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THE MEANING
OF
Swaraj or Self-government

BY
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FOREWORD.

The first three of these papers were published in three or four Indian journals in August and September, 1921. They deal with a question which has a permanent interest for all communities of human beings, and an immediate and urgent interest for Indians of all political parties. I was asked by friends to publish them separately for convenience of circulation in India and abroad. Hence this pamphlet. The first three papers have been revised, and the fourth added to complete the treatment.

BHAGAVAN DAS



I.

Need for definition of Swa-raj.

Among the other items of business and proposals for resolutions which could not be disposed of by the All-India Congress Committee, during its three days sittings in Bombay, on the 28th, 29th and 30th July, 1921, but were referred to the Working Committee for disposal, there was one with regard to the need for some little definition of Swaraj.

Some members were anxious that the subject should be discussed and decided on early. But they were advised that the Committee would not have time to spare, from other more immediately urgent and practical business, for the large amount of discussion that the matter involved, and also that it should be discussed in the public press first.

The settlement of fundamental principles is the first and most urgent and most practical business of all great public movements, as sad experience of other movements shows, and time and trouble stunted from such settlement in the beginning, mean much more time and trouble wasted afterwards. The immense advance made by the country, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi in purification of heart, in courage of conviction, in peaceful, dignified, undefending resistance of wrong and shaming of the soul of the wrong-doers—this advance, indispensably necessary to the success of the Congress movement, requires more and more to be steadied and confirmed and protected against back-sliding, by a clearer vision of the goal, a clearer knowledge of the aim that the country is striving to achieve. What has been gained by the people's heart should be safeguarded from loss, by the people's head; the clearer their conviction, the greater their courage; knowledge and aspiration, sound principles and noble sentiments, clear ideas and generous emotions, act and re-act on and help each other.

These members were therefore anxious that a preliminary definition of Swaraj should not be delayed longer, seeing that seven months had passed already since the revised Creed was adopted by the Congress.

But in deference to the advice received, they agreed willingly that the matter should go to the Working Committee, and that in the meanwhile, it should be discussed in the public press, as is most fit and proper.

The proposed resolution is therefore published below, together with some explanatory comments thereon, and discussion is respectfully invited.

THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

1. Whereas the desire is felt growingly by many workers of the Indian National Congress that the meaning of the word Swaraj (mentioned, but left undefined, in the Creed adopted by the Congress at its last Session in Nagpur), should now receive some definition,

2. And whereas our constitutional, legitimate, and non-violent struggle for a change from the present radically wrong system of government to a righteous one, is being rapidly forced to a head by the policy of violent and cruel repression which is being followed by the party now in power and office: that party being devoted to the ruthless service of short-sightedly selfish bureaucratic and capitalistic interests (as in England), and tending, by its top-heavy, self-aggrandising, mercenary, and militarist methods, to bring about the utter enslavement and gradual ruin of all other classes and interests,

3. And whereas, in view of this fact, it is desirable that all the workers of the Congress should have a clear notion of what it is that they are striving for, and, hence, a firm faith that it is worth suffering for,

4. And whereas such clearer definition of Swaraj will help to abate the many misunderstandings and wrong notions now afloat in the country, as to the nature of that Swaraj,

5. And whereas it is desirable that our opponents, the party now in power and office, should also know what it is that we want, so that they may be able to examine their minds and consult their consciences in the light of that knowledge, and so have a chance of accepting our views,

6. And whereas it is desirable that all concerned should have ready before their minds, the broad outlines of a workable scheme when the change from the present system to the Swaraj system comes, lest at that time the change find the people unprepared on the constructive side, and old mistakes be repeated, or even, the whole country drift into temporary anarchy.

7. And whereas it is desirable to make it clear that while the elective principle is an essential and integral part of Swaraj, yet we do not want a blind imitation of the Parliamentary system and methods of election of England, which have not diminished the corruptions of place, power, wealth, and militarist and naval ambitions; which have been proved to be failures, so far, by results in respect of securing the general contentment and peace and happiness of even the people of Great Britain and Ireland; which have emphasised and embittered class-differences; promoted extremes of wealth and poverty, and created a hatred between Capital and Labor that is pregnant with disaster; and which, in some essential aspects, are entirely foreign to the genius and traditions of India and the Indian people,

Therefore, pending fuller and more authoritative definition by the Congress at its next session, be it *Resolved* by the All-India Congress Committee, by virtue of the powers entrusted to it by Art. XXI of the Congress Constitution, as adopted at the Nagpur Congress, 1920,

That the Swaraj mentioned in the Creed of the Congress includes, as its essential and integral factors, the following main principles:—

(a) All legislators shall be elected, as also all heads of governmental departments; they shall be men and women who have retired from active competitive profession or business of bread-winning or money-making, and who are not representative of any particular interest, but are disinterestedly and wisely benevolent towards all interests and are elected by the trust of the people without any canvassing.

(b) Legislative and executive functions shall not be combined in the same person; nor judicial and executive.

(c) Legislators and heads of government departments shall not receive any salary or cash remuneration for their work, but shall be provided with all requisites necessary for the due discharge of their duties, and shall be paid all out-of-pocket expenses incurred for such discharge, and they shall have precedence over all salaried office-bearers, in the warrants of precedence regulating public functions.

(d) Men and women with full experience of work in the educational, administrative (including landholding and military), commercial, agricultural, and industrial departments of the communal life, and especially persons versed in the knowledge of the psychological and physiological nature of the human being, and in history, politics and economics, and also honored and trusted by the general public for their upright life, shall be given places in the legislative bodies.

(e) The elected legislature shall make laws as needed, for guiding all departments of the communal life and shall have full control over all departments of the governmental executive and other administration, which shall all be subordinate and responsible to the legislature.

(f) Subject to the above principles, India's Swaraj may be within an Indo-British Federation or Commonwealth wherein the Head of the Executive, (Governor-General or Viceroy) may be a member of the British Royal family or such other person as the King of Great Britain may nominate; and

(g) In that case, the British People shall receive "Favored Nation" treatment from the Indian People in all dealings with other people so far as may be possible without serious loss to India; and in the appointment of foreign experts

for service in the various departments of administration, persons of British extraction shall receive preference, when all other considerations and qualifications are equal.

II.

Why the definition of Swa-raj should not be delayed further.

Paras (1) to (7) of the proposed resolution give reasons why it is desirable to define Swaraj; and paras (a) to (g) endeavour to define it, the first five in terms of basic working principles, and the last two in terms of a particular and important detail.

(1) and (6). That the desire has been present all along in the mind of the public, is evidenced by the fact that, at the Nagpur Session itself, proposals were made to qualify Swaraj by the adjective "democratic." That the desire is growing, is evidenced by the repeated queries in the papers, and by the fact that Mahatma Gandhi himself has had to say, from time to time, in reply to such queries, what Swaraj means. He has said, for instance, that his own ideal is a spiritual Swaraj (implying an individual life of the utmost self-control and the fewest possible wants, and a communal life of primitive simplicity, as indicated in his book on *Indian Home Rule*); again, that he knows that would not satisfy the many, and that control over the Police, the Military, the Judiciary, the Finance, etc. would mean Swaraj; again (to the Parsi community) that the British Parliamentary system would amount to Swaraj; again (to other audiences) that it is Rama-raj, or Dharma-raj; and, yet more recently, in the *Hindi Nau-jawan*, he has repeated these ideas in other words, adding others in terms which mention the good fruits of Swa-raj rather than define its nature and manner. No doubt, all these are reconcilable, with the help of some explanations, qualifications, and reservations. But these require to be put forward, and, the manner, the nature, of Swa-raj requires to be stated as well as the blessings to result therefrom. There might have been good reasons for postponing the subject at the Nagpur Congress. An obvious one was the lack of time for threshing it out. But there is not sufficient reason for indefinite further postponement.

SOME OBJECTIONS.

Let us examine some objections. Some ask, "Who are we to settle the meaning of Swaraj? How do we know that those who come after us will like what we may lay down in this behalf? Should we not leave it to them to decide for themselves? Is it not enough that we achieve Swaraj?"

It is not easy to understand this attitude. The counter-questions come up in the mind, "Who are we to try for Swaraj at all? How do we know

that those who come after us will like Swaraj? Should we not to leave it to them to decide for themselves, and they to their next generation, and that to its next, *ad infinitum*? Is it not enough that we mind our own private business now?" The point is this. When we use the word Swaraj, when we make it the objective of the Congress Creed, do we use the word with a meaning, or without? If with, then let us make just that meaning tolerably clear, and put it down in black and white. If without, if our business is the good sport of trying to catch the word Swaraj first, and then trying to put a meaning into it afterwards, then, of course, there is nothing more to say.

But, perhaps, when people say that the definition of Swaraj should be postponed till after Swaraj has been achieved, or left to those who come after, probably what they mean is that the details of the form of government should be so left. But that is a matter of course. The details must be so left; and the very purpose of a living legislation is to change and modify such details, from time to time, as necessary. But the basic principles, the general outlines of that form, should be decided on, in good time, beforehand, by those who initiate the great change. If they shirk this duty, serious trouble will arise later. The historical Magna Chartas, the Declarations of Independence, the Proclamations, the Rescripts, the Edicts, of the various sovereigns, nations and governments, all endeavour to announce such fundamental principles, according to their lights. And the sounder, the more comprehensive, the more far-seeing the principles uttered by any one of these, the longer-lasting and the smoother-working the system that develops thereout.

Another objection. Some think that if a discussion once begins on this subject, there will be no end; there may be serious splits, and the whole movement may come to grief.

This seems to be a peculiarly dangerous position to adopt, a position of very false security. It means that we know and feel that there is no real and intelligent unity and unanimity over even the essentials, and that we are held together by a mere meaningless shibboleth. If the apprehension of dissensions be so great now, when there is comparative leisure for quiet exchange of views, and when there is no patent apple of discord, in the shape of power and place and preference, how much greater, how far more serious, will be the danger of internecine conflict, should "the power to do as we please," "self-government," "self-determination," (all very vague phrases, meaning very different things in different mouths, as past and current history shows), come suddenly to the Indian people, and the need to start work should brook no delay for thinking out schemes, and the temptations of honor and power

and high salaries and monopolies should infuse perverse motives, bitter animus, and acute jealousies, into such hurried conversations as may be indispensable. Rival factions endeavouring to tear down one another, and temporary anarchy, are almost certain, if, at such a time, the workers are not ready prepared with the broad outlines of a workable scheme, the essential principles of which have been generally agreed on beforehand, after due deliberation.

SOME CURRENT MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

(2)(3) and (4). Besides the different things which different thinking persons now understand by the term Swaraj, for various plausible though debatable reasons, there are some positive misunderstandings also current in the minds of those who do not bother to think, or are highly prejudiced. And these misunderstandings are causing very mischievous antagonisms between important classes of the community on the one hand, and, on the other, are setting against the Congress Creed, some important and powerful sections, who, if assured that Swaraj would not involve wholesale destruction of their interests, might be willing to help the cause. Thus, here and there, some agriculturists suppose that all land rent will be at once abolished; some tax payers, that no more taxes of any kind will have to be paid; some debtors, that they will not be required to repay; some persons who have lost their lands by action of the law, or whose ancestors lost them in the turmoils of the Sepoy War, that such lands will be restored to them; some imagine that all sale and purchase will cease, and that every body will be able to take or do what he likes; many English and also some Indian persons apparently imagine that it necessarily implies the expulsion of every English person from India; some think it means the partition of what is now British India, between Muslim Nawabs or Hindu Rajas or both, with their utter autoeracy and irresponsibility towards the people, (and, at much present, generally, their servility to the British Resident or Agent, and their worse misgovernment than that of British India, with exceptions). And so on.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S POLICY OF REPRESSION.

In the meanwhile, the existing Government's repressive policy is becoming more and more ruthless and virulent, many sincere, high-spirited, true-hearted men are being sent to jail, though what they have really done is only to tell the truth and point out to the people the way of peacefully, non-violently, remedying the wrongs inflicted on them by the shortsighted mammonist Government; and in these jails, it would appear from reports, the medieval methods of trying to break the spirit by breaking the body, are now and then adopted, over and above the customary shortage and bad quality of food and dirtiness of clothing due to the

perennial peculations of the jail officials (to investigate which, among other things, a Commission was appointed by the Government, some time ago, which the usual results in pompous and inane recommendations), and the consideration, usually extended to political prisoners in civilised countries, is denied, except perhaps in special cases.

THE URGENT NEED TO REMOVE THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

Under such circumstances, when the Congress Creed and the Congress movement have spread into the so-called masses, it is very desirable to make it tolerably clear to the world, what it is that the Congress understands by Swaraj; so that false notions, false hopes, false fears, and groundless antagonisms, may be dissipated, on the one hand, and, on the other, those who have to suffer, may know distinctly what it is they are suffering for, and may feel strongly that it is worth suffering for, and so derive strength in their moments of weakness.

OUR OPPONENTS, THE PARTY IN POWER.

(5). The existing Government is referred to as "our opponents, the party now in power and office." This may not be technically correct; but it is done purposely. The gentlemen who compose the heart and essence of what is known as the Government of India, very probably regard themselves (judging by their acts) as a "body of conquerors in military occupation of the country"; and they very probably, and very naturally, though not properly, tend to forget the (unconsciously "self-determining") help given by the Indian people in the establishment of the British in India, (to be peace-makers and sincere friends and helpers, as then hoped and believed, and scornful rack-renters, sweaters, and exploiters, as now turns out), and to remember more and more exclusively the part played by British soldiers therein. As a consequence, they, (and also those on whom the reflection of their power and authority has fallen), naturally regard attempts by the people, to bring about a change in the system, however peacefully, however non-violently, however constitutionally, as disaffection, disloyalty, sedition, etc., intended to displace them violently. (An elective Indian Minister is reported to have said, "We must suppress Non-Co-Operation at all costs"—just to illustrate how reflected glory hypnotises). Now, if we diligently proclaim that we regard them, not as "military occupants, to be displaced violently", but only as "the party in power and office, to be replaced peacefully" (as is done in England), by another party, holding other views, as to the system of administration that is most beneficial to the country, then there is a likelihood that the bitterness, now felt

against the N.-C.-O. movement by "the party in power and office." may be gradually and at least partially allayed, their mind made more amenable to reason and to the sense of justice, and all the conditions made more favourable for "negotiations."

THE EVILS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM OF SWARAJ.

7. It seems that most Congress workers of the Nationalist party understand, more or less vaguely and implicitly, by Swaraj, the British Parliamentary system and methods of election; as also, perhaps, do the members of the Moderate-Liberal party and the officials (who all, it should be borne in mind, recognise Swaraj as the legitimate goal of India—as, f. i., in the public pronouncements of the Indian Secretary of State, and of the King himself—though at an indefinitely greater distance in time and along very different lines and qualities of effort). Yet that system and those methods have on the whole no greater virtues than the system and method now prevailing here. Many thinkers feel that system and those methods to be an utter failure. The ferment, in the West, of the many movements, of Socialism, Anarchism, Collectivism, Communism, Syndicalism, Guild-Socialism, Bolshevism, (each more defective and dangerous than the others, each more discordant with human psychology than the others, except perhaps Guild-Socialism), and the Great European War itself and its increasingly evil consequences, are all patent proofs of the gross failure of the British Parliament and its congeners in other countries, to produce healthy, human, social, economical, and political conditions.

Some of us are therefore very anxious that while we are trying hard to get rid of what has been called slave-mentality (i. e., the tendency to slavishly imitate the West and to regard its ways as the best) in respect of the other aspects and departments of the individual and communal life—we are very anxious that we should not suffer from the very climax and culmination of that "slave-mentality" in respect of the political department of our life.

We are endeavouring to become Swa-deshi in other respects; let us take very great care to be genuinely Swa-deshi in this, which is, at the moment, more important than all other respects.

The concentration of all wealth and power and honor in the hands of a more and more centralised and selfish hierarchy of bureaucratism and capitalism; the abuse of that power for causing a more and more unequal distribution of the necessities of life, and for the ever greater exploitation and enslavement and reduction to helplessness, of the millions of the weak and the poor, by a comparative handful of the rich and the strong; the prostitution of science to the service of militarism-navalism and capitalism—

inammonism—these have grown up in the West, side by side, with the varieties of the Parliamentary system, as mutual cause and effect, by action and reaction.

We have very ample first instalments of these same things here. And for the same reasons. For though India is governed by "the Government of India," this latter is the creation of, and is governed by, the Parliament of England, which is the dutiful agent and handmaiden of the capitalist and landed interests of that country. The form in which we have these growing evils here, now, may be somewhat different from that which they show in the West. Here, the form is, primarily, not that of capitalist *versus* laborer as there, but that of the bureaucracy *versus* the people (including rich and poor, but excepting of course such of the rich and the poor as deliberately make themselves subservient to the bureaucracy for the sake of self-aggrandisement—for while English capitalists and aristocrats are the *masters* of the Parliament and the bureaucracy, Indian landholders, princes, and capitalists are the *servants* of these, because they belong to a subject i. e. 'down-thrown' race). The secondary form of those evils, here, is that of the conflict between the rich and the poor; and this, though daily increasing in acuteness under the influence of the West, continues to be mitigated as yet, by the still persisting remnants of the old customs and traditions as to "biradari" and "bhai-chara" and brotherhood and the duty of supporting poor relations (gone to a wrong extreme in their own way). But if we import the Parliamentary system direct and wholesale, then, at least some of us fear greatly, we shall import with them the corresponding abuses and horrors in a more virulent form than they possess there. Imported epidemics rage more fiercely in fresh fields.

Such are the principal reasons for avoiding all further delay in making our minds clear to ourselves and to all concerned, as to what it is that we want when we want Swaraj.

III

The Essential Features of the Swaraj that is Needed.

Paras (a) to (c) mention the main points of the significance which, it is suggested in the proposed resolution, should be authoritatively attached to the word Swaraj by the Congress, or by its representative, the All-India Congress Committee, or by the Working Committee of the latter.

THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF A PURE AND WISE LEGISLATURE.

(a) to (d). The welfare of Society depends upon its proper scientific organisation. Organisation means division of functions. That means assignment of

rights-and-duties to each individual or group of individuals. This is done by legislation, the making of laws. The welfare of Society therefore depends upon good laws. Good laws are those which, when they give a *right* to an individual or a group, at the same time impose a balancing and appropriate *duty* also upon that same individual or group, in accordance with his or its psycho-physical constitution and natural function. Such laws can be made only by wise legislators. Wisdom means science *plus* benevolence, knowledge (especially of human nature in all its main aspects, and in its greatnesses as well as its failings) conjoined with love of humanity, an earnest, active, wish for the well-being of all classes of it. It means intellectual fitness and, even more, ethical fitness, in the legislator; the far-seeing head, and, even more, the patriarchal heart.

THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF TRUE SWARAJ.

Swaraj means "Self-government." But there are two selves in every individual, as well as in every Society or Nation; a higher self and a lower self; a selfish self and an altruistic self; the elements of virtue and the elements of vice. Government by the higher self only is true self-government. Government by the lower self is the same thing as government by another; for this lower self is the worst of foreign tyrants; and all foreign government is, of necessity, bad, and either frankly or hypocritically tyrannical, because it is government by a selfish self. The saying is often quoted that good government is no substitute for self-government. The element of truth in the saying is that government by the higher self, over the lower self, is the best possible government, is the only good government; and no other can be so good or any good. But if government, by the lower self of a nation, over its higher self, could also be called self-government, then the saying would certainly not be true. Government of one race, or nation, or class, by another race, or nation, or class, which keeps itself apart, socially and biologically, can never be government by the higher self, however much it may pretend to be such; for the governor does not identify himself with the higher self of the governed, in reality, and so remains at most a lower and most selfish self, a pretended self, and therefore, indeed, doubly dangerous and mischievous.

To secure true Self-government, true Swaraj, means, then, to secure the government of a people by its own higher self; and that means, to ensure purity and wisdom of head and heart in its legislators by wise election. And this is the first, most urgent, and most vitally important work, for every Society that desires its own "welfare," that wishes to keep "well" and "whole," truly "weal-thy" and "heal-thy."

THE BEST WAY TO SECURE GOOD LEGISLATORS.

Obviously it is not possible for human beings to abolish all evil from the Universe, when the Mystery at the Heart of that Universe has permitted Evil a place therein. But we can endeavour to minimise it in given times, places, and circumstances.

In the case of the legislator, the nearest and most likely way to secure the needed qualifications, namely knowledge and philanthropy, and the third subsidiary but also indispensable qualification of sufficient leisure; the way which is also most in accord with the individuality and the genius of the Indian people, seems to be this. Only such persons should be elected to the office of legislator as occupy, towards the general public, the position that parents, elders, patriarchs, occupy towards their families; who do not take from them, but only give; who are no longer engaged in any competitive, bread-winning, or money-making profession or business, but have "retired," not too late in life, but with mental energy unexhausted, after gathering full experience of human affairs in some one walk of life; who are maintained on their own savings, directly, or in the shape of "pensions" from their families or friends for whom they have worked in their prime, and to whose new chief or representative they have handed over the business; who will not canvass for their own election, but will take up the burden of office only on pressing request and solicitation by the public; who will not take any cash salary or remuneration from public funds for legislative work; whose life now is almost like that of Vana-prasthas, Sadhus and Faqirs; and who possess the respectful or even the reverent trust of the public in matters political, such as is possessed in India by genuine ascetics in matters spiritual.

The outlook upon life, of such a person, would, so far as is humanly possible, be untainted by selfish ambitions or class-biases; he would have the needed leisure, as well as the needed ripe experience of human affairs; his passions would be spent, or so weakened as to be under control; his powers of thinking un-impaired, and possibly improved; he would be possessed of the conditions that are favourable to philanthropy and to the dispassionate judging of the due proportion that the various classes and interests which make up the Organic Social Whole, should bear to each other, in order to make possible and promote the healthy functioning of all; and he would have no personal interest of his own to serve, except perhaps that of continuing to deserve the trust and honor of the public, by beneficent legislation, so long as he is compelled by the solicitation of that public to bear the burden of office.

THE USUAL QUALITY OF MODERN LEGISLATURES.

Compare this picture of a legislature composed of such grave and reverend

seigneurs, with the existing Councils of the East and of the West, England and India, led by men, pushful, aggressive, grasping of power, greedy of large salaries, hungry for the sensations of 'high life,' ambitious to have their dinners recorded in the dailies; clever and cunning instead of wise; brilliant and glib of tongue, or even merely smart and flippant, instead of sober and far-sighted of judgment; self-complacent, arrogant, unscrupulous, opportunist, chameleonic, bullying and flattering by turns, hypocritical mostly, diplomatic in one word, instead of philanthropic; not ashamed to win for their country, from their nearest neighbours, such characterisations as *Perfidious Albion*, instead of "a righteous nation"; swelling with notions of their own personal and official (and, in India, when white, then also national and racial) prestige, instead of recognising the prestige of the people whose paid servants they are; and, in private life, often very different from saints—which, indeed, is the very cause of all their mal-administration of human affairs.

INDIA'S TRADITIONAL IDEALISM IN LAW AND POLITICS.

Whatever the other nations and countries may want, the deepest heart of India has always wanted and continues to want, genuine sadhus and fakirs, saints and sages, for, legislators.

Is this impossible idealism? But all her ancient law-givers have been Rishis, saints and sages, not kings and courtiers and cabinets, as a fact, is it not? Who are the authors of her Smritis? The legislators of Islam too have been prophets and saints. The recognition of them as saints and the acceptance of their laws, by the public, is their "election" in the old way.

If it is all impossible idealism, then what about that living 'practical mystic' and leader of leaders, Mahatma Gandhi? What about his venerated predecessors, Lokamanya Tilak, and Gokhale, Chief Servant of India? And could not a fair number of others also be named, living leaders, whose long-continued sacrifices for the country, or great, if late, renunciations are almost equally noteworthy, and who would come into the same rank, if they only had a stronger touch of asceticism and of that yearning tenderness of feeling for humanity which marks the saints? And are there not a good many workers of the second rank, who come near the qualifications mentioned, and would develop them in full, once the atmosphere is re-established that is needed for their proper growth, the atmosphere, namely, of a strong, wide-spread, and insistently expressed *public opinion* that only such men are wanted in the legislature?

The courageous suffering of long imprisonments and transportations, cheerfully accepted by school-boys, on the one hand, and by Sirdars, Maulanas,

Sadhus and Sanyasis, shop-keepers and zamindars, highly educated editors of journals and illiterate tillers of the soil alike, on the other, by hundreds, for the great offence of telling "the true causes of the present discontents," to the public and to the government of the day, unflinchingly—at times in strong language, without which attention is not received, and which therefore has not always recounted those great defects of the Indian people themselves, which have made their exploitation by others possible, and the persistent recognition of which would engender a just humility, giving a more judicial tone to the language, and a truer direction and a greater firmness to the resolve of Swaraj)—this outburst of self-sacrificing idealism, so rapidly evoked by the earnest-minded, sincere-hearted and philanthropic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, makes the hope, that 'ideal' legislators can and will be produced in sufficient numbers by the same motherland, not so very impossible.

THE UN-PRACTICALITY OF WESTERN PRACTICALISM.

It is not impossible idealism at all, but most practical. What is really unpractical and impossible to keep up for long, is "the too fast pace," "the rake's progress," of modern Western Civilisation with its excesses of mammonism and militarism-navalism. Is any idealism, possible or impossible, worse than the practicalism and realism which have brought about the Great War and its consequences?

Eight (or, by a U. S. A. estimate, thirteen) millions of able-bodied useful men slaughtered on the battle-fields and in the trenches; as many more, at least, mangled, maimed, and mutilated for life; many more millions of human beings perished, and perishing, in many countries, of famine and influenza and war-fever, fostered by the dire lack of necessities among the poorer people, caused by the the all-devouring demands of the mad war; national debts swollen to the fantastic total of forty thousand millions of pounds and more, bearing two thousand millions of pounds or more as annual interest, when there are not two thousand millions of pounds in cash coin, altogether, in all the treasuries of all the countries of the world; to repay which fantastic loan with interest to the handful of the scrip-holders, the countless millions of the weak and poor must groan under the lash and labor for many generations to come; 'subject' nations and 'inferior' races being vampirised and lynched mercilessly; and yet the affairs of almost all the 'superior' and 'civilised' and 'ruling' nations, even the 'victorious' ones, in inextricable confusion, like the households of bankrupt gamblers and insolvent drunkards—"O ye Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, and blind! that loudly lay the blame on one another, but are all equally sinful; that, 'believing your own lies', mistake fever for energy, and

insane over-production and slavery to your own huge machinery for industrial capacity and mechanical skill; that see not that your 'expansion' means congestion and lack of consumption and trespass upon your neighbours and consequent economic and military wars over and over again—is all this misery of mankind that ye have brought about already, is this your practicalism, or is it the idealism of homicidal mania? What worse have the Bolsheviks done? What face have you to jeer and jibe at idealism? But, perhaps you do so to drown the pricks and protests of your feeble but not yet quite dead consciences, and to throw dust into simple folk's eyes, and with profuse use of catchwords to confuse their mind and divert their attention from your own great sins, and thus make further opportunities for the indulgence of your vices.

"Verily, the Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, and they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders. They make more and more fashionable the cut of their garments and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the councils, and greetings in the darbars, and to be called of men. Huzoor, Huzoor, Maharaj, Maharaj Excellency, Excellency, Right Honorable, Right Honorable, Milord, Milord Padishah, Padishah, Highness, Highness, Majesty, Majesty. But whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.

"And woe unto ye, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour the widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer; ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, one subject-nation, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. Woe unto you that pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the righteous law, the just judgment, and mercy and faith; that strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and platter but within they are full of extortion and excess; for ye are like unto white sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and saints, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, behold! some of thy sisters in sin have already met their doom. Repent thou, and make expiation in time, lest thy house too is left unto thee desolate, or is overturned altogether, so that one stone is not left upon another."

"O ye high and mighty ones of the Earth! with brains of steel, faces of brass, hearts of stone, bowels of silver and gold, and all grasping hands and

claws of iron, but feet of feeble friable clay—soften your hard heads and hearts and hands and bowels in time, and give some of their substance to the feet to strengthen them, lest their overwhelming burden make the clay crumble and scatter apart, unable to sustain the huge agony any longer, and your whole super-frame fall headlong and lie prone in the dust.

"That which Providence intended should feed the Human Race for centuries, that ye would waste in one night's wild, foolish, furious and cruel revel. And perhaps your poets still believe,

"Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay!"

"Fifty years of Europe like the last eight years of that same continent? Will you not learn the humane lesson of the inhuman war? Will you not change your minds still? Will you not retrace your steps, and cease to sneer at idealism?"

TRACES OF IDEALISM IN WESTERN LAW AND POLITICS ALSO.

Even in the money-mad West, the honorary principle is not unrecognised, though hustled aside by the evil Kali-yuga time-spirit of greed and pride. Members of Parliament, except Cabinet Ministers, were not paid in England, up to a few years ago.

Members of Legislative bodies, except Councillors and Ministers, are not paid (except travelling expenses) in India now. But the condition that they should be men who have retired from business or profession, is not observed; and the Cabinet Members in England and Councillors and Ministers in India have very large salaries, and all members of Parliament smaller salaries—all which make a world of difference in their outlook upon life, in their attitude towards public questions, in their motives, and in the quality of the Laws enacted by them.

THE URGENT NEED OF SEPARATING THE LEGISLATIVE AND THE EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

(b). After legislation comes execution. After the laws have been made they require to be enforced. Midway comes the judicial work. India has been crying for long and in vain, for the separation of the judicial and the executive functions. But the separation of the legislative and the executive functions is far more necessary, because the combination of the two is much more radically maleficent. In England the salaried Cabinet, the Chief Executive, is also, for all practical purposes, the Chief Legislative; and this is the principal cause of unjust laws,

(In theory the Prime Minister is unsalaried, but, in practice, he generally takes one or other salary-carrying portfolio also). The landed aristocrats, the capitalists, and the barristers deriving their livelihood from and sympathetic to these, make up practically the whole of the Cabinet. Is it any wonder that the laws, and the ever swelling army and navy, subserve these interests mainly, that, "the glory of the nation" or "the defence of the nation," means "the glory and the defence of the handful that are the masters, the slave-owners, of the nation" ?

The ancient tradition, the genius, too, of this country, insists on the separation of the two functions. "The man of thought," the wise and ascetic man, the sage and saint, the priest-scientist, should legislate but exercise no executive power. "The man of action," the king, the soldier, the policeman, should execute the law, but exercise no legislative power. When the two functions are combined, selfish ambition becomes rampant, and benevolent wisdom has no chance. When the two are separate, each helps to check any tendency to error or excess in the other. The same man prince of church and prince of land at the same time, has generally proved to be a prince of darkness.

These two functions are different by nature; they belong to two different temperaments. The business of the man of thought, the man of science, is to 'ascertain facts,' to ascertain what conditions, what allocations of functions, what assignments of rights-and-duties, result in the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and not in the greatest power and glory and cash of the smallest number. The business of the man of action is to enforce the fulfilment of these conditions, the performance of these functions, the exercise of these rights-and-duties, by all concerned. The two businesses should never be combined, any more than the judicial and the executive. The legislative and judicial functions may be combined, if necessary, (though it is desirable, ordinarily, to keep them apart also), because judicial work too is the ascertainment of facts, the facts of a case and of the law applicable to them.

AND THE JUDICIAL AND THE EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS ALSO.

That the judicial and the executive temperaments are different, is tacitly admitted even by the existing Indian governmental system. This is patent from the fact that that system bifurcates the I.C.S. men, after the joint-magistrate stage, into judges on the one hand, and on the other, collector-magistrates, commissioners, etc., without inter-transfers between the two lines thereafter. It is also well known that in normal times, where there is no special reason for all branches of the Public Service (by name, but the Public Mastership in fact, as it has now become in India) to make common cause against the unhappy

people, there is much jealousy and ill will between these two lines, because the higher judiciary, in which the public have more faith, often thwarts the designs of the lower executive. That the two functions should be combined in the same person, in any office, at any stage, in India, is simply without excuse or extenuation.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE.

By ancient indigenous tradition, the work of the State, the functions or duties of the government, fall under four main heads; (a) the right education of the people, (b) their right protection, (c) their right sustentation, (d) their right recreation. Hence we have four main departments, portfolios, or organisations, viz., the Educational, the Protectional, the Economic, and the Recreational. It is worth while to make a regular department of this last. *Panem et circenses*, work and play, are equally necessary; men live not by bread alone, but also by recreation—of body, by play; and of soul, by prayer and religion and communion with the Universal God hidden within the soul, the making manifest of Whom within each soul is the work of the priest-educationist, a functionary in importance equal with the legislator.

Of course, all four are ever interdependent, though separate, as head, hands, torso, and feet. Each has many sub-departments, some of which may be regarded as midway or connective departments. Thus, public instruction, public morals and religion, public health, public justice, etc., *i. e.*, the work of "the learned professions," would come under the first; military, police, jails, etc., under the second; agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, forests, mines, cattle-breeding, commerce, finance and revenue, and industries of all kinds, under the third; zoos, museums, theatres, pageants, circuses, festivals, holidays, art-galleries, music-halls, parks and gardens, races and games (without betting), etc., under the fourth. If it were desired to assign legislation also to one of these four, then, obviously, it would go under the first. But it is the business of legislation to govern and co-ordinate these four main departments and all their multifarious sub-divisions, in proper proportion.

The point aimed at by the above is that, generally speaking, four different kinds of temperament are wanted for the proper discharge of the four functions respectively, viz., the man of thought, the man of action, the man of desire, and the artist (varieties of each of the other three, in a sense, together with the artisan)—all under the guidance of the best man of thought, the true scientist-priest, presbyter, elder, the legislator; and that these four functions should be kept apart in four separate pairs of hands, if abuse is to be avoided.

There is a natural jealousy in the human mind, against the combination of many functions, the concentration of many rights and powers, in the same

person. This jealousy, within due limits, is a healthy safeguard against abuse. For abuse of rights and powers almost invariably ensues, when a conjunction of many of them makes the discharge of the corresponding duties, first burdensome and then distasteful, because of the growing sense and taste of power and prestige, and consequent pride, and finally, also makes the avoidance of such discharge more and more easy, and check by others more and more difficult and ineffective.

But minute and detailed consideration of the various functions which should be kept apart, is unnecessary at this stage. It is enough if the general principle is recognised, and the separation of three of the main functions, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial, insisted on, as suggested in part (b) of the proposed resolution.

THE QUALITY NEEDED IN THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

(c). A portion of this paragraph has been already dealt with above, viz., that relating to the legislators not taking any cash remuneration or salaries for their work. They are *in loco parentis* to the people. They are the elders. The English expressions, 'eldermen', 'aldermen', 'city-fathers', indicate the high ideals originally implied, but now wholly forgotten in practice, and requiring urgently to be revived. Parents do not receive money-payments from their children, in return for helping the latter. The whole attitude of mind of the legislator becomes changed if he takes pay. He becomes professional and mercenary instead of patriarchal. The attitude which is appropriate enough in a businessman, a competitive professional householder, becomes degrading in a 'retired' well-wisher of the people. His only remuneration, which—though he may not, cannot, ask for it, yet—should be paid to him diligently by others, to give him the strength of heart, the encouragement, necessary for the proper discharge of his duty, is honor, deference, mark of trust.

For similar reasons, the heads of all governmental executive departments also should be of the same quality as the legislators, in respect of being "retired" and "honorary," to make humanly sure that at the head-and-heart of every such department, there is no selfishness, no personal ambition, but only the benevolent wish for the well-being of the whole.

Such honorary workers would be given precedence over the salaried, as a matter of course.

ELECTION OF UNSELFISH KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE *versus* REPRESENTATION OF SELFISH INTERESTS.

(d). This clause is intended only to make sure that knowledge and experience of all the main aspects of the communal life shall be available to the Legislature. It does not mean that any representation of separate classes as such is desired.

The principle of election is wholesome, and in accord with the traditions of India. It is embodied in the republics of the Buddhist and pre-Buddhist days, and in the village panchayats which are continuously living on into the present day. But the manner of its expression was and is different from that followed in the West. Here, the trusted of the people gradually and almost imperceptibly grew into that position, and came to be recognised as such, more or less unobtrusively, in the course of years, and therefore with certainty as to their character. In the West, in keeping with the whole spirit of its present civilization, the thing is done by challenge, and beat of drum, and rival self-displays of powers of eloquence, heavy expenditures on canvassing, and manifestoes of promises of the work that will be done by the candidate, if elected—promises mostly forgotten after election. The heavy expenses also leave behind, naturally, in the mind of the candidate who succeeds, and therefore has opportunities, the wish for recoupment, in some way or other, fair or foul—not a healthy mood for a legislator. And it is obvious that such canvassing and expenditure are not only generally impossible, but degrading and humiliating, for worthy men of the sort we want as legislators, men who have done with the ambitions and luxuries of life, and have retired on a simple competence.

But the principle of representation—representation of interests and classes presumed all along to be in conflict with each other, like opposed parties in lawsuits, and requiring to be protected from one another, by the perpetual quarrellings of their respective advocate-representatives in the forum of the legislative assembly; and not presumed to be all interdependent, and capable of being protected only by the harmonising of all, by dis-interested trustees of the whole community—this principle is unwholesome, and foreign to our genius. If goes with the party-system and all its evils.

(e). This clause makes it clear and unmistakable that all departments of the administration must be subordinate and responsible to the elected legislature, which in turn is responsible to the people as a whole, who exercise their control over it by elective choice. The circle of Self-government is thus completed. No loose end, no one-sidedness is left, as in autocracy, or bureaucracy, or plutocracy, or theocracy, or in democracy (which turns into autocracy after a bout of mobocracy). And the circle of such self-government of the people, for the people, and by the people, is not vicious, but virtuous, because "by the people" means, under such conditions, "by the higher self, the wise and virtuous and benevolent self, of the people", when alone the people, of all classes, of all walks of life, can have well-being, can fare well, can be well and whole, truly healthy in the just exercise of all useful functions, and wealthy in the possession of widespread contentment and happiness.

The so-called Reforms in the Government of India, enacted by the British Parliament towards the end of 1919, and introduced in practice in the beginning of 1921, are a farce and a delusion, just because they do not make the Executive responsible to the Legislature; just because the newly constituted legislatures have no real power of any kind over the executive; because all the real "grain" of power, fiscal, military, judicial, etc., remains with the executive, and only the "husks and chaff" of showy positions with large salaries, and full opportunities for perpetually shuffling paltry details, are given to the Ministers; and these di-archical Ministers, sophistically interpreted to be elective, but expressly appointed by the provincial Governors, are either dummies or willing or unwilling tools in the hands of the permanent Executive, satisfied (with some exceptions) with their reflected glory of "high office" and higher salaries, and unable to do anything for the relief—much less the uplift—of the people; or rather, on the contrary, helping to make the people's burdens heavier—to judge from the work of the eight or nine months that have elapsed since they took up work; for, decidedly, the administration has become much more top-heavy and expensive, since three (ironically so-called) Reforms have come into force.

One Minister in one province is said to have confessed to friends that when files came up to him for orders in important matters, they had been already so prepared in the Secretariat that only one order was possible. Another, in another, when he jibbed at a certain measure, is said to have been told by his Governor that, if he persisted, the Governor would enforce the di-archical system, whereas, so far, he had graciously carried on the work on uni-archical lines, consulting the Ministers also on Reserved matters; which expressly meant that they would be consulted only if they always said ditto and understood the uni-archical to be the *non*-archical Governor.

THE INDO-BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

(f) and (g). These clauses deal with a detail of the form of government, but a detail which involves much heart-searching. "Within the British Empire", people feel now, stamps subjectness and racial inferiority on the Indian people. The King or Queen of England is only King or Queen, and not Emperor or Empress, of England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, or of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, etc. He or she is Emperor or Empress of India only. Why? "Self-government on *Colonial* lines within the British Empire" is a contradiction in terms.

On the other hand, "Swaraj or Self-government without the British Empire," i. e., Swaraj in absolute separation from England—for without

India there is no British Empire—is a prospect which also very, very few Congress-men, if any, contemplate as desirable, or as anything but the last alternative. The reasons are plain and need not be dilated on here.

Briefly, there is every reason why India should no longer be a "dependency", a milch-cow of England, to be beaten, starved, and milked at will by torturing processes of forcing. There is also much reason why the friendliest and closest relations between the two should be maintained, to the profit of both, and of other countries as well. The way of reconciliation of these two necessities is embodied in these last two clauses, in the shape of "Swaraj or Self-government, not on Colonial, but on far better lines, and within, not a British Empire, but an Indo-British or British-Indian Commonwealth or Federation".

If for any reason, of superior status etc., it should be preferred that the Viceroy should be the President of the Chief Legislative body, he might be that instead of Governor-General and Head of the Executive. But the same person should not be both.

Once British people reconcile themselves to the renunciation of whatever pleasant taste there may be in the arrogance of racial superiority and imperialistic jingoism, and make up their minds to live in India on terms of equality and mutual accommodation with Indians, rank for rank, grade for grade, profession for profession, quality for quality, as Panjabis, Bengalis, Marathas, Gujeratis, Tamils, Telugus, Parsis, Indian Christians, Musalmans, Hindus, etc., are living—they will find that they are no worse off than now, financially, in respect of trade-relations, but probably better; and they will certainly be much better off ethically, in respect of mutual good-will and trust and friendliness of social relations. Indians and British, in such circumstances, will be able to help each other by their distinctive qualities and virtues, and supply one another's spiritual and physical lacks much more efficiently. And genuinely sympathetic British persons will be honored in greater degree than Indians of corresponding quality—for, from the latter, more would be expected naturally. If, today, an election were held for some public office of very high trustworthiness, the chances of a *sādhu* like Mr. C. F. Andrews would be next after those of Mahatma Gandhi only, and as great as those of almost any other Indian leader. British persons have been repeatedly elected Presidents of the Indian National Congress. And always the Inmost Spirit of India has been eclectic, synthetic, all-tolerant, all-gathering, all-reconciling, and not exclusive. Often, in the past, has India slowly converted and incorporated into her body-politic 'foreign' invaders and their companions, transforming them into 'native' priests-scientists-literati, warriors-rulers, agriculturists-tradesmen, and helpers-servants, according to their natural

capacities and functions, without asking them to give up any individual peculiarities that were dear to them and not inconsistent with the well-being of the Indian Social Whole; and India will continue to do so, again and again for her Inmost Spirit is not racist or nationalist, but Humanist.

CONCLUSION.

Such I humbly and earnestly believe to be the only way; the way of the great reconciliation, not only of India and England, but of all nations, and of all the classes within each nation, with each other. Only by insistence of patriarchal benevolence in the legislator, can the nations have the laws whose righteousness will exalt them, instead of coarsening and degrading them as at present. Only by thus planting and diligently fostering the seed of righteousness and philanthropy in the very head-and-heart of Society, will the imminent Tree of Evil that has sprouted from the seeds of sin, the seeds of lust and hate and greed and pride, and is now fruiting in the desperate welter of militarism and navalism and munitionism and bureaucratism and capitalism and labourism and Bolshevism and what not, each worse than the others, be surely and certainly uprooted and supplanted by the Tree of Good, springing from that seed of righteousness, and yielding the fruit of Humanism, the wholesome fruit of equitable assignment of right-and-duties, and equitable distribution of necessities and comforts and special rewards, and consequent peace and good-will, health and happiness, to all the nations.

The self-government wherein the higher self of the community, i.e., if best, wisest, most self-denying, righteous and spiritual-minded persons, guide the rest, is spiritual Swaraj. And, in as much as such Swaraj will necessarily involve an abatement of the present most iniquitous extremes of wealth and poverty, it will also mean a very careful regulation of the number of great factories with huge machinery, and of the amount of their output, so as to prevent excessive production, and dumping, and ruinous competition, resulting in economic and military wars, and more and more deep and wide-spread misery instead of the joys that were expected from the use of machinery. In this respect there must be a great retracing of steps, since mankind has obviously arrived at a *cul-de-sac*; an adequate retracing and careful regulation only, no any violent upheavals or wholesale transformations and abolitions, but steady and equitable adjustments and balancings of large rights with large duties and small rights with small duties. Such equalisation of rights and duties with each other is the only social equalisation possible. All other is impossible so long as evolution, manifestation of life, is necessarily by differentiation.

But if a more radical simplification of life be considered, it is possible

by spiritual Swaraj, as, apparently, in Mahatma Gandhi's book on *Indian Home Rule*—and not merely a temporary one, in the nature of a vow for a special purpose, as, *f.i.*, till Swaraj is achieved by India—then, too, it seems that an indispensable intermediate step to it is what has been outlined above. The scriptures of the nations, and especially those of the Indians, indicate that the course of evolution of the human racial soul, is from the more spiritual into the more material, from *dairi-sampat* into the *asuri-sampat*, and then back again to the more spiritual on a higher level; from the angelic into the satanic, from the godlike into the titanic, from the *pari-s* into the *jinn-s*, from the idyllic, arcadian, pastoral-agricultural-rural, communistic and nature-worshipping civilisation, into the intensely mechanical-industrial-urban, individualistic and intellect-worshipping civilization, and then back again, on a higher level. Mankind will not easily give up all the sensations and feels of existence and the long-circuitings of the elemental life-consciousness and appetites, that are derivable from and are connected with the use of machinery, and of the products of science and art, now that they have tasted them; until, either greater and greater excesses, and consequently worse and worse wars, bring about the extinction of the present civilization, as diseases bring about the premature death of an individual, and only degenerate savages remain behind, such as are found in Africa, Australia, America, and elsewhere; or until the long course of evolution brings about widespread biological changes, and the subtler sensor and motor organs and powers, of clairvoyance, clairaudience, telepathy, projection of doubles, spirit manifestations, integration and disintegration of matter by mind-force, levitation, communication with the denizens of the subtler planes and kingdoms of nature, etc., now very rare, become the common property of mankind. As these develop more and more, human beings will naturally give up the use of cumbrous machinery, and heavy material instruments of many kinds, that are the appurtenances, today, of refined, artistic, scientific, private and public life; and gradually the golden age, that is always in the past or in the future, but yet is not mythical, will come back to man in fuller degree than before.

But, in the meanwhile, if our steps are retraced sufficiently far back from the brink of the precipice over which mankind is hanging, and to which it has been rushed by the excesses of machinery and luxury, of the abnormal and unnatural life of huge capital-cities and factory-towns, and of greed and pride; if the extreme inequalities of today are largely abated; if the worship of the three great goddesses whom mankind have always adored, in their heart of hearts, in all times and all climes, whatever their outward creed or color, and will necessarily continue to adore, throughout the future, though in different forms, gross or subtle, so long as

and bone and be born into and live in this world at all, viz., Saraswati, Lakshmi and Gauri—the Shakti-s of Knowledge, of Action, and of Desire—the goddesses of Science, of all the Arts and Splendours and Glories of Wealth and Plenty, and of Health, Strength, Beauty, Vitality, Love, and Conjugal Felicity and Domestic Happiness—if the worship of these three eternal goddesses is restored to its due equality and balance; if they are worshipped as benignant and compassionate mothers, to draw blessings from, for the whole Human Race, in the shape of the simple private life of the individual, and the richest possible public possessions for the community; if this is done, instead of making a courtesan of Lakshmi, to be dallied with by the few, and handing over Saraswati and Gauri to her as slaves, if this is done by means of wise legislation, which will reconcile the “I” and the “We” that both exist in each human being, the elements of competition and of co-operation that are both indispensable, the individualist initiative and the socialist regulation that are both equally needed for communal health and prosperity; if this is done by means of just and righteous legislation through wisely elected spiritual-minded legislators, then that, for centuries, will be sufficient and true *Swaraj*.

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IV.

**Democracy,
or 'The Parliamentary System' of Swaraj;
Its Evils and their Cure.**

(I came across Dr. Bryce's *Modern Democracies* after the preceding parts of this series of papers on Swaraj or Self-government had appeared in various journals. There is much in it that throws light on the ancient Indian traditions of polity, partly by parity of ideas and partly by contrast. In looking through it I felt it would help to support the views of the preceding papers, if certain extracts were brought together, with the necessary critical remarks interwoven. Hence the following).

Even those who regard themselves as most level-headed, practical, and experienced in the affairs of men, will probably allow that (Viscount) Dr. James Bryce is at least as much so as themselves, and is not to be suspected of wild-goose-chasings, rhapsodical idealisms, or hypercritical carplings and cavillings at the democratic parliamentary systems of government amidst which he has lived and prospered. He has been a professor, a writer of excellent and solid historical and political books, a member of the British Parliament, a diplomat, an ambassador, the president of the commission which

investigated German atrocities in Belgium (atrocities committed by an invading army on an invaded and fighting enemy people, in time of war, and yet not surpassing the atrocities committed by the British-Indian Government on its own “subjects”, in the Panjab, in time of peace); and, finally, he has been a Cabinet Minister in England.

**DR. BRYCE'S CRITICISMS OF DEMOCRACY
IN ENGLAND.**

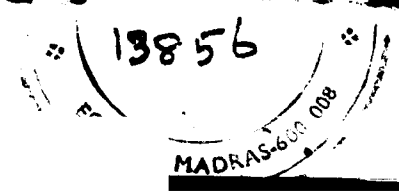
Yet this is what he says about the Parliamentary and democratic variety of Swaraj, with which so many of us are so whole-heartedly glamoured and enamoured, in his large two-volume up-to-date book on *Modern Democracies*, published this very year, 1921.

“Whether or not it be true, as is commonly stated, that in *European countries* the intellectual level of legislative assemblies has been sinking, it is clear that *nowhere does enough of that which is best in the character and talent of the nation, find its way into those assemblies.*” (II, 373). Yet “Mazzini described democracy as the progress of all through all under the leading of the best and wisest, (and said that) Authority is sacred (only) when consecrated by Genius and Virtue.” (II, 609). “In Britain the House of Commons is still the centre of political life ... But the power of the Cabinet over the majority has grown as parties have stiffened their discipline, for majorities are strong in proportion to their docility.” (II, 375). “The House of Commons is legally supreme, but in practice it is much controlled by the Cabinet, who can dissolve it, and can appeal to the party organisations over the country to require members to render steady support. Though, as Bagehot observed, a committee of Parliament, they are a Ruling Committee.” (II, 493).

“As new maladies assail the human body with advancing age or when the external conditions of life are changed, so with the progress of the years, unforeseen weaknesses are disclosed in political institutions... Five of these chronic ailments...deserve examination. ... (1) First comes the practice of what is called in England Obstruction, in America Filibustering, in Australia Stonewalling, in Germany *Dauerreden* ... (2) The multiplication of parties. ... This affects not only the tenure of office (of the Executive) but the consistency and thoroughness of legislative measures. ... The only remedy lies in the making of bargains between the Executive and the leaders of one at least of the Opposition parties, thus creating a combination capable of keeping the Executive in power and helping it to pass some of its Bills; but such combination is unsound, and legislation passed

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under such conditions becomes a matter of compromise, showing the fault incident to *measures founded on no clear principle*. ... For these evils... the sources lie in the nature of a *representative system*. It is a weakness of the representative system that it gives undue importance to any section which, forgetting its *duty to the whole community*, (the vice of *expertism* in another aspect), "puts its vote up to be bid for by a candidate, to whichever party he may belong. ... (3) The existence in the electorate of small sections which exercise a power disproportionate to their members. ... (4) The present tendency in England is to make the member more distinctly a delegate ... bound to speak and vote as the majority (of his party) commands him, being thus a sort of telephone wire by which it transmits its wishes. To press hard the doctrine that he is a mere delegate would result (a) in deterring men of independent character from entering Parliament, (b) in reducing the value of Parliamentary debate, (c) in increasing the control of local party committees, and (d) in making a Cabinet even more powerful over its followers in Parliament than it now is. (5) ... A more serious menace to the healthy action of representative bodies (is) ... the Parliamentary caucus system. ... (Thus) assume the whole Chamber to consist of 210 members, 110 of whom constitute the ruling Group. Suppose the majority of that group who decide upon a particular course to be 60 against 50 dissentients. Add to these fifty the hundred other members of the Chamber who are also opposed to the course proposed. That course will be carried by ... 110 against 100, although it ... (should have been) rejected by 150 against 60." (II, 378-390).

IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

Of the democracies of six other countries, France, U. S. America, Australia, etc., Dr. Bryce mentions the following principal defects.

"(a) Instability of the Executive Government owing to frequent changes. ... (b) Failure of the Executive to maintain law and order. In America... lynching and other disorders have been tolerated. ... (c) Administrative extravagance. ... (d) Want of honesty in Administrators, Legislators, and Voters. ... (e) The faulty Administration of Justice. In ... the American States... the administration of criminal justice is ... 'a disgrace to American civilisation' (according to President Taft). ... (f) The Spirit and power of Party. ... (g) Professionalism in Politics. ... (h) The power of Wealth." (II, 497-9).

"Wherever rich men abound, the power of money is formidable in elections and in the press, and *corruption more or less present*. I will not say that wherever there is money there will be corruption, but true it is that *Poverty and Purity go together*. The two best administered democracies in the modern world

have been the two poorest, the Orange Free State *before 1899*, (which seems to be a commentary on the benefits resulting to Boerland from its absorption by the British Empire), "and the Swiss Confederation. ... The rise of a *large class of professional politicians* must be expected if *large salaries are paid to representatives*. ... Such a class grows in proportion to the work party organisations have to do, and *patronage is misused* for party purposes wherever *lucrative posts or so-called honors* are at the disposal of a party Executive." (II, 503).

"Of these faults, (three, *viz.*) ... (1) the power of money to pervert administration or legislation, (2) the tendency to make politics a gainful profession, (3) extravagance in administration, ... have been observed in all governments, ... though the forms of all three are now different, and their consequences *more serious*. ... The evils attributable to ... (4) the abuse of the doctrine of Equality and failure to appreciate the value of administrative skill, (5) the undue power of party organisations, (6) the tendency of legislators and political officials to play for votes in the passing of laws and in tolerating breaches of order ... may be more definitely connected with popular government." (II, 504).

TWO OUTSTANDING DANGERS OF ALL DEMOCRACIES, AS BANE AND ANTIDOTE.

"Two dangers threaten ... all modern democracies. One is the tendency to allow *self-interest to grasp the machinery of government and turn that machinery to ignoble ends*. The other is the irresponsible power wielded by those who supply the people with the materials they need for judging men and measures. That dissemination by the printed word, of untruths and fallacies and incitements to violence, which we have learnt to call *propaganda*, has become a more potent influence among the masses in large countries than the demagogue ever was in the small peoples of former days. To combat these dangers, *more insight and sympathy*, as well as *more energy and patriotism* are needed than the so-called *upper and educated classes* have hitherto displayed." (II, 505).

THE ONE NATURAL ANTIDOTE OF BUREAUCRACY.

These two dangers, it may be noted in passing, are as bane and antidote, poison and counter-poison, agent and re-agent, which by the metaphysical laws of nature always go together. *Unscrupulous selfishness* in the ruling element necessarily gives rise to *propaganda* in the ruled element. And, be it remembered, if there is any unscrupulousness in the latter, it is less to blame than the unscrupulousness of the former, for "the elder, the senior, the superior in power, is always the more responsible," by the Indian tradition at least. (Mann, ch. ix, verse

109, *et seq.*). The excesses of autocratic despotism have always been "tempered by assassination," in Gladstone's phrase; those of theocratic hypnotism, by the rise of protestant new sects and rival creeds; those of aristocratic feudalism and militarism, by internecine rivalries and "the joyous and gentle jousts" of cousins and kinsmen, tigers clawing and fanging each other over their common prey, the people. Each thinks, "I am so clever, I am so strong, I shall always prevail, I shall be immortal". But the gods always invent a new device for bringing about its fall—the gods *within* its being. No sooner does it pass beyond the limit-line into excess, than its own system begins to secrete the toxins which kill it.

Democracy, in the sense of mobocracy, is doomed from the very beginning; in the sense of communism, it ever changes into the Dictatorship of the huge saurian, which, having absorbed all smaller lives into its own individuality, perishes by sheer unwieldiness and internal break-up, or is "tempered by assassination", as before. Bureaucracy, capitalistic, subserved by militarism and science, seems strongest. But it has feet of clay. It rests on Labor. Also, not being hereditary, it has no biological blue-blooded soul, no natural continuity and individuality, but only an artificial salary-interest and temporary *esprit de corps*, in place thereof, to hold it together. The bureaucrat, the public servant, both before and after service, is of the people; and, during service, has dozens of relatives and friends who are of the people and whom he antagonises by official excesses. Therefore bureaucracy, when it loses its head, and becomes too aggressive and oppressive, must perish of the blight of *Domestic Reprehension and Social Boycott*, an immense force which has always thriven and proved effective in the atmosphere of India.

OLIGARCHIES WITHIN DEMOCRACIES.

In a chapter which is headed "Oligarchies within Democracies", Dr. Bryce goes on to prove that "leadership naturally passes to the men of energy and boldness, especially if they possess also the power of *persuasive speech*. They become the Ruling Few. This sort of oligarchy is the natural and inevitable form of government. ... Where (then) is the Will of the People? What becomes of the rule of the people by the people? The old *Oligarchies of the Sword* lasted longest. ... The more recent *Oligarchies of the Purse* are less stable. ... The *Oligarchy of Intellect* is still more fluid. Talent easily enters it, and talent is not transmissible like the shares in a railroad. Philosophers who disliked the oligarchies of rank and feared the plutocracies that succeeded them, have dreamed of an aristocracy of Intellect as the best kind of government; but though they knew that a *State needs uprightness and public*

spirit as well as intellect in its rulers, they never succeeded in showing how the possessors of those qualities are to be found and chosen, and they forgot that to both sets of qualities there must be added another which only experience tests, that is *Strength*, the power to move and control the minds and wills of men... Thus *Free Government* cannot but be, and has in reality always been, an *Oligarchy within a Democracy*. ... What then becomes of Democracy?" (II, 594-604).

DR. BRYCE'S EXCUSES FOR DEMOCRACY; AND THEIR FEEBLENESS.

Having thus pointed out the faults of Democracy, Dr. Bryce naturally makes excuses for it, and tries to show that it is on the whole better than the other "cracies" which have preceded or are competing.

"Unscrupulous selfishness will have its way under one system as well as another. ... The existence of a class who make their living by politics, though ascribed to democratic government, is no worse than was the bestowal of places and pensions on Court favorites, or on the relations or friends of Ministers, in monarchies or oligarchies. ... Democracy has opened a few new channels in which the familiar propensities to evil can flow, but it has stopped some of the old channels and has not increased the volume of the stream. No institution can do more than moderate or mitigate these propensities, but that which they can do is sufficient to make it worth the while of those who frame constitutions or lead reforming movements, to study the institutions which have in one country or another given good results." (II, 503-505).

In the words of the *Bhagavata*, the change of nations from the other "cracies" to democracy, as above described by Dr. Bryce, is "like the shifting, by a tired man, of his burden, from his head or shoulder to his back." The muscles immediately concerned may be rested a little, but the body politic as a whole is no better off than before. What is wanted is that the burden should be shared by all the fellow-travellers equitably. Hence the question recurs,

"What then becomes of Democracy? What remains to the Many?" The answer Dr. Bryce gives is, "Three rights and functions; and they are the vital strength of government. Though the people cannot choose and guide the Means administration employs, they can prescribe the Ends; and so although government may not be By the people, it may be For the people. The people declare the End of government to be the welfare of the whole community and not of any [specially favored section]." (II, 603.)

But, as to this, it may be said that all rulers, in every form of government, have always professed that they ruled only for the benefit of the whole people. Do we not know of "pious sanctimoniousness"? Have we not heard that brazen-faced talk about "The White Man's Burden"? Do

not slave-owners usually say that they are lifting their slaves from *savage* into civilisation? In Dr. Bryce's Democracy, while the people *declare*, a right enough, that government shall be *for* the people, there are signs visible yet that they are likely to succeed in *compelling* the government to *be* such, without bringing about general confusion.

"Though the dignity and moral influence of representative legislatures have been declining, they are still an indispensable part of the machinery of government in large democracies. ... Hence, *the quality of a legislature* the integrity and capacity of its members, *the efficiency of the methods* which it *passes laws* and *supervises the conduct of the Executive*, *must continue to be of high significance to a nation's welfare.*" (II, 291)

Therefore, unless Democracy discovers the device which will ensure *the right quality in the legislature*, it must be accounted as great a failure as the others.

"What has democracy done for human happiness? Is it discredited by the fact that after its long advance, those civilised peoples who had hoped so much from popular government, have seen in these later years the most awful calamities which history records?" (II, 581).

His reply to this is, "What is Happiness?" Ideals differ. "Many Europeans would deem Happiness unattainable in a land where alcoholic stimulants were unprocurable; and among the various ideals of different modern countries there is that of the maximum of amusement with the minimum of toil, high wages and leisure for bull-fights or horse-races and athletic sports in which many, and that not in Spain or Australia only, place their *Summum Bonum*." To this we may add that in India too, opium and other drugs and drink, formerly far less in use, have now, *thanks to the British-Indian Government*, with its monopoly of and deliberate traffic in them, almost become part of the ideal of Happiness to the masses. There is a saw that "drink is of the devil", and this deliberate traffic in liquor and the degrading and debauching of the people therewith, is by itself enough to justify the epithet of "satanic" that Mahatma Gandhi has applied to the existing system of Government in India, not to speak of other reasons. Dr. Bryce says, "Of Democracy and Happiness can more be said than this, that whatever governments can do to increase the joy of life is so slight in comparison with the other facts that tell on life for good and evil, as to make the question not worth discussing on its positive side. With the 'Negative' side it is otherwise." And he goes on to say that many sources of fear or suffering which existed under more arbitrary forms of governments, ... oppressions and injustices and religious persecutions, ... cruel punishments, ... oppressive

restrictions on industry, ... slavery, etc.", have been removed or diminished. Dr. Bryce seems to have lost sight here, for a moment, of such things as the Congo and Putumayo horrors, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and the Panjab atrocities of 1919, and the merciless exploitation of weaker races, (though he makes mention of such things at II, 639,)—which are the same things as slavery under other names—and also of the vast amount of *wage-slavery*, expressly so named, within each "advanced" nation.

Yet he is not wholly forgetful. Even while saying all this of the virtues of democracy on the Negative side, he has his doubts, and goes on. But "it has brought no nearer, friendly feeling and the sense of human brotherhood among the peoples of the world towards one another. Freedom has not been a reconciler. Neither has it created good-will ... within each of these peoples... It has not purified or dignified politics... It has not induced that satisfaction and contentment with itself, as the best form of government, which was expected." Then again pleading on the other side, "But these things ought not to have been expected... Christianity (itself)—a far more powerful force than any political ideas or political institutions, since it works on the inmost heart of man—has not done these things for peoples, because, checked or perverted by the worse propensities of human nature, it has never been applied in practice. It has not abolished oppression and corruption in governments, nor extinguished international hatreds and wars, has not even prevented the return of hideous cruelties in war which were believed to have been long extinct." (II. 583-588).

LATER PHASES OF DEMOCRACY.

Discussing the later phases of Democracy, and the different movements towards Social Re-construction to which it has given rise, Dr. Bryce says, "The idea of Liberty has been, though not renounced, yet forgotten or ignored... Every increase of State control... reduces... the rights of the individual man to lead his life in his own way... (which rights are) deemed to be a part of Liberty. ... Communism carries control furthest... Fraternity also, the old watchword of the revolutionist ever since 1789, has fallen out of sight. However little its spirit has ruled in France or elsewhere, it was respected as heralding a time when Liberty and Equality would bring peace and friendliness in their train. This kind of *Idealism* has disappeared; it is *material benefits* that hold that place in the minds of the most recent advocates of change *which spiritual progress* held in the earlier generations. There is more hatred than love in the apostles of the Class War and Proletarian Rule." (II, 629-630).

But what is the cause of this hatred? "The wretchedness of the toiling masses in some industrial countries, from 1780 till far down in the nineteenth

century, left a legacy of bitterness which became conscious in their grandchildren, even as the oppressions borne by the peasantry and workers of France before 1780 gave birth to the passions that found vent in the ferocities of 1792." (II, 537).

"The other new factor is the emergence of a doctrine primarily economic but in its consequences political, and embodying itself in the project of eliminating those sections of the community which either possess wealth, or are earning it otherwise than by manual labor, so as to create and thenceforth maintain a uniformity of material conditions, perhaps along with the prohibition of private property... Since the possessors of wealth cannot be expected to dispossess themselves, force is necessary, i. e., a Revolution, to be carried through by the hand-workers... Revolution... means a supreme control... exerted by leaders... (i. e.) a concentration of power... a dictatorship... (That is to say) Democracy and the peaceful settlement of all issues disappear, superseded by Revolution and Oligarchy... Strange and unexpected evolution! ... Democracy overthrows the despotism of the one man or the few in order to transfer power to the People who are to rule by reason and the sense of their common interest in one another's welfare; and after two or three generations there arises from the bosom of Democracy an effort to overthrow it in turn by violence, because it has failed to confer the expected benefits. The wheel has gone its full round; and the physical force which was needed to establish Democracy is now employed to destroy it." (II, 635-639).

TO'S AND FRO'S.

And so Dr. Bryce proceeds throughout the book, especially the third and last part, trying to be fair, trying to take note of the good as well as the bad points of each form of government; wishful to prove that democracy is on the whole better than all the other "cracies" on comparison, yet not quite wholly satisfied that it is so; failing to take sufficient note of the fact that the failure of Democracy is just this that *it pretends and professes*, even more expressly than the other "cracies" do, (for they all do it, directly or indirectly), to be able to do, and yet cannot do, what Christianity has failed to do; failing to realise fully that the claims he makes for it, of performances on the Negative side, are not justified, but that the oppressions and cruelties which were, under other regimes, taking place within each nation, now take place, under the regime of democracies, on a much vaster scale, in the shape of the ruthless exploitation of weaker races counting hundreds of millions, and of gigantic wars that concentrate within five years the horrors that were formerly distributed over at least a hundred, if not five hundred, years.

But, clearly, he is not oblivious of, and does not altogether shirk or ignore such difficulties. Thus, he says, "The question, whether men will rise towards the higher standard which the prophets of Democracy deemed possible, has been exercising every thoughtful mind since August 1914, and it will be answered less hopefully now than it would have been at any time in the hundred years preceding."

Yet again he goes on to make excuses.

"It is not on Democracy that the blame for these disasters ought to fall... The seismic centre whence the successive earthquake shocks proceeded did not lie in any democratic country."

Of course, this is the sheerest national bias on Dr. Bryce's part. And the feebleness of his language, and the haste with which he slurs over the matter, show that conscience was dragging at his pen all the while. Every impartial judge knows that there is nothing to choose between the belligerents, on the score of national morality. Rather, the vice of capitalistic greed is greater on the side of the so-called Allies. Technically, of course, there may be much academic wrangling over, "Who began it?" But in reality, as all the world knows, England, France, (Tsarist) Russia, Belgium, Italy, have been far worse money-rakers and land-grabbers and exploiters of weaker races than Bulgaria or Turkey or Austro-Hungary, distinctly worse than even Germany. In fact, the causes of the war were economic, as Germany's defeat was economic, and not military. And in respect of the vice of militarist-navalist bullying and blustering also, what is there to choose between "Britannia rules the waves" and "Deutschland uber alles"?

After such perpetual pros and cons—a most interesting and instructive study in politics, and through it, in psychology and metaphysic—Dr. Bryce's final, hesitating, conclusion may be put in his own words.

"If Democracy is flouted, what remains? There was a Greek proverb, 'If water chokes, what can we drink to stop choking?' If the light of Democracy be turned to darkness, how great is that darkness!" (II, 585). "However grave the indictment that may be brought against Democracy, its friends can answer, What better alternative do you offer?" (II, 669).

THE ANCIENT REPLY TO DR. BRYCE'S CHALLENGE.

To these questions there are replies. "Strain away, with the strainer of insistence upon comparative poverty and asceticism, or at least plain and clean living, in the legislator, the thick befouling mud of mercenary selfishness

and luxuriousness and personal ambitions, from the waters of legislation, and those waters will no longer choke, but will pour health and vitality through all the channels of the communal life". "The better alternative that we offer is this—Weave together the best elements of all the chief 'eracies', viz., theocracy, auto-aristo-bureau-eracy, pluto-eracy, and demo-eracy, *in due proportion*".

How to do so? The detailed answer is contained in the preceding section III of these papers on Swa-raj or Self-government. The secret is present, but scattered, held in solution, invisible, in the ideas mentioned and words used, here and there, by Dr. Bryce himself. But a crystallising point is needed to precipitate it into clear and visible shape. This point is supplied by the ancient Indian traditions. If western philosophers have "never succeeded in showing how the possessors of these qualities are to be found and chosen", viz., "uprightness and public spirit as well as intellect", the ancient Indian law-givers and philosophers *have shown* how, i.e., he who does not possess both *tapasya* (self-denial) and *vidya* (science, knowledge, wisdom) *shall not be allowed* to legislate. Pull and push, though they seem to work in opposite ways, effect the same purpose. In given circumstances, the one is the more effective. In others, the other. Modern codes do not say, "Persons should be honest, and they shall be rewarded with happiness here and hereafter." They say, instead, "Whoever steals shall be punished." The ancient Indian codes said both things. Construction and destruction are the inseparable aspects of the same thing. Sometimes, it is more useful to emphasise the one; at others, the other. Each will necessarily lead to the other, sooner or later. *Abhyasa* is the obverse of *vairagya*.

THE IDEAL BALANCE OF POWER AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE CLASSES.

"Poverty and Purity go together," admits Dr. Bryce. Purity is the great desideratum of democratic and indeed of all legislatures. The Oligarchies of the Sword, of the Intellect, of the Purse, (and, he might have added, the Oligarchy or Anarchy of Labor), are all and each useless, nay, dangerous, disastrous, without the Oligarchy of Benevolence, of "Uprightness and Public Spirit," of "Energy and Patriotism." If this last oligarchy can be established upon the true Throne of the State, the Legislature, then the other Oligarchies (corresponding to what Dr. Bryce speaks of as "the old Four Chambers of the Four Orders, nobles, clergy, burgesses and peasants," at II, 443) would not have opportunities of sucking the life-blood of millions, and of cutting each other's throats, and replacing one another in a perpetual joy-wheel succession, (—for the

way in which Democracy, running to an extreme, is likely to be succeeded by an autoeracy, see II, 631-641); but could be compelled to work in co-ordination, so that Intellect *plus* Philanthropy, i.e., Wisdom would guide the Sword, the Sword would guard the Purse, the Purse would feed and clothe and keep in comfort and contentment and happiness, the Labor (—all Labor, manual or industrial, economic, protective, and cerebral or scientific—) and manual Labor would, in turn, gladly help all the others in the performance of their respective functions. How to bring about this?

HOW TO ENSURE PURITY—PSYCHOLOGY TO THE RESCUE.

There is a fact of psychology, prominently noted by James and Lange, which is very important for practical purposes (though the psychologists mentioned have misled themselves, by exaggeration, as is generally recognised, into a one-sided and wrong inference from it as to the very nature of emotion). That fact is that when a particular emotion causes particular changes in the body, then, *vice versa*, "any cold-blooded arousal of the so-called manifestation" of that emotion, its bodily symptoms, will "give us the emotion itself...Panic is increased by flight...The giving way to the symptoms of grief and anger increases those passions themselves...In rage we work ourselves up to a climax by repeated outbreaks of expression. Refuse to express a passion, and it dies. Count ten before venting your anger, and its occasion seems ridiculous... There is no more valuable precept in moral education than this, as all who have experience know: if we wish to conquer undesirable emotional tendencies in ourselves, we must assiduously, and in the first instance cold-bloodedly, go through the *outward movements* of those contrary dispositions which we prefer to cultivate...Smooth the brow, brighten the eye, contract the dorsal rather than the ventral aspect of the frame, and speak in a major key, pass the genial compliment, and your heart must be frigid indeed if it do not gradually thaw!" (James, *Psychology*, II, 463),

So also Professor Bain. "By acting out the external manifestations, we gradually infect the nerves leading to them, and finally waken up the diffusive current by a sort of action *ab extra*...Thus it is that we are sometimes able to assume a cheerful tone of mind by forcing a hilarious expression." (*Emotions and the Will*, pp. 361-2). So also *Yoga-sutra* and *Bhashya*, ii, 33.

Let us apply this fact or law to our political problem. Obviously Purity is self-denying, and has no greed for "Wealth, the great enemy, as Dante said, (for) Democracy has no more persistent or insidious foe than the money power," (Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, II, 533). In fact, Purity often imposes Poverty upon itself, by giving away its possessions in charity to others. *Vice versa*.

Poverty, *duly imposed* on the legislator, will lead to his Purity. When the pull towards righteousness and purity in legislation, by means of *high salaries etc.* fails, as it was bound to, (for pays make more pride and greed, and "desires grow with what they feed upon") then *the push away* from the main cause of corruption *may* bring about the desired result. Of course, there may be failures, now and again, but these will be fewer and fewer as the proper public opinion and atmosphere get established. It is clear that such Poverty, duly imposed by a Constitution on all legislators generally, will, in each particular case, be self-imposed and voluntary, since no one will be forced against his will to legislate, (though Plato, perhaps semi-humorously suggests even this in the *Republic*), but whoso is elected will be elected with his consent.

Separate the legislator from wealth, in the manner suggested in section III above, in accordance with the best and most ancient Indian tradition, and you will have Purity in the Legislature. The excessive "love of money is the root of evil...Walpole, looking round the benches of the House of Commons, observed, 'All these men have their price'...Robespierre's influence rested largely on his epithet 'the Incorruptible'...In one American State, the question 'What sort of a legislature have you got?' elicited the reply 'As good a one as money can buy'." (II, 523-535, a very instructive chapter on "The Money Power in Politics") When we have purity in the head-and-heart of the community, inspiring it with virtue by precept and *example*, only then Science and Strength (the same thing as the compelling power of the Sword, for the convincing power of the Intellect need not be counted separately from Science, though Dr. Bryce would make a distinction) and Wealth and Labor will all be kept mostly in different hands, and so each will help all the others, and not (as now) unrighteously covet the others' functions, but be happy and contented with its own particular reward, *viz.*, honor for wisdom, (official executive) power for protection, artistic possessions for wealth well-used for the public good, and ample recreations and amusements for labor duly performed (as I have tried to explain at length in other writings).

PLATO'S IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT.

It will not be out of place to bring together here a few quotations from Plato's *Republic* (by Jowett, 3rd edition, 1888, Clarendon Press, Oxford), just to show how that famous book, on the one hand echoes, imperfectly and confusedly and with various vitiating fallacies, but yet splendidly, the ancient Indian socio-politico-religious polity, and, on the other, uses the language of the modern mind, employing words very similar to those of Dr. Bryce as regards Democracy.

"Good men do not wish to be openly demanding *payment for governing* and so to get the name of hirelings, nor by secretly helping themselves out of the public revenues to get the name of thieves." (p. 25). On the subject of canvassing, Plato's opinion is that "*The ruler who is good for anything ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him*; although the present governors of mankind are of a different stamp; they may be justly compared to the mutinous sailors, and the true helmsmen to those who are called by them good-for-nothings and star-gazers. The pilot should not humbly beg the sailors to be commanded by him...neither are the wise to go to the doors of the rich...When a man is ill, whether he is rich or poor, to the physician he must go, and he who wants to be governed, to him who is able to govern." (p. 186).

"Until *philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophers*, and political wisdom and greatness meet in one...cities will never have rest from their evils...nor the human race." (pp. 170, 171).

"Neither cities nor States nor individuals will ever attain perfection until the small class of individuals whom we termed useless but not corrupt, are providentially compelled, whether they will or not, to take care of the State, and until a like necessity be laid on the State to obey them; or until kings, or if not kings, the sons of kings or princes, are divinely inspired with a true love of true philosophy... If in the countless ages of the past, *or at the present hour in some foreign clime which is far away* and beyond our ken, the perfected philosopher is or has been or hereafter shall be compelled by a superior power to have the charge of the State, ... (there) this our constitution has been and is and will be." (p. 198).

It may be noted in passing that Plato does not distinguish clearly between the legislative and the executive functions; hence his compound of kings-philosophers. His "rulers" and "guardians", very roughly corresponding to legislators and soldiers, are also not sufficiently clearly distinguished. But he of course recognises that "there are diversities of natures among us which are adapted to different occupations... And you will have a work better done when the workman has one occupation than when he has many." (p. 50). Therefore "*When one man is trader, legislator, and warrior all in one*... this meddling of one with another is *the ruin of the State*." (p. 125). "As the State was composed of these three classes, traders, auxiliaries, counsellors", so we have "three principles in the soul", viz, "the rational and the concupiscent", and "a third element which is passion or spirit... (This passion), shown to be different from desire, (is) also...different from reason." (p. 133). In the

old Indian words, these are Jnana, Ichchha, and Kriya; whence the man of thought, the man of desire, and the man of action. "*The individual soul, like the State, ... has three principles; ... to these three principles three pleasures correspond; also three desires and governing powers...* There is one principle with which a man learns, another with which he is angry; the third ... is ... appetitive, ... the desires of eating and drinking and the other sensual appetites, ... also money-loving. ... One principle prevails in the souls of one class of men, another in others ... (thus) there are three classes of men—lovers of wisdom, lovers of honor, lovers of gain ... and there are three kinds of pleasure, which are their several objects ..." (pp. 291, 292).

The Indian scheme says "lovers of honor, lovers of power, lovers of wealth". From the standpoint of that scheme and the psychology on which it is based, there is either some confusion between honor and power in Plato's mind, or he uses the words (so translated) in a different sense. Probably both. To say that the man in whom the rational principle prevails, is a lover of wisdom or knowledge, looks like tautology, and is not a development of an idea, as is the other statement, that a man of the passionate principle is a lover of honor. Again, when Plato asks, "Is not the passionate element wholly set on ruling and conquering and getting fame?", he is confusing the subordinate by-product *fame*—which, further, need not be *honor*—with the principal and *immediate object* of desire, viz., ruling, conquering, i. e., *power*. Plato says again, elsewhere, "The rich man and the brave man and the wise man alike have their crowd of admirers, and...receive honor". (p. 293). But so have they all alike, some possessions and some power, even as all men have all the three soul-principles. *The predominance of a quality* decides the name and class. This, by the way; the subject has been more fully discussed elsewhere by me.

There are five kinds of individuals and forms of government, according to Plato, "royal, timocratical, oligarchical, democratical, tyrannical...The best and justest is also the happiest...and) the most royal man and king over himself", (p. 291)—the case of true individual Swaraj. These forms seem to succeed one another in rotation, owing to successive degenerations. (pp. 250 *et seq*). The government of the best, the royal state, is also called Aristocracy by Plato. It degenerates into Timocracy, much the same as Dr. Bryce's Oligarchy of the Sword, or militarism. "The accumulation of gold in the treasury of private individuals is the ruin of timocracy...*In proportion as riches and rich men are honored, virtue and the virtuous are dishonored...What is honored is cultivated, and that which has no honor is neglected...*

The more they think of making a fortune, the less they think of virtue. ...They next...make a law which fixes a sum of money as the qualification of citizenship ... This is the way in which oligarchy is established... (But) such a State is not one, but two States, the one of poor, the other of rich men; and they are living on the same spot and always conspiring against one another ... (And) they are incapable of carrying on war. Either *they arm the multitude and then they are more afraid of them* than of the enemy; or, if they do not call them out in the hour of battle, they are oligarchs indeed, few to fight as they are few to rule." (pp. 257, 258) And the financially ruined men, Plato goes on to say, become dangers to the oligarchical State.

"Then democracy comes into being *after the poor have conquered opponents, slaughtering some and banishing some*, while to the remainder they give an equal share of freedom and power; and this is the form of government in which the magistrates are commonly elected by lot...That is the nature of democracy, whether the revolution has been effected by arms, or whether fear has caused the opposite party to withdraw." (p. 263).

Like necessary desires and pleasures, as that for eating, which are necessary for the maintenance of life and health, but become hurtful or even destructive of life, if indulged in excess, (p. 266), these various forms of government perish by their *excessive* pursuit of that which, in moderation, is not only good but necessary. As the excessive desire for wealth is the ruin of oligarchy, so the excessive "thirsting for freedom", the drinking "too deeply of the strong wine of freedom", brings about the ruin of democracy. "They will run at any body who comes in their way if he does not leave the road clear for them; and all things are just ready to burst with liberty...(*The people*) *chafe impatiently at the least touch of authority*, and at length, as you know, they cease to care even for the laws;...they will have no one over them....Such is the fair and glorious beginning out of which *springs tyranny*."... (When general lawlessness and disorders supervene) "this is the root from which a tyrant springs; when he first appears above ground he is a protector." (pp. 270-272).

We may close this series of extracts from Plato, with a few more.

"When intemperance and diseases multiply in a State, halls of justice and medicine are always being opened; and the arts of the doctor and the lawyer give themselves airs ... What greater proof can there be of disgraceful education ... than this, that even those should need the skill of a physician ... who happen to have had a liberal education?" (pp. 92, 93).

"What will it profit a man if under the influence of *honor or money or*

power, or under the excitement of Poetry, he neglect justice and virtue?" (p. 323).

"The charming thing is that they deem him their worst enemy who tells them the truth." (p. 115).

"Are they not as good as a play, trying their hand at paltry reforms... always fancying that by legislation they will make an end of frauds in contracts and the other rascalities ... not knowing that they are really cutting off the heads of a hydra". (p. 115).

These describe, in Plato's words, some of the evils with which modern western civilisation is worm-eaten, the evils of drink, of the expertism of medicine and of law, of haphazard and unpurposive education, of the palterings of canting or brazen-faced class-legislation, and of the shameless repression of reform-seekers. Finally,

"Does not the word express more than the fact, and must not the actual, whatever a man may think, always, in the nature of things, fall short of the truth?" (p. 170). In other words, the real must always fail to catch up with the ideal, the practice always falls short of the theory, even as the word always strays away from the thought and fails to express it exactly.

THE FUTURE.

No form of government will succeed in wholly abolishing sin and sorrow, evil and pain. But the better the theory, the nobler the ideal, the sounder the principles, the more scientifically based on the psycho-physics of human nature the socio-religious polity, i. e., the educational-political-domestic-economic-industrial-recreational organisation, the more natural the reconciliation and compromise effected between the selfish and the altruistic elements of man's constitution, the less the endeavour to abolish either element wholly—so much the greater will be the achievement, in actual practice, in respect of stability of the form of government, of minimisation of vice and misery, and of maximisation of widespread peace and contentment and happiness.

But, of course, it may be that an extreme run-away of one of the opposed pair, as of egoism and greed and pride and strife in the present epoch, may require, temporarily, a similar extreme drag on the opposite side, to counteract and neutralise the former.

Ideas, inspired and vitalised by great emotions, are the causes of all creations. Rousseau's *Social Contract* is said to have led to the French Revolution and its consequences. Marx's *Capital* is understood to be the Bible of Bolshevism. Other forms of social organisation are being urged with feverish energy in many of the most 'advanced' countries. They are mostly extremist,

one-sided, negligent of human *psychology*. They take note of only the materialistic or physiological or so-called economic motives of human beings, as if men lived by bread alone. Guild-socialism, also incomplete and unsystematic psychologically, seems to make approaches to the ancient Indian scheme, by retracing steps towards the Medieval social organisation of Europe, but is not quite sure how to avoid the defects which brought about its break-up. Most of these new schemes may be described as instinctive efforts at "a return to the past by men ignorant of the past, like the sub-conscious action of some man who has lost his memory" (quoted by A. J. Penty in his excellent little book on *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, at p. 50.) For the Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, which all of these new schemes endeavour to achieve did, and, indeed, today, do belong to some primitive communities in a certain sense—though that sense is limited also, as described in the works of modern anthropologists and writers on social evolution, and also in the Samskrit works, f.i., the *Vayu Purana*, Pt. I. ch. 8. But the great fallacy of these new schemes is that they wish to newly achieve these primitive conditions of Equality etc., in entirely different circumstances, i.e., retaining all the immensely complicated conditions and products of modern civilisation so-called. On the rock of this fallacy all these new schemes must split sooner or later. If they would succeed, they must give up all that is signified by 'the life of towns and cities', and content themselves with the most simple village-life of agricultural and pastoral occupations, at most, if even that much. Otherwise, if stability and peace are wanted together with preservation of what is best in science and art, then a form of government, i.e., of socio-political-economic-organisation, must be devised which will take due account of and will make a reasonable compromise between the psycho-logical motives and ambitions, egoistic as well as altruistic, selfish as well as parentally self-sacrificing; which will take account of the requirements of developed intellect as well as of the emotions of the heart and of the sensations and appetites of the body, and will make just and righteous and eminently scientific partition of functions-and-rewards, rights-and-duties—such as has been suggested in the third section *supra*, and described more fully in the other writings of the present writer, on the basis of the ancient Indian socio-religious policy—a conscious and deliberate return to the (not primeval, but historically distant) past, with all needed modifications, on the basis of knowledge, and not of ignorance and sub-conscious instinct. When so many other theories are being discussed, it may be worth while to consider this seriously also.

Where there is such division of functions-and-rewards, rights-and-duties,

by a wise and pure legislature, there will be due co-ordination of all that is best in all the lop-sided forms of government; there will be a maximum of righteous administration, and a minimum of incentives to corruption and abuse; there, nationalism and racialism and other smaller 'isms' will be superseded by Humanism; there, the best, most humanist, most refined science and art will truly flourish, because worshipped spiritually, and not prostituted to vicious or murderous uses materialistically; there, the "reverence for the Powers Unseen and Eternal.....(by which reverence) the powers of evil have been, however imperfectly, kept at bay, and the fabric of Society held together," will grow ever stronger to achieve its benignant purpose; and there, "the future of democracy.....(which is) a part of two larger branches of enquiry, the future of religion and the prospects of human progress" (*Modern Democracies*, II, 666, 667) will be assured of success; for there, and there only, will be the abode of true Self-government, the government of the recognised lower self by the realised higher Self of Humanity, the true Swaraj.

THE HIGHER SELF IN RELIGION, THE ONLY SURE SUPPORT
OF THE HIGHER SELF IN POLITICS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

A few words are needed at the end, on the relation between Politics and Religion everywhere, and especially in India.

"Do not mix religion with politics; it is the very parent of discord", say some. "There is no vitality without religion", say others. There is a truth in both. The fact is that religion has degenerated in the hands of professional priests, whether Hindu, or Muslim, or Christian; even as politics have degenerated in the hands of professional politicians; and trade and commerce in those of crafty financiers and heartless speculators. Each of these, intended to help the Many, has, in unscrupulous hands, become the means of profit and power to the Few. The straight road is unhappily very strait indeed. Every deviation from it leads to a pitfall. Humanity has to guard itself against all kinds of "cracies". It has to save itself from *religious slavery* as much as from *political and economic slavery and mob-rule*; from *pandit-mulla-shahi*, from *nankar-shahi* and *nawabi*, from *thaili-shahi*, and from *kullar-shahi*, all equally. It has to establish, instead, the rule of Wisdom, *insaniyat-shahi*. And the means is always the same. Distinguish carefully the Higher Self from the lower self. To follow the former is Self-government, in religion as well as politics. To obey the latter, is slavery, in both. To apply this to practice—not only must the Executive as a whole be under the control of the formally elected and accredited Legislature, but the more important executive officials, grade for grade and rank for rank, should

keep in touch with, and, in all important matters, consult and be advised and guided by, the informally recognised leaders and elders of the people. This was apparently the principle underlying the late Mr. Gokhale's idea that every district officer should have an Advisory Committee consisting of non-officials. To say that this would hamper the discretion of the individual officer, is only, after divorcing autocracy (by profession, at least, in royal and viceregal messages), from the higher planes of the Executive, to establish it firmly in the lower regions thereof, which is even worse. In this connection, it should always be remembered that, by the ancient Indian tradition, while the masses as such, were given no direct control over government, their recognised and trusted elders (philanthropists, true sadhus and faqirs, saints and sages, *rishis*, *walis*) were, by written and unwritten law, the un-official Advisors of Government and Inspectors over kings and minor office-holders, as well as counsellors of the people. And today too, and in any and every country, for every "public servant," the "general public" contains half-a-dozen or more "private" persons, who are abler and wiser, grade for grade and rank for rank. It were well, for all concerned, if such "public servant" and such "private" persons were, everywhere, in sympathetic touch with each other.

Self-respect is the necessary preliminary to Self-government. Courage of conviction is the first mark of true self-respect. The Indian people have advanced greatly in courage of conviction, in the last two years, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. In him, the Soul of India, always ascetic and renunciant in its deepest essence, and now profoundly humiliated in mind and starved in body, by the foreign domination, has at last found worthy focus and developed a leader after the people's own heart. But just as there is the danger, unhappily realised but too often, that the lower self, made up of oligarchical interests, may become the governing self in self-government, so is there the danger that the lower self, the self of the lower passions, zeals, excitements, may become the respected self in self-respect, instead of the higher Self, of the noble emotions and sober and far-seeing reason. There is also a collateral danger against which Mahatma Gandhi himself warns the people. "There is no doubt that our last state will be worse than our first, if we surrender our reason into somebody's keeping. And I would feel extremely sorry to discover, that the country had unthinkingly and blindly followed all I had said or done. Blind surrender to love is often more mischievous than a forced surrender to the lash of the tyrant."

The narrow formalisms, orthodoxies, bigotries, the clings to the letter and not the spirit, of the *Veda* or the *Quran* or the *Bible*—misinterpreted, besides, under the stress of un-benevolent interests, by the respective professional

priests and theologians—that now pass for *dharma* or *din* and *mazhab* or religion—these make a worse slave-mentality than almost any other kind of slavishness.

There is no vitality without religion, truly. But, equally truly, if we mix religion (or, rather, religions) with politics, as religions are currently explained by their custodians to their followings and as they are understood by these, we will have serious dissensions, without fail.

Therefore it is necessary that leaders and reformers should lift religion as well as politics to a higher level. We cannot cure the head or hands and leave the heart diseased.

Therefore, let not our leaders, religious or political, let not our Pandits and our Maulvis, lay too much stress upon the outer and peculiar and distinctive forms of their particular religions, forgetting the Universal God of all religions. For such over-emphasis upon the form has in it the nature of, not 'spirituality' but *arrogance*, the fruitful source of strife. It is self-assertion and not devotion.

"I am a Hindu first, or a Musalman first, or a Christian first, and an Indian afterwards", is not good to say. No doubt, the purpose of such speaking is to show to the people that the strict adherence of different workers to their respective different religions does not stand in the way of the closest co-operation between them for India's political uplift. Yet the danger of misunderstanding is great. The word "Religion", "Dharma", "Mazhab" is often grossly misinterpreted, and perversely applied. Wiser and better, for obviously truer, would it be to say, "I am a Human Being first, and afterwards I have in me the best and most essential elements of all these religions." Nationalism in politics is going out of fashion; though racialism continues to bully and bluster unashamed amidst certain sections of the white race. Let not sectarianism in religion continue to batten and flourish. The world today needs Humanism and Humanitarianism in Religion as much as in Politics—and will have it in the latter only when it has it in the former, first. Thoughtful people are beginning to talk in terms of inter-nationalism instead of nationalism. This talk will become sincere and effective only when they begin to talk in terms of inter-religionism also instead of religionism. If religion is lifted to a higher and broader level, politics will also be, automatically. For *change of heart* will lead to change of head. The wish is father to the thought; though, of course, the seeing of evil consequences helps often to change the wish.

If such Humanistic religion, or rather the humanistic element in each religion, is diligently and pure-mindedly preached by our leaders to the people,

they will respond; as they have done in politics, to pure-minded leadership. Some forms, some rites and ceremonies and conventions, are no doubt indispensable, for the satisfaction of the "religious" requirements of the soul, as are some cloths for the body. But they should be emphatically subordinate. The Universal God, within the heart of every human being—according to the Veda and the Bible and Quran alike—should be persistently pointed out as the Supreme and all-important Fact—if the solidarity of the Indian people and their uplift as a whole is wanted. Even so some office details or other are indispensable for administration. But they should be entirely subordinate. Purity of the Legislature is the all-important fact, and should be secured, first and foremost, in all possible ways, if the well-being of the people as a whole is wanted.

Some truths are eternal. Even the Founders of religions can only repeat them. Their greatness of philanthropic emotion is the greatness of these Founders, their divine birthright. As is the degree of the breadth and intensity of their love for Humanity, so is the degree of fresh livingness and convincing and heart-changing inspiration in their repetition of the eternal truths; and so also is the degree of their greatness and their title to reverence. It is the same with the Scriptures of mankind. The degree in which it brings home, to the hearts of any human beings, those eternal truths, is the degree of the greatness of a Scripture, to these hearts.

All these Teachers and Scriptures seek, in their various degrees, only to guide man to his own Higher Self. For in that Higher Self is the one source of all wisdom, all power, all good deeds. Even when greatly hidden in the ordinary human being, it still subconsciously asserts its supremacy. All the "avatars", "sons of God", "prophets and messengers of God" and "servants of God", and all the Scriptures, Veda, Zend-avesta, Bible, Quran, come and stand before (the) Me (in man) and plead, "Believe Me," and "Believe Me", and "Believe Me". And (the) I (in man) judge(s) and decide(s), "I will believe you, or not believe you, or will believe this other". And they cannot say (him) nay. Cannot a man change from any religion into any other (even though a given group may or may not admit him into social relations, for some time)? And have not men introduced additions and alterations and modifications into religions, and so given rise to sects innumerable, within each religion? Is not all this proof positive and patent, that the soul, the true Inner Self of man, of all men, of all beings, is greater than any particular religion, or any particular founder of any religion?

The layman is greater than the expert. He is the ultimate judge between differing experts. "By their fruits shall ye know them." And by results, the layman judges the expert. The expert is for the layman; not the layman for the

expert. Even so the public servants (and these include the sovereign, by Indian tradition) are for the public. Even so are the clergy for the laity. The Holiness of Humanity is a far greater thing than "the majesty of the law," or "the sanctity of the church." "The majesty of the law" that vaunts and boasts itself, and is only "the insolence of office," is a poor and mean thing in the presence of "the Holiness of Humanity". The law that is just, knows that Commonsense and Righteousness are its parents, and that Patriarchal Benevolence and Experienced Strength are its grand-parents. Even so the true church, the true temple, the true kaaba and masjid, is the heart of man. The false church is made up of self-seeking priests in luxurious buildings. Law and Church are means. Human Happiness is the end. The End is greater than the Means. The root-plasm is greater than the products. The ocean is greater than the clouds and the streams. They emerge from it and merge back into it. The Higher Self, the Universal God within all beings, is greater than all particular religions. These all emerge from it and merge back into it.

This Higher Self of Religion is the counterpart and the best and surest and steadiest support of the Higher Self of Politics and Swa-raj. Where and when It is recognised, there and then, and there and then alone, will be abiding Peace in the land, and firm-rooted Strength, and Purity in Legislation, and true Self-government and Swa-raj.