of the local community to exercise power and influence in the country by their collective effort. Knowledge is power. Capacity for

co-operative effort is power. The people of any area can acquire this power, and now and then test their capacity by working out specific problems or providing for local wants as quickly as possible. One such object accomplished will put heart into the people and give them courage for further effort in the same direction.

It is not enough to keep up a few activities, to carry through a scheme here or a reform there. Things must advance all round. Every one has his bent and opportunities, and if every citizen makes a small contribution in money, time or energy, the aggregate contribution will be very considerable, and the country is bound to advance.

No right-thinking Indian who has correctly understood the comparisons instituted in an earlier chapter can escape a feeling of humiliation at the low international standing of his country. The question we have to meet is this:—Can the Indian be made to realize that his condition is capable of improvement—not for a season or two, but permanently—in ways

that may give to his children opportunities of making good in the world? The task, it must be admitted, is of appalling difficulty and magnitude, but unless we believe that it is capable of accomplishment, we shall be driven to accept the pessimistic conclusion of a Western writer that India is "the dying East." That conclusion assuredly every Indian will repudiate. A consciousness should be roused in the Indian mind that a better state of things exists outside, and a vastly better state of things could be brought into existence in India itself if the people only willed and worked for the same.

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