

# The Indian REFACE.

W. 2  
N 22

## *Preliminary*

that every place this pamphlet before the public, I  
a center that a short introductory note is necessary.  
My chief object in writing this pamphlet is to make a  
contribution of it to the "*Justice*" for being published  
in its columns in a series of issues. Some of  
friends, who had occasion to read the pamphlet be-  
fore publication, have earnestly desired me to get it  
printed and published in a book form for the use of  
those who are interested in politics. I may assure  
the public that by means of this publication, I have  
no intention of flouting the opinion of leaders of any  
school of political thought. I am second to none  
in admiration and respect for those who have made  
real sacrifices for the sake of the motherland to what-  
ever school of politics they may belong and howev-  
er-much I may happen to differ from some of their  
views. The views and sentiments expressed by me  
in this pamphlet are but the natural impulses of my  
heart, judging from the present Indian political  
conditions which arose as a result of the disintegra-  
ting forces that are set to play on our country being  
put to an acid test, which passed it through a great  
ordeal, involving a good many sacrifices from an  
unprepared and unwilling people. If, in this pamphlet,  
I have here and there called *a spade a spade*, I beg  
of the readers to pardon my frankness and to receive  
this pamphlet in the same spirit of forbearance and  
tolerance which, I assure them, I have for those from  
whom I may differ.

K. G.

## **The Indian Political Craze.**

---

*Preliminary*:—World's history reveals to us that every political movement is but a reflection of a central idea dominating in the minds of political thinkers at a time when important changes occur in the political history of a country. During the period of revolutions in England, in the Seventeenth Century, political philosophers began to centralise their thoughts on the theory of sovereignty i.e., an idea as to why any particular person or body of persons should hold sway over the rest. Political philosophers like Hobbes and Locke successfully theorised as to the origin of powers under which political societies were kept under subordination and propounded the theories of monarchy and aristocracy. Similarly the French Revolution of 1789 was justified on the three cardinal ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Hence the French political philosopher Rousseau developed the idea of sovereignty and based it on the point of view of democracy. The recent World War furnishes another cardinal idea for the rumination of political thinkers and that is the idea of "Self determination." It is to this idea that the justification for the entry into the gigantic war of the chief powers of Europe is traced. England and other powers are said to have thrust themselves into the great struggle in order to protect the weaker powers against the aggression of stronger ones. Russia had to go to the rescue of Serbia against the aggression of Austria, and England had to protect Belgium against Germany. During this

great war, therefore, lesser nations having been actuated by the idea of Self-determination began to assert themselves and claimed liberation from undue predomination of bigger nations. It is no wonder therefore that the same idea should have roused the people of India from a spirit of unconscious subordination to a spirit of patriotism. If, during and after the great war, Ireland claimed independence from England, Poland from Russia, Portugal from Spain, Hungary from Austria, India from England, it is due to the democratic ideals which began to pervade through the whole world. If in Europe one race wished to cut itself from another, in India also nationalities and castes exhibited signs of tearing themselves away from the shackles of social subordination. The Muhammadans realised that they would not progress if they are made to throw in their lot along with the Hindus. They fought for separate representation in Councils until they succeeded in securing it in an adequate manner through the Congress League Scheme.

2. Though, for the purposes of this little pamphlet, it is not necessary to get at the root of the Indian administrative system by taking the reader through the various stages of the constitutional history of India either during the Hindu or Muhammadan suzerainty, it is essential to trace its evolution and development just before and after the British Parliament became legally competent

to exercise control and supremacy over Indian affairs. At the beginning, the settlers of the East India Company were directly responsible to the Directors who were empowered by the Charters

granted by the Crown. There was then no territorial administration. The Company's very existence was threatened at the battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Company had to take upon itself the task of reconstructing Bengal. Parliament had to intervene because of the threatened bankruptcy of the East India Company and of the arrogance and corruption of its officials returning from India. The new and vast experiment of ruling a distant and alien race had its beginnings in Lord North's Regulating Act of 1771 which appointed the first Governor-General and Council. But the Governor-General was powerless before his own Council. The Executive Council that was created by the Act was also powerless before a Supreme Court. This structure could not last long until the Act of 1781 swept away some of its worst anomalies. Meanwhile, the Indian territories began to be involved in European wars and the East India Company had to emerge from serious struggles as the strongest power in the land and Parliament resolved to strengthen its power over Indian affairs. Committees were appointed which made adverse reports on the administration and which recommended a closer definition of the Governor General's powers and the recalling of Warren Hastings. The Directors defied the Parliament and retained him as Governor-General. Fox introduced a Bill which was defeated but George III intervened and Pitt finally reformed the constitution of India. Pitt's Act of 1784 created six Parliamentary Commissioners for the affairs of India known as the Board of Control. This was the supreme executive authority. This system of dual control by the Company and

the Parliamentary Board continued till after the Mutiny. At each time of the granting of Charters to the Company inquests used to be held. The Charter Act of 1813 continued the Company in actual possession of the Indian Territories but asserted the sovereignty of the Crown over them. The Act of 1833 created a trust in his Majesty and directed that all Indian laws should be placed before Parliament. Finally the Act of 1853 usurped the right of patronage from the Directors and placed it in the hands of the Board of Control. The great Indian Mutiny was the immediate cause for transferring the control to the hands of the Crown through the Secretary of State in Council. I shall not weary the reader with the details of the Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892.

3. This brings us direct to the question as to the existence of representative Government in India just before the war. Before the Minto-Morley Reforms were given effect to in 1909, there was no Indian Element in the Executive Councils of the land. The Indian Element existing in the Legislative Bodies was too inadequate to represent the real wishes of the people. The official block used to carry all resolutions in favour of the Government. Beginning with the Charter

Close of the 19th Century Act of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a

Bureaucracy which was almost entirely Non-Indian and not responsible to the people. The so-called non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils were illusory and gave no real power to the representatives of the people. Though the Indians were groaning under a great many griev-

ances and disabilities, they were living in the hope and faith inspired into them by the promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment held out by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of eminence.

4. In the great crisis of the war, Indians have sunk their domestic differences and have loyally stood by the empire barring of course certain sporadic attempts at anarchy by undesirable persons. Indian soldiers rushed to the battle field as free citizens of the empire but not as hirelings and the whole mass of civil population stood by the empire in her hour of need. There was perfect peace in India though almost all the troops were sent to war. The conduct of Indians both in the fighting ranks of Europe and

Rapid awakening. maintaining peace and order in the country was so admirable that it excited the admiration of the prime Minister in England who voiced the sentiments of his English people and spoke of Indians as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest in future." It is, therefore, no wonder that the Indians should be animated with a spirit of freedom and a desire for self-government.

What was wanted by them was not merely good or efficient government but a Government that is acceptable to the people and responsible to them. To achieve this end different political parties adopted different political methods. At a time when all political differences between England and Ireland should have been sunk the latter counted on the great war as the best opportunity for cutting itself away from England. And England had to placate Ireland in order to save itself. Some political agitators in India headed by Mrs. Annie Beasant adopted the same lines of

agitation, based the Indian case on a parallel with that of Ireland. In their minds England's adversity was India's opportunity. So they began to agitate for Home Rule. This agitation took a serious turn early in 1916. Since the time of the externment order by Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, prohibiting Mrs. Annie Beasant to enter the limits of Bombay presidency, she began to breathe fire and brimstone against the British Government. She gave a new turn to the Congress politics in conjunction with Mr. Tilak, took the Moslems into confidence by promising more seats in the Legislative Councils of India and adopted a Reform-Scheme in the Lucknow Congress of 1916 known as the Congress-League Scheme. Since the memorable split between the Moderates and Extremists at the Surat Congress the Extremists' voice was no where heard and the Congress having been led by sound politicians like Ghokhale and Mehta marched on steadily until 1915 when the extremists who before that date were sunk into oblivion rose to prominence at Lucknow. Mr. Tilak who had for nearly a decade non-co-operated with the Congress found inflammable material in Mrs. Beasant and began to ignite it for purposes of agitation. Though in the inmost of hearts Mr. Tilak's party was not in favour of conceding separate representation to Muhammadans to such a large extent he had to give in to please Mrs. Beasant who had strained every nerve to bring back the recalcitrant Muhammadans to the Congress. Mrs. Beasant had thus made her mark in the political horizon and Lord Pentland's internment order made her a martyr and a Goddess deserving of divine service at the hands of servile worshippers

who offered Purnakumbhams and Karpura Haratis. It is at this point that the whole country was shaken to its very foundations. But legitimate doubts began to arise in the minds of sober thinking men as to the methods adopted by the extremists in making political capital out of Mrs. Beasant for whom it only remained to become the president of the Calcutta Congress of 1917. Her candidature to the Congress presidentship was seriously opposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Calcutta would have been another Surat had not the intended opponents been caressed and cajoled to submission by the gentle touch of the hand of the scheming lady. It looked as though the craze for political freedom was a drift towards anarchy. The hitherto voiceless Non-Brahmans of Southern India had to assert themselves in order to oppose the new political methods which were calculated to be disastrous to the teeming millions of India. The late lamented Dr. Nair voiced forth the feelings of the Non-Brahmans who treated Mrs. Beasant as a foreign adventuress likely to lead the country to a quagmire. In spite of her antecedents no political thinker except Dr. Nair could boldly foretell what the consequences would be if her leadership was accepted. Now our Extremist friends are crying hoarse at the folly they committed and are now taking keen interest in reading the book of Dr. Nair dealing with her antecedents and activities which they would not look at during the days when she was held up in the lime light.

5. Conditions of the times and agitation in India excited the sympathy of the British people who were hitherto taking little or no interest in Indian affairs. The wonderful assistance rendered

by India during the War began to count much in its favour and British Statesmen could not neglect India any more. England's outspokenness. Genuine sympathies in treating India as a separate unit in the British Empire began to sprout in their minds. Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India took up the Indian cause in a more magnanimous and practical manner. In a debate in the House of Commons Mr. Montague on behalf of his Majesty's Government espoused the cause of India by his memorable and authoritative declaration of the 20th of August 1917 to the effect that "the policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of the self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire," that "progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages," that "the British Government and the Government of India must be the Judges of the time and measure of each advance" and that "they must be guided by the Co-operation received and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be imposed in their sense of responsibility." This is the central idea around which the different political thoughts of different political parties in India began to flutter. Home Rulers, National Home Rulers, Congressmen, Moderates and the Non-Brahmans interpreted this idea from their individual points of view and pressed their demands in their evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee

until their labours culminated in the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919.

6. At this stage, we may trace the differences of opinion among the various political parties in India. The differences that were existing between the Moderates and the Extremists up to the Lucknow Congress of 1916, took a definite shape since that time. They became acute on the passing of the Congress-League Political Parties Scheme. The Extremists were of opinion that the new reforms were unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing, whereas the Moderates were of opinion that they were a definite advance towards the road to Self-Government. Though the Congress-League Scheme was, in their opinion, unworkable in practice, they were not bold enough to give expression to it for fear of being disowned by the Congress Extremists. There was a decided advantage for them if they pretended to be Moderates, though at heart they were Extremists and took proper care to wear a different garb to bamboozle the Government in order to qualify themselves for higher honours and posts in the Government. But the lot fell to the Non-Brahmans of Southern India to present a bold front against the scheme of the Extremists. The Extremists argued that, though admittedly their scheme was unworkable, they should push it through at all costs. Mr. Tilak, the leader of the Extremist party, did not mind either evolution or revolution but wanted the country to plunge itself suddenly into the fire even at the risk of complete destruction to avoid the life of a slave under the British Government. He did not mind revolution if India is rid

of the British Government. But Non-Brahmans would not allow the country to make such a fatal experiment. They, therefore, opposed the scheme.

7. Political constitutions cannot be chiselled out of wood or carved out of stone. Their development is like that of a human body or a plant. They grow out of something that previously exists. You cannot invent a constitution as if by a magic wand. It must undergo a process of evolution. Otherwise it is lifeless. India which has no constitution with

any element of responsibility to the people cannot, without danger to itself, grow all of a sudden to a system of completely responsible Government. A highly centralised Bureaucracy cannot, by any magic, be efficiently converted into a highly decentralised republican form of Government. Any such sudden attempt would cause convulsions in the State which would weaken the central authority and give rise to internecine quarrels and foreign invasions which the country had suffered for a number of centuries. It is not desirable that medieval Indian history should repeat itself in the face of such sad experiences.

8. The memorandum of the nineteen Non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council was unmindful of this axiomatic principle. It ignored the then existing conditions in India and urged its memorable thirteen points. As was latterly admitted by some of the authors of the memorandum that it was hastily drawn up, the number thirteen was considered to be ominous. The members urged for the reform of the Executive Councils, for the reform of the Legislative Councils, and for

the removal of certain disabilities such as right to carry arms, enlistment as Volunteers into the army and Commissions in the army. With regard to the last two, there was no serious dispute except in the case of the reform of Legislative Councils, communal electorates were demanded by the Non-Brahmans.

The memorandum of the nineteen Non-official Members demanded a curious change viz., the election of the Indian Members of the Executive Council by the elected Members of the Legislative Council. In the opinion of the Non-Brahman party this was not a practical proposal. The Members of the Executive Council are colleagues of either the Viceroy or the Governors. A Colleague in the Executive Council who attains to that position other than by nomination by the head of the government who is supposed to be the leader would be a cause of friction. Even the leader in the House of Commons cannot be held responsible for the policy of the government if his colleagues are thrust upon him by means of election. He cannot run the Government smooth except through colleagues of his own making. In parliamentary form of government this system of election is beyond all practical politics. No where in the world is there any parallel to such a system except probably the Federal Council of Switzerland which is the direct making of the Federal Assembly. But the case of Switzerland is quite different. Its condition provides for a Referendum (decision by a mass meeting) which is impracticable in a country of unwieldy dimensions. The members of the Executive Council are considered to be the leaders of the Legislative but not

the latter's servants. Readers are aware that in a system of parliamentary government the elected assembly has the supreme legislative and financial control and the only man who can carry on that government is the one who can command a majority in the elected assembly. Any one else would be a failure for he will have to resign his position or become a puppet in the hands of the assembly. A mere puppet is only a nominal head but not a real head of any administration. We cannot imagine the leader of the executive to be bereft of powers of initiative either in finance or legislation. In India the Viceroy or the Governor of a province is the head of his executive government. The proposal of the nineteen would, if given effect to, have resulted in a government consisting of the Viceroy or the Governor and an executive Council which would be helpless to impose taxation or pass legislation which may be necessary for the efficient administration of the country. Dr. Nair in his able and elaborate criticism of the Memorandum of the nineteen in the columns of the "Justice" has dealt with the question exhaustively. I make no apology for quoting the following sentences to sum up my point of view. "The proposal of the nineteen is excellent as a measure of revenge. From a punitive point of view it is magnificent but it is not practical politics. It is the result of an unsatisfactory compromise." A Government proposed to be constituted under the above conditions would be weak and would be a source of constant friction. It would create frequent opportunities for discontent and disloyalty and for disrespect to law and order.

9. I have noticed above that the country had symptoms of taking to revolutionary methods. At the time when demands for reform were pressed, the Government of India was threatened with foreign invasions. The scare of German Invasion followed by that of the Afghan and the Russian invasions had caused a thrill in the people of the country. But the so-called "Intelligentia" of India continued their agitation being greedy for power leaving a solid uncultured mass behind. The Non-Brahman movement stirred up the Non-Brahmans of the southern presidency to their sense of duty and demanded reforms on a sound and stable basis. They felt that the movement of the Extremists was for the revival of the Varnasrama Dharma and all other old Indian religious systems enjoined by the unauthoritative Hindu Sastras which are instrumental in degrading them for ages beyond recovery. In the real interests of the country they desired for a political structure on broader and sounder foundations instead of on loose sands. They realised that any system of political reform should not be independent of their social amelioration. The so-called high caste people would, if increased powers are placed in their hands, not only leave the so-called lower castes in perpetual servitude but make their grip of social power the harder. So, in order to safeguard their interests in the country they demanded communal representation. No, the Brahmans would not fairly and readily yield to this demand. Though the demand was conceded by the Montague-Chelmsford report, the quarrel between the Brahman and the Non-Brahman was carried

beyond the seas to be settled before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It played a prominent part before Lord Meston at the passing of his unsatisfactory award. The Non-Brahmans pressed for freedom in social matters before any guarantees were given for political freedom. To them it is an age-long grievance. The South Indian Liberal Federation was not newly formed for the purpose of Montague's visit to Madras as was shame-facedly spoken of by interested persons like Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Surendranath Banerjee. The movement is as old as Viswamitra of the Vedic period and Sambhuka of the Ramayana period. Viswamitra successfully fought for doing away the distinction between Rajarishi and Brahmarishi. Sambhuka a sudra rishi suffered death sentence without trial at the hands of deified Sri Rama for transgressing the Smriti Dharma by making penance, a privilege enjoyable only by a Brahman. In the Hindu state, Sudras were denied education and several other privileges which the so-called high caste men only could enjoy. The Sudra was assigned to do service to the Brahman and other Dwijas. He could not acquire private property more than what was sufficient for his maintenance. His food was that which was left off at meals by the Brahmans. If he earns any wealth he must surrender it in favour of the Brahmans. They should not hear the veda recited nor could they read it. Sanskrit the "language of the Gods" should not be studied by them so that the Veda might be a sealed book to them. They had different moral and penal codes from the Brahmans. The lot of the Panchama i.e., the Chandala of the Smritis was worse. He is up to

date an untouchable. Guided and controlled by law, no where on the face of the globe is such a well defined and unalterable system as the airtight or rather ether tight Caste system of the Hindus. Firmly seated at the apex of the heirarchy of castes, the Brahman is said to be ordained by God to be a celestial being on earth to look down upon all other castes as something low and took care to spurn any attempt on the part of any in the lower castes to rise to his level. The non-Brahman, steeped in superstition, sincerely believed that what is ordained by the Brahman was for his benefit and unconsciously enslaved himself at the dictation of his selfish preceptor. Even to-day the uneducated Non-Brahman believes that it is a sin on his part not to rise from his seat if a Brahman, though a stranger and very low in status, comes in his sight. He must doff his shoes at a distance to prostrate before a Brahman or do Namaskaram to him merely by reason of his birth. Though foreign domination has set at nought the old regulations of Manu and Parasara, the old superstitious beliefs have not left Non-Brahmans altogether, and the Brahmans did not attempt to remove those impressions. They were satisfied with the foreign rule so long as it maintained strict neutrality in the religious matters of the Hindus. Readers need not be told that the caste-ridden religion of Hindus is the most disintegrating force in the state. It was to the interests of the foreigner to keep the caste system and the religious ordinances governing that caste system intact, so that the disintegrating forces may be taken advantage of to enforce his suzerainty over an alien people. It was also to the interests of the Brah-

mans if their social and religious and none the less political superiority is not interfered with by the foreigner by the method of strict neutrality. Both of them were interested in their way to keep down the masses uneducated and unenlightened. Even now if any social problem is tackled at the present day and assistance is sought from the present Government, the proclamation of Queen Victoria with regard to religious non-interference is quoted by the opponents. I imagine that they made a common cause with the foreigner not to attempt any religious reform beneficial to the oppressed lower castes. I often wonder why in his proselytisation process the Muhammadan conqueror did not sharpen his lancet which was so skilful in the conquest of European countries in order to circumcise all the inhabitants of India. For then could there have been a real Hindu-Moslem unity instead of the present showy bubble. Nor the Britisher was able to demolish the walls of caste for the same reasons. His feeble attempt to propagate Christianity in the country was too insufficient to counteract the influences which have been at play for ages. The Non-Brahmans cannot but feel grateful for the liberalising influence of British education in the land however utterly inadequate it may be. It is this liberalising force that opened their eyes to realise the "slave mentality" enforced on them for ages by Brahmins. They felt that the Britisher has held the scales evenly for all and as such they could not do away suddenly with the Britisher as was contemplated by the Extremists. The Extremists felt that the downfall of the Indians is due to the waning influence of the Varanasrama Dharma.

They hold the Britisher responsible for it. The Non-Brahmans earnestly wish that the Britisher had really done so!

10 The Extremists started a propaganda to send him away bag and baggage out of Indian shores. To attain this object, attempts were often-times made to organize a revolution against the British Government. The Non-Brahmans have seriously considered the problem and kept aloof from any such agitation. It may be interesting to note that it is Brahmins that took a leading part in the various attempts at revolution and that with a view to revive the old Hindu system of Varnasrama Dharma. I might, perhaps briefly trace the course of events.

11 The craze for denuding India of all foreigners may be taken to have arisen in the Maharatta country. We know that in the Hindu state, the ministers of kings were Brahmins. This tradition continued right up to the fall of the Maharatta power into the hands of the British. Since the reign of Aurangzeb, Muhammadan suzerainty began to wane. Irrespective of several independent kingdoms that were set up in the Deccan, the Maharatta state, started by Sivaji, was a thorn on the side of the emperor. However cautious Sivaji might have been in the art of counteracting the influence of the Brahman ministers by the inauguration of the Astrapradhan system, a system of choosing ministers from several castes, the Brahman minister gained the upper hand by the time Sivaji's successors failed to hold their position. Sovereignty was usurped

by the Brahmans of the Chitpavan or the Konkan class called the Peshwas. It is this Chitpavan Government that was overthrown about the year 1820 by the British. The Brahman discontent was appeased by their employment in subordinate service. But their fallen superiority was green in their memory and they naturally desired to return to power. Poona, the birth place of Mr. Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahman was the seat of this Brahman Government. It is in the Poona district that the first revolutionary movement was started. Ganapati and Sivaji festivals were started in order to give effect to the anti-Muhammadan feeling which the Brahmans then entertained. Sivaji's success against the Muhammadan power was taken as the basis to wound the Muhammadan sentiment. This culminated in the great Bombay riot of 1893 between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. In order to give military training to the Hindus a "Society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu religion" was started by two Chitpavan Brahmans called the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balakrishna. Sivaji slokas and Ganapathi slokas were invented to vilify the British rule. Later on plague broke out in Bombay and plague regulations were considered to be a great hardship to the people and Mr. Tilak took this opportunity of accusing the British Government. The Rand murder in 1897 was the result. This culminated in the prosecution of Mr. Tilak for seditious writing in his paper Kesari. In 1898 Paranjpe, another Chitpavan, started another weekly which had to be prosecuted. Later some Chitpavans started some other paper called the Vihari. Two well known citizens of Poona of the Natu

family were deported under Regulation 25 of 1827. There was some lull in the revolutionary movement till about 1905 when Shamji Krishna Varma of Kathaiwar embarked to London and started "Indian Home Rule Society" of which he was the president. He conducted a penny monthly called the "Indian Sociologist" and offered Scholarships to Indian students going over to England. Vinaya a Damodar Savarkar, a Chitpavan Brahman of the Nasik District and a graduate of the Bombay University was one of the recruits. He was the follower of Agamya Guru Paramahansa, an anti-British preacher who disaffected students. In 1899 Savarkar and his brother became leaders of Mitra-Mela started in 1899 for the purpose of celebrating Ganapathi pujas. Seditious organisations continued till 1906 when Krishna Varma opened the "India House" which was considered as a centre of sedition. On being detected he left for Paris. Hatred of the British began to assume a more practical shape. Seditious preaching began to yield fruitful results in the revengeful acts of murder of Europeans. In 1908 one Kudiram Basu intending to murder Kingsford, an unpopular Magistrate of Muzafarpore, murdered by mistake Mrs. and Miss. Kenedy. "Kesari" Mr. Tilak's paper praised this act in glowing terms. "Kal" Paranjpe's paper was convicted of sedition. Proceedings were taken against the "India House." By this time Vinayaka Savarkar rose to the rank of a leader. The murder of Curzon Willie by Dhingra a student followed in 1909. About the same time Ganesh Savarkar, the brother of Vinayak was convicted of waging war against the King, which was the chief incentive for the above murder.

Jackson, the committing District Magistrate of Nasik, was shot dead with one of the pistols sent by Vinayak Savarkar from London. This murder was committed by a young Brahman secured from Aurangabad, Deccan. This conspiracy at Nasik was detected. 38 people were involved in it, 37 of whom being Brahmans. 27 of them were convicted. "Bande Mataram" was at this time advocating political assassination. During the investigation of the Nasik murder case, the conspiracy was traced to Gwalior State which prosecuted 22 Brahmans of the "Nava Bharat Society" and 19 other Brahmans of the "Abhinava Bharat Society." Secret correspondence with Ganesh Savarkar was also traced. Then came the Ahmedabad bomb in 1909, when the lives of Lord and Lady Minto were aimed at. In Satara conspiracy case of 1910 three Brahman youths were convicted of waging war against the king. In 1914 we have got the famous Poona leaflets disseminating sedition. It is therefore clear that in the Bombay presidency all the conspiracies against the British rule were Brahman and mostly Chitpavan.

12. Bengal was not backward in this respect. It had its share of revolutionary propaganda. The contagion spread from Baroda state where Barindra Kumar Ghose, the brother of Aravinda Ghosh, had gone to make preparations for organising a revolutionary movement in Bengal on the lines of "Secret Societies" of Europe. Aravinda was then the Vice-President of the Baroda college. His brother returned in 1902 to Bengal to take hold of "Bhadralok" (respectable people or English educated people.

There was no ready response from them. Feeble attempts were made until the Universities Bill and the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, became the burning questions for agitation and the people were ready for being influenced by any revolutionary idea. Now was the occasion for Barindra to resuscitate his efforts. He started a paper called "Yuganthar" Sons of lawyers, clerks, school masters and tradesmen were enlisted into bands of murderers. "Anusilan Samitis" (Society for the promotion of culture and training) were started at Calcutta and Dacca. Aravinda Ghosh joined his brother to become a joint editor of "Yuganthar." Another paper called "Sandhya" was started to breathe hatred towards "Faringi rule." A series of text books were devised to propagate the new dharma e.g., Bhagavatgita, Bhavani Mandir, Bartaman Rananiti, Mukti Konpathe, which were intended to incite Indian soldiers to mutiny. These were the results of perverted religion and perverted patriotism which led to revolutionary crimes. There were some frustrated attempts at them. In 1906 there were two plots at Midnapore to blow up the Lieutenant-Governor's train which escaped by mere derailment. In 1907 Mr Allen, the District Magistrate of Dacca was shot. Double murder of Kennedy's referred to above was committed at Muzafarpore. The Sub-Inspector who arrested the culprits was shot. Then followed the notorious Alipore conspiracy. 34 persons were charged and 15 were found guilty including Barindra, the brother of Aravinda. During the trial Gosain the approver and the public prosecutor were shot dead in front of the court house. For an organized

revolution sinews of war were wanting and the movement began to justify itself for committing robberies and dacoities to make money for the purpose. I may probably tabulate the new form of crime. In 1906 there were two attempts of dacoity. In 1907 7 cases of robbery and dacoity occurred and in 1908 21 such cases. Then the Act XIV of 1908 (Criminal Law Amendment Act) was passed for preventive action. But crimes began to be repeated. In 1909, 1910 and 1911 there were 16, 5 & 20 cases respectively. Teachers and students of Sonarang national school seized the postal bag of a post peon. Some more murders were committed at this place. Rasul Dewan, an informant of the police was shot dead for assisting them. These acts resulted in the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act (Act X of 1911). Again in 1912 there appeared the Midnapore bomb to murder Abdul Rahaman, another informant of the Police. In 1912, 1913, and 1914 the cases that occurred were 14, 16 & 17 respectively which includes the Barisal Conspiracy case and the Raja Bazaar Bomb case in 1913. The passing of the Defence of India Act in 1915 was the outcome of the same. Again in 1915, 1916 & 1917 the cases that occurred in Eastern Bengal were 15, 12 and 9 respectively including 11 cases in 1915 in the city of Calcutta. There was regular organisation and inter connection of revolutionary societies in Bengal. There was a study of Russian revolutionary methods. Vows and pledges were taken and books published. Nitro-explosives, swords, modern explosives were prepared. Modern war methods field exercises, cavalry drill, quick training for war and other military exercises were resorted to. Disse-

rent types of bombs were made. A book bomb was sent by post to Kingsford. Even after the visit of Mr. Montague to India, revolutionary leaflets were distributed under the auspices of the "Indian Revolutionary Committee." A special seal of the imaginary state was invented in the name of "United India." Bengal schools and colleges were subjected to revolutionary influences. School masters, professors and students were injected with the poison.

13 Indian revolutionary movement was not beyond foreign influences. Germany was ever ready to lend its helping hand. Bernhardi's book on "Germany and the next war" published in 1911 entertained hopes of an Indian revolution. The Berliner Tageblatt published an article in 1914 on "England's Indian trouble." In America there was a deep seated plot even prior to 1911. Hardyal, a graduate of the Punjab University founded the Gadhiri (mutiny) party in California with the aid of German agents and launched an enterprise for providing India with arms and ammunition. The party spread rumours that "Fatherland would strike England." In 1914 one Champakaraman applied to the German Consul at Zurich for permission to publish anti-British literature in Germany. He left Zurich to work in the German foreign office in Berlin. In conjunction with Hardyal, Tarakanath Doss, Barakatuka, Chakrabarti, Heramba and Lal Gupta (the last two being the accused in the San Francisco Case), he formed a party called the Indian national party for the purpose of publishing anti-British literature. Later on, Barakatuka was engaged to win

over the Indian prisoners of war. Champakaraman was entrusted with a Berlin-office Code and Hramba with arranging for an attack on Burma through Siam. A German plot in Bengal to smuggle 5000 rifles and one lakh of rupees through an oil vessel called "Maverick" was frustrated.

14. In Bihar and Orissa, besides the Muzafarpore murders referred to above, there were what were called the Nimez murders.

15. In the United Provinces, the Benares conspiracy case was the most important. The Ausulan society was started by a student named Sachidanda Sanyal.

16. In Central Provinces also a serious attempt was made to seduce the troops.

17. In the Punjab, Ajit Singh's activities culminated in his deportation in 1909. He fled to France. He carried on intrigues with Krishna Varma for purposes of creating an outbreak in the Punjab. The Delhi conspiracy in 1912 attempting at the life of Lord Hardinge is familiar to all. At this time, an important change occurred in the minds of the Punjab Muhammadans. The supposed indifference of the British in the Balkan war alienated their feelings towards the British. Greetings were exchanged between the Grand Vizier and the Muhammadan seditionists. The Komagata Maru riot at Budge-Budge and the Lahore conspiracy are perhaps worth mentioning. The Gadhri movement had to be quelled by special powers.

18. And Madras would be lacking in patriotism if it failed to have a place in the roll of honour. Readers are aware that in 1907 Mr. B. C. Paul carried on a lecturing tour in Madras which was given up as a result of the deportation of Mr. Lajput Rai. A Madras gentleman followed him abroad to learn bomb making in order to kill 108 Whites every New Moon-day. This was in pursuance of the advocacy of Paul in favour of Kali Puja. Students of the Engineering College were made the means of disseminating sedition and advocating Russian revolutionary methods. Subrahmanya Siva incited the people while Krishnaswamy Iyer seduced the troops at Karur. "Swaraj" a Telugu paper at Bezvada and "India" a Tamil paper at Madras had to be prosecuted. The latter paper was removed to Pondicherry. One of its staff Tirumalachari left for England and thence to France. Nilakanta Brahmachari and Sankara Krishna Iyer induced people to take an oath on blood. V. V. S. Iyer the right hand man of Vinayaka Savarkar of the India House went to Paris to associate with Krishna Varma. Madame Cama went to Paris for teaching rifle practice. Vanchi Iyer, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department, the brother-in-law of Sankara Krishna Iyer joined the practice. Just before His Majesty's Coronation at Delhi in 1911, Vanchi Iyer murdered Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevely as a protest against a letcha's and a cow eater's coronation at Delhi. The motive for the murder as evident from a letter on his person, was the restoration of Swarajya and the establishment of Varga-

srama Dharma. Madame Cama's paper "Bande Mataram" continued to be published in Paris. As usual it was foreign influences of Paris and Pondicherry that were the cause for the above plots as none of them was indigenous or original. It would be wearisome to the reader if the plots in Burma also are narrated.

19. What is the natural inference of the above circumstances? If the Indian political agitation was intended only for "the Bhadrak" to assist the Gadhiri party but not to educate the masses as to the correct ideas of citizenship it was not a thing devoutly to be wished for. India cannot obtain freedom by mere play on the sentiment, emotion and fanaticism of the people. At best such a method will lead to sporadic outbursts of passion which may result in internal disorder. Self-Government is not intended for the few so-called "Intelligentsia" of India. The "Intelligentsia" must prepare the whole mass of population with them. For all practical purposes they leave the masses behind in social life and ask for a more advantageous political status which is beneficial only to the few. The Hindu political agitators were still hopeful of Varnasrama Dharma being reintroduced in the structure of Hindu Society. In that case it would be an awful day for the depressed classes. Even during the recent war, the so-called high caste people began to express their hopeful feelings for its revival. They imagined that the German War is a God-send to subdue the British who failed to preserve

the Brahman predominance. They said that after the British advent into India the Vedas and the Sanskrit language have fled into Germany only to come back to India with the German conquest. They believed that because Germany was making a study of Sanskrit and Oriental Sciences there would be revival of Brahminism in India. They were gloating over the temporary successes of the German arms in the War and would not believe the news paper reports of the successes of the Allies. They said that the German Kaiser had laid a plan of constructing a railway line called A. B. C. D i.e., from Amsterdam through Berlin and Constantinople to Delhi. They were fondly expecting that the last link to Delhi would be connected. But on the other hand the feeling of the masses was for the success of the British arms. They knew from practical life that India had suffered already from internal strife owing to want of cohesion among the various castes and creeds before the advent of the English and that India can ill-afford any more foreign invasions. They knew that in the name of independence the country would drift into the hands of a foreigner if the incoherent elements in the state are not held together by the strong grip of the Britisher. They did not, therefore, venture a leap in the dark. They advocated that progress must be uniform, steady and lasting. They did not believe the gossip of German Agents in India that Germany with her latest scientific inventions would improve agriculture, industries and trade and convert India into the garden of Eden, where milk and honey would flow.

20. It may be interesting to the reader to know something of German methods of colonization.

I have stated in another place that German methods. Indian youths have fled from the country to Germany to organize revolutionary parties in India. Their experience in Germany is quite different from what it was preached in India. They found that it is a sad mistake to think of Germany leading India against the British. The Germans are morally, socially and politically in a lower stage of development than other European Nations. With all their knowledge of advanced sciences and literature they have not doffed their primitive ideas and habits. Their history has been a miserable record of disunion, inefficiency and humiliation. They head the list of European Nations in treating others as something lower than men. They were in fact the Brahmins of Europe. We know that there is much cruelty, exploitation, suffering and injustice in all colonies. Regarding German Colonies Hardayal says "A German colony would be a dreadful inferno. There is no more diabolical ogre than a German in power. The German is utterly unfit to be entrusted with power over weaker fellow men. They can manage a colony only as a meat packing company manages its cattle farms." In another place he depicts German character as follows:—"Gold is God in public and private life. Stones may yield oil but no generous action can be expected from a German."

"Despotism, bureaucracy and caste are the foundations of German Society. The worship of the Kaiser was the creed of half Germany." "In Ger-

many everything is done for the people and nothing by the people. As there are no democratic institutions the functionaries fear no control or criticism. They meddle with everything and plague the people in a thousand different ways." All Germans who have lived for sometime in England or America refuse to return to their native land. They breathe the free atmosphere of English and American Society and detest the Bureaucratic system of Germany. Germany is several centuries behind the other European countries in social evolution. The spirit of caste is more prevalent in German societies than in other countries. Every man must have his "Title" which is always prefixed to his name. In social matters therefore similar conditions prevail in India. I cannot affectively dislodge from the minds of our German admirers, their fancy for them, except by quoting the same writer who lived amidst them for nearly three and a half years. Says Hardayal. "The History of Germany during the last fifty years may be described as the tragedy of a whole society. This nation is utterly sick in head and heart. It has lost its wits and it has killed its conscience. It will take a very long time to restore this demented and demoralised people to health and sanity." An imaginary picture is therefore different from a real one-

21 The latter day Congress politics neglected entirely the social side of Indian progress. Mr. Bala-

Gangadhar Tilak, the leader of the Social Reform & latter day Congress. Extremist party was an orthodox Brahmin and a Varnasrama Dharmite. At the Surat Congress he would not tolerate the association of a so-

cial conference with the Indian National Congress. He advocated that social reform was a matter for discussion on a different platform. He has not, even in his latter days, achieved anything substantial in the cause of social reform. No doubt Mr. Tilak was preeminently a politician. He was a great scholar with a profound admiration for the philosophy, science and arts of the ancient Aryans. As to the question of caste he was uncompromising. He was a Varnasrama Dharmist out and out and he could never reconcile himself to any suggestion for any social reform, and much less for the abolition of caste as he was a Brahmin proud of high birth and ancestry. Mrs. Beasant in the climax of her political eminence when she was worshipped as Lokamatha, characterised the Brahmans as "the cream of the country" and paid no heed to the problems of social amelioration of the Non-Brahman classes. Cream cannot dissolve in buttermilk or Kanji which was more useful and more necessary to the body politic. Even Mr. Gandhi has faith in Varnasrama Dharma though he is less rigid in point of caste and started his political career with the idea that the existence of Caste system in India can in no way impede the growth of a united nation though his practical experience of latter days has slightly converted him to the opposite view.

22 We now come to the present day Congress politics. The present Congress creed was fissioned out of a confusion of ideas about responsive co-operation, British connection and Non-Co-operation. Tilak would not allow India to be disconnected from England. However much he hated the Anglo-Indian official he had a

A sudden  
drift in the  
Congress.

high regard for British Institutions and Sciences and English system of justice. He advocated responsive co-operation which meant that India should co-operate with the British Government to the extent to which it respects the wishes of the people. That is a noble idea consistent with the soundness of a practical politician and this view was accepted by the Amritsar Congress in 1918. Mr. Gandhi or any other politician took no objection to this idea then but supported the view for working the new political reforms. Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha movement came in as the precursor of the Punjab tragedy. This and the Kilaphat question changed the angle of vision. People began to imagine that they could find water in Mr. Gandhi's mirage. The first article of the Congress creed dealing with the British connection was amended and complete independence with or without British connection was advocated. Non-Co-operation was started. By this time Mr. Tilak had died, and the Congress had no other leader but the Mahatmaised Gandhi. Compared with Mr. Tilak, the Mahatma is a babe in politics. Unlike Mr. Tilak who was well versed in the art and artifices of politics, the Mahatma as his prefix to his name indicates is more a religious revivalist with his aim on the Vedic past than a political reformer. Civilised life and refined living are hateful to the Mahatma. He asks us to go back to the primitive stage of man. Modern inventions in his opinion have a demoralising influence on the people to turn them away from God. Contrary to Mr. Tilak's admiration for western civilisation, with impossible fads of a political dreamer, he launched the Non-Co-operation Move-

ment. These three ideas have estranged several political leaders. The immediate causes for Non-Cooperation are, as has been said above, the Punjab and the Kilaphat wrongs. These have been amply discussed both on the platform and in the press. Their relevancy or irrelevancy need not be reiterated here. For our present purposes, it is enough to deal with the Indian Moslem question and its connection with the Kilaphat.

23 It must be said to the credit of our Muhammadan brethren that their solidarity, especially in religious matters, has no parallel. If any religious authority has successfully taught "Brotherhood of man" it is to the Khoran that the first place should be assigned. The Moslems are by nature excitable if they imagine that their religion is in danger. The Muhammadan League may be real but the Hindu Moslem League is more imaginary than real. The Moslems always fell behind the Hindus in the political race in India. They bitterly complained that the Hindus were monopolising all places of authority and hence a deserving change in the Minto-Morley Reforms. Like the Non-Brahmans of Southern India and the Maharashtra they contributed very few to the so-called "Intelligentsia" of India. Contributing as they are one-sixth of the population of India, the political agitators could not neglect them. "The Intelligentsia" had only the brains, but the force they wanted to supplement by taking the Muhammadan in their political creed. Without their co-operation the "Intelligentsia" would not count and so they must be won to their side at

any cost. Since the days of the Balkan war the Punjab Muhammadans have been estranged. But all the same they fought the Turk under the British banner during the recent war. The peace conference could not settle the terms favourable to Turkey. This was taken as a plea for an Indian Moslem grievance. The Pan-Islamic movement which was, before, the hobby of Muslim zealots in Turkey aggravated the situation. Moreover, the Indian Muslims felt that they were the last ruling power before the advent of the British and speculated that in the new Swaraj they would be the rulers of the country again. Though they have nothing in common with the Turk, the Persian or the Egyptian, they believed that, as a result of Pan-Islamism, Turkey would support them under its suzerainty.

24 Turkey bears the nickname "The sick man of Europe". This is due to the lack of organising capacity and statesmanship on the part of Turkey. It is a sad thing if our Moslem brethren expect that the Turks are fit to assume the leadership of the Muhammadan world. In the opinion of a cultured Muhammadan who has lived about six years in Turkey "they knew only two things, war and mosques". Another Muslim journalist said "the Turks are the little brothers of the Prussians." The hollow cant of Pan-Islamism has fostered a fashion in some Indian Muslims to be enthusiastic about every thing out of India and to remain indifferent to the claims of their co-religionists at home. During the Balkan war, the Turks received a few

lakhs of Indian money. It would be more impressive to the reader if I quote the words of the Indian revolutionary Har Dayal who lived in Constantinople. "As the Turks are a barbarous tribe, the Muslims of India and Egypt make a great mistake in identifying their cause with the fortunes of the Ottomans. If the Muslims of India wish to appear in company with their Hindu brethren on the public platforms of the civilised world, they must first wash their hands clean of Ottomanism in all its shapes and disguises. The Muslims of India and Egypt must realise their own privileged position and disclaim all connection with Central Asian freebooters." Pan-Islamism is one of the most curious farces of the last decade and is supposed to be paving the way for the unification and revival of Islam under the leadership of the pious hero, Enver pasha. I declare that it is all a fraud and a hoax designed to impose upon credulous Muslims in distant lands." Otherwise, why should the pious Arabs revolt against the Turkish rule? The Egyptians are also entirely different from the Turks and they have nothing in common with them. It is an open secret that there is no love lost between the Turks and the Persians. It may be interesting to note that the Turkish Government set apart a few pounds a month for Indian propagandists. A patriotic Indian gentleman who was an opponent of European Imperialism expressed the following opinion as the outcome of his experiences of travel in Turkey. "After two years, I have come to the conclusion that the country should be annexed by some European power." This was also the fond

wish of European neighbours of Turkey since the "Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century. To quote Har Dayal again, he said "The Muslims of India, Egypt, Java and Persia should learn that they must look after the affairs of their own countries in a practical spirit instead of dreaming of the Kilafat. The Muslims should get rid of these mediaeval rags, the "Caliphate and the Jihad." The current of civilisation cannot be held up nor could it be turned back. Political conditions that prevailed in the eighteenth century cannot aptly be applied to those of the twentieth century of the Christian era. The Muslims should also advance with the times and must not "attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key." In spite of the above conditions in Turkey, Muhammad Ali is an extremist in Pan-Islamism. Shoukat Ali is an extremist in religion. The latter's defence in his recent trial showed what amount of contempt and disregard he had for the Indian Penal Code. He justified his action of attempting to seduce the army on an obsolete maxim of the Koran. The Muslim leaders expected that Afghanistan at least would strike India. In such an event they expressed that, for the sake of religion, they would join the Afghan arms to fight for the Jihad, unmindful of Indian interests and the Hindu-Muslim league. Still our Hindu brethren reconcile themselves to the belief that they would fight the Muslim in the battle field face to face and yet shoulder each other as comrades outside, as lawyers tear each other in courts and shake hands outside it. There, is the hollowness of the Hindu Moslem unity.

25 Hindus are by the very nature of their religion and sentiment are opposed to the Muslims and vice versa. The iconoclastic

Hindu  
Muslim  
antago-  
nism.

nature of the Muhammadan conquest has, from the beginning, kept the Hindu from out of the touch of the muhammadan. According to the

Hindu notions, the cow is worshipped like a goddess. "May the cow and the Brahman be happy" is the most prominent sentiment expressed in a benediction sloka in Sanskrit. No Hindu can tolerate any injury to the cow. But to the Muslim, the cow is an edible thing. To him the cow is the most delicious and dainty dish at religious feasts. It is the ordinance of the Koran that the meat of the cow should be used at a particular religious function. How can the two sentiments be reconciled without violating one or the other of the two religions? The Muslim religion treats the Hindus as Kafirs or unbelievers and Hinduism treats the Muslims with similar compliments. Shoukat Ali might proclaim at the top of his voice on the Congress platform to the Muslims urging for the protection of the cow and yet the Municipal Corporations could not adopt a resolution prohibiting the slaughter of cows owing to the Muhammadan opposition. The Hindu might embrace the Muslim on the platform, but in practical life it is an unreal embrace. The embrace is not the real expression of the heart but it is a pretentious one to mislead people. The Moplah outbreak is a standing and monumental illustration of the transient bubble of the Hindu-Muslim unity which can be burst by a puff of the mouth, nay not even by a

prick of the pin. Though the Hindus and Muslims pretend to lay a joint claim to Swaraj, but in reality it is a rival claim. The Muslims claim it as the last rulers of the land and the Hindus claim it as its most ancient occupants. Individual self is predominating at the bottom of the motives of both. The community of interest existing between both is not what is necessary for supplying an integrating force to bind several peoples of a state together but it extends so far as is only necessary to drive out the British bag and baggage even though there is every possibility for a play of disintegrating elements to tear the state to pieces to be easily devoured by any foreign adventurer. There is no use of planning a structure on an imaginary hypothesis. Our hearts are sore with the forced conversions of the Hindus of the Malabar owing to the religious frenzy stirred up by the Kalifat movement. Readers are probably aware that on a rough estimate there are about 4000 forced converts to Islam in Malabar. It cannot be denied that every convert is a victim to the proselytising zeal aroused among the fanatic Moplahs. And yet our Kalifat and Congress friends have a kind word to say in favour of the Moplahs. Let us see what the state of affairs is in the Punjab regarding this proselytising madness. The "Aryavarta", an up-country vernacular news paper in the Punjab, writes :— "It appears from the latest papers from the Punjab that Hindu ladies have been converted to Muhammadanism in the Shahi Mosque of Lahore at the rate of five per diem. This was kept a secret from the public but the register in which the number of converts was entered was recently put

forward in a case in Court. This is the record of one single mosque. Who knows what is happening elsewhere"? We find an answer to the query of the journal in the pretentious relief work of the Jamiat Dawat Committee of the Mussalmans in Malabar which has even after the Moplah rebellion prepared a Thiyya lady for conversion. Leaving aside the fanatical out-bursts, let us search for illustrations from more refined and organised life. I will take an incident which occurred in the Punjab Legislative Council. It is with reference to the admission of students to the Lahore Government College. Of course, to the Kilaphatists and the Hindu Congress men, the boycott of government schools and colleges is now a forgotten history in the Punjab as elsewhere. Lala Lajpat Rai who did not desist from obtaining a University certificate for his son for post-graduate study in America, had the boldness to advocate the doctrine of boycott of English education to the Students-Conference at Nagapur. When questioned, he disowned his control over his son. This is by the way. To come to our present topic, no less than 54 per cent of the population of the Punjab consists of Muhammadans. The Minister for Education is a Mussalman. A few weeks ago he issued an order insisting that 40 per cent of the seats in the Government College at Lahore should be reserved for Muhammadan students. Though the Minister's action was justifiable in view of the fact that there were insurmountable difficulties for admission of Muhammadan students into the college, the Hindus began to sling mud at the minister. They began to attribute partiality to the minister towards

his coreligionists. The same incident occurred in Madras regarding the Non-brahman students as is evident in the out-bursts of passion of Brahman politicians of the like of Mr. Satyamurti. The monopolistic tendency is one of the greatest weaknesses of the educated Hindu. Similar complaint had to be made by Mr. Fazul-Haq that "the Calcutta University had systematically ignored Muhammadan interests ever since its foundation." The scant respect shown to the demands for communal representation, which only is the solution for disintegrating influences, must needs cause distrust and disharmony. I may quote another illustration from Bombay Municipal Corporation. On the motion of Mr. W. T. Halai proposing the prohibition of the slaughter of cows in the city of Bombay Mr. Badrudin Abdulla Koor, the President of the Sunni Anjuman Islam of Bombay issued a protest against this motion on the following grounds:—"The slaughter of cows serves two purposes for Moslems. Firstly, cows are slaughtered and used for religious sacrificial purposes by Moslems on the Bakrid day, and the three days following the Id. The sacrifice is in consonance with the injunction clearly laid down in the holy Koran and by the traditions of the holy Prophet." "Secondly, it cannot by any means be gain said that the slaughter of cows goes to provide food and sustenance to at least 85 per cent of the poor Moslems and the entire body of the Christian population." This is a direct challenge to Mr. Shaikat Ali's vain hopes of giving up cow slaughter.

26 As I have stated already the revolutionary propaganda was nipped in the bud. But the

hatred towards the British Government continued.

Hatred to-      The present Non-Co-operation  
wards      movement is based on the so-called  
Britain.      Hindu-Moslem unity. It is but the  
                out-burst of impotent rage. Face  
                to face attacks have been given up

and abuses and insults from behind the scenes have been resorted to. I quote below what a recent issue of the Aligarh Gazette has said. "The present Hindu-Moslem unity has been fostered purely, to produce hatred against the English. In reality it has no moral or lasting basis behind it. This movement does not lead to any true ideal of patriotism. It is the result of our effort to make common cause against a supposed common foe. No permanent union has ever been based on such a foundation; hence the present entente is certain to go to bits. When this union comes to an end, the Hindus will stand to suffer most. As a result of their support of a Pan-Islamic movement, the Nationalist movement in India will also suffer a severe blow." No truer words can be said to prick the Hindu-Muslim bubble. What is the cause for a change of the angle of vision in the wink of an eye? The very people who had very high admiration for the British Government have suddenly changed their minds and characterized it as a "Satanic" Government. The so-called high caste Hindus who till very recently have adopted English methods and fashions have a dis-like for them at present. They called their newly built houses after the English fashion such as "Lady Napier Villa," "Rose Villa" etc., They built monuments and public buildings even villages and suburbs of towns

in the name of the queen and her descendants and in the names of their English benefactors. They named their children after their English patrons such as "Hume", "Ross" and "Alexandra". They became "irreligious", did away with their caste marks on their forehead and cropped their hair. They doffed their "national" dress and took to boot and hat. They left off their antique forms of swadeshi conveyances and began to use foreign springed vehicles, motor cars and trains. But all this was done unconscious of their "slave mentality!" Now we have the eye opener in the Non-Co-operation movement! What do we find now? The so-called high caste people have become more orthodox. A good many of them have begun to grow their tuft of hair which, according to Sastras, should be as much as a "cow's foot" though some of them do not apply a razor to the front portion of the head. Boot and hat wearing has ceased to be a fashion. In the place of an English-cut coat we have the Angaraka with tape pieces to serve in the place of foreign buttons. They have changed the names of the monuments into those of their leaders. During the brightest days of Non-Co-operation, some people detested travel by train, and some rejected springed vehicles as they are the innovations of modern civilisation. Two Brahman students are said to have travelled on foot from the southern part of this Presidency to Nagapur to attend the Congress and Bhajana parties called the Ramadandu, walked from Rajahmundry to Bezwada at the time of Mr. Gandhi's visit. Our venerable editor of the Swarajya was found going in a springless single bullock cart from the Bezwada rail-

way station to the town. Some Hindu ladies refused to use springed jutkas, in preference to bullock carts. But that was a time when "slave mentality" was slowly disappearing! Is this not due to the advocacy of Mr. Gandhi to adopt antique methods, as in his opinion, the new forms of civilisation have entirely demoralised the Indians? We may compare the two pictures and exclaim in the words of Shakespeare "Look on this picture and on this". If Peter the Great of Russia were to rise from the dead, he would certainly confess that he had, in his day of the 17th century, denationalised Russia by enforcing the adoption of English methods of cutting hair and wearing dress. But the present Russians do not repent this great change. One may be justified in wearing Khaddar and adopting "Boycott." How is he justified in making bonafires of foreign cloth? What do the above things indicate? The answer is hatred towards anything British.

27 And what have they achieved by this hatred? The greatest achievement is the indiscipline and disregard for parental authority among the students. The next achievement is the defiance of law and order more especially among disorderly people. These are the direct results of advocating boycott of Government schools and colleges and picketing foreign cloth shops and liquor shops. Preaching of boycott of councils and courts, coupled with the above two, has yielded no results except that it created a great amount of distrust in the Non-Co operation movement.

28 The only two rungs tottering in the ladder of Non-Co-operation propaganda are the untouchability and the Khaddar problems.

Khaddar problem. I will first deal with the Khaddar problem. If its use is advocated on the basis of its economic utility no one has any serious objection to it. But if it is advocated on the basis of sentiment and emblem of hatred towards the British Government many will object to it on more than one ground. The pros and cons need not be discussed here as its economic utility has been tested for the last one year and a half. How long can the poverty stricken Indians impoverish themselves by sacrificing economic utility in the name of patriotism? In spite of such a huge expenditure accountable or unaccountable of that fabulous crore of rupees in support of the Charka, the Khaddar movement is a stupendous failure. The resources of the Tilak Swaraj fund have been exhausted. The public do not know where the crore of rupees was deposited and how it is spent. It is as secret a treasure as the evidence before the Civil Disobedience Committee. The published account for the last June in Bengal shows that more than 50 per cent of the total revenue was spent for allowances and travelling expenses of the agents. It is worth appointing a retrenchment committee! Pandit Motilal Nehru after his release from the jail is reported to have told a Bombay audience that "little had been done by the country in fulfilling the instructions of Mr. Gandhi and that" instead of going forward they had actually gone back." A well known Muhammadan leader of

Bengal said that "throughout his tour in the mufussil he found the congress workers in a state of dejection and apathy. The faith in the Charka as a means of obtaining Swaraj had been considerably damped and the old formulas had lost their charm." One of the Madras witnesses before the C. D. Committee fairly confessed that "the Khaddar movement is foredoomed to failure as a political one unless we include Indian mill made yarn." Poor Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Secretary of A. I. C. C writes in Young India "many people have not realised that the All India Congress Committee's balances are almost exhausted. The moneys are mostly invested in Khaddar but all the same it is a fact that the A. I. C. C. as well as the various provincial committees are fast coming to the end of their sinews of war." The Rangoon Mail has a similar piteous wail, that "nobody, not even the local congress Committee, would buy the ten pounds of yarn that its staff had spun off in the exuberance of patriotism." And our weavers are too stupid to be willing to buy it as economy of labour pays more than patriotism. Let us see what Mr. B. C. Paul, the original exponent of Boycott says about the Khaddar campaign. He writes to the Maharatta as follows:—"The Khaddar campaign is failing on all sides while some people are using this campaign for personal profit. The masses find it increasingly difficult to buy Khaddar which sells on an average at 5 to 6 rupees a pair of Dhotis in preference to the imported fabrics that are selling at from Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8-0 per pair. The Charka movement whatever it may show on paper has also been a stupendous failure.

The spinning wheels, distributed by the Congress, are in most parts of the country being stored away by the people who find it more profitable labour at other occupations than plying these machines. The same story comes from everywhere regarding the looms also." In the same article, Mr. Paul testifies to the intolerable tyrannies perpetrated by the Non-Co-operation campaign which alienated the feelings of many against it. But this is about the Non-violent character of the Non-Cooperation movement about which the least said the better.

29 The untouchability problem though ostensibly pushed as a last resort to the forefront of the Congress programme, it has received the least attention. Originally this problem did not form part of the Congress propaganda. In later days it was tacked on as a last item. Nothing practical has been turned out of it in spite of the Mahatma's hoarse cry that "untouchability" is a standing disgrace to India and that if no remedy is found for its solution India would be unfit for Swaraj.

30 The tripple boycott, of schools, courts and councils, has long been a failure. The Non-Co-operation movement has with its weak foundations in Kilafat and Punjab Reaction, wrongs with step brothers' affinity in the Hindu-Moslem unity, with its resources exhausted, paralysed itself in boasting to paralyse the existing Government. It is dead and what is supposed still to exist is but a ghost of it but not the Non-Co-operation in life and blood. Let Congressmen gloat over its supposed existence till

the Civil Disobedience enquiry Committee wind up their proceedings, prepare its death warrant and affix the seal of Mr. Gandhi with his motto that "it is another Hymalayan blunder." That there is reaction against the Gandhi movement is beyond all doubt. The lawyers who have temporarily suspended their practice have resumed it with vengeance. Mr. C. R. Das who has just been released from jail is not jubilant enough to advise his co-vakils to give up their practice. It is now left to individual conscience. The indiscriminate inrush into jails of patriots and pseudopatriots in large numbers has not brought into sight the solution for Punjab and Kilafat wrongs. The country has realised that the movement had committed a grievous hurt to it to require sufficient time for the wounds to heal.

31 The "benighted" Madras Presidency has been, from the beginning of the movement, rebuked and ridiculed for not having thrown itself wholeheartedly into it and the C. D. Committee's impression that the non-solution of the two most serious problems viz., the Non-Brahman and the untouchability problems, is a great hindrance to it. It cannot but be admitted that the movement could not make head way on account of the most unwavering and undaunted opposition put up by the Non-Brahman movement in the Madras Presidency. The testimony, of an erst-while Non-Co-operator in his evidence before the C. D. Committee while at Madras, is sufficient proof of the failure of the movement in this presidency. I dare say that all the evidence before the Committee is sure to point to this conclusion. Otherwise, where is the necessity.

to adopt a bureaucratic method of taking evidence in camera except it be to avoid painful surprise from the general public? Regarding the untouchability problem, the Madras witness says, "so far as South India is concerned, making it a prime Congress issue will introduce dissensions in the Congress ranks. So far as my province is concerned, communal bitterness, between the Brahman and the Non-Brahman, has increased and that Congress organisations have practically done nothing to promote Brahman-Non Brahman unity consciously and deliberately." Of the constructive programme he says, "The completion of the constructive programme is a question of years if not decades. My province is not, as a whole or in part, ready to start Civil Disobedience, whether individual or mass and defensive or aggressive," "The Congress should embark upon the definite enterprise of the capture of the councils at the next election." Certainly a fat calf is to be killed for a feast in honour of the return of this profligate son from a dreamy land! This is the pitiable condition of things in Madras.

32 Let us see how the movement fares in other provinces. In Bengal Mr. B. C. Paul has taken up cudgels against it. He is clearly of opinion that the movement has set back the hands of the clock of progress and that the race should be run afresh. The past two years have been wasted to the greatest disadvantage of the country. People will have to unlearn what they have learnt of the philosophy of the movement. Bengal is disowning the movement judging from the testimony of two eminent leaders of the Extremist party. Bombay

Presidency is the most forward in disconnecting itself from the movement. Tilak's party is rising to prominence. The reaction is most perceptible here. The whole of Maharashtra has started Civil Disobedience against the Congress movement. It is certainly a mass civil disobedience! What a traitorous province it is to disobey the Mahatmaic injunction? Probably it is due to the bad association with the Non-Brahman movement led by the Deccan Ryots Association there and the influence of the Maharaja of Kolhapur! The Maharashtra country must have lost its sense of patriotism or it must have been enmasse won over by the Government! Is anybody else except the Non-Brahmans of Madras susceptible to Government influences? Oh! What a fall is there my countrymen! The major provinces are thus fallen. The minor provinces do not count. The reaction set in, is bound to strike the Non-Cooperation movement beyond all recognition. The satanic British Government has reconquered its territories which Gandhi's shortlived Swaraj has occupied!

33 Being a humble worker in the cause of the Non-Brahmans, I cannot close this little pamphlet without making a reference to it. I have said in a previous connection that the Non-Brahman movement is not new. For our present purposes, we are not concerned with what took place some years ago. He, who has eyes to see, can perceive the disparity of social life between the Brahman and the Non-Brahman. The Non-Brahman movement, here and elsewhere, has not come out of hatred towards the Brahman in the same manner

as false patriotism is fomented by the Extremist agitators out of hatred towards the British Government. It is a defensive movement, purely democratic in character. It is started to oppose the reactionary spirit of the Varnasrama Dharma whose revival has been seriously attempted by the Brahmans as I have shown at an earlier place. The varnasrama Dharma is an innovation of the Aryans. The Dravidians have realised that it was forced upon them by the injunctions of law and religion. The Non-Brahman movement stands to tear asunder the rigidity of the doctrine and create equal opportunities for all. It is a sort of French revolution without blood-shed in vindication of the great principles of fraternity, equality and liberty. It is taking arms for a social conquest. It vouches equal justice to all. In the Madras Presidency the ball was set in motion by the great Non-Brahman leaders Dr. T. M. Nair (May his soul rest in peace!) and Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti, the most redoubtable and selfless patriots of the cause. They have carried the movement through weal and woe and through thick and thin in spite of the ignoble calumny levelled against them by self-seeking opponents. In spite of their wealth-producing capacity, their numerical strength, it was a Herculean task for the Non-Brahmans to make any headway against many shackles invented to arrest their progress. Motives were attributed that the Non-Brahman movement was set up by the Government itself in pursuance of the policy of "divide and rule". It is the Brahmin who "divided" the Indians into castes and "ruled". On the contrary

the Britisher holds with contempt such a division. People who attribute evil to others do so on an imagination of their own evil being possessed by their innocent neighbours. They think that the Non-Brahmans are set up by the Government as it is a fact that they are set up by revolutionary agents in Germany and Turkey. What did the Non-Brahmans advocate at the beginning? They never said that they would not have Home Rule or Swaraj. Their patriotism does not fall short of that of pseudopatriots. Strictly speaking theirs is the real responsibility which ought to count in the Government of the country. It is they that would enjoy most privileges under the reforms. They said that the country was then unprepared to run any form of Government completely responsible to the people. They required parliamentary form of Government by gradual stages. The Extremists' view was that the Congress-League scheme was the irreducible minimum and that any reforms that may be contemplated should not be one whit below. In India all the Extremist Press flouted the view of the Non-Brahmans. But the Extremist deputation that was sent to England to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee had to yield to this view. Their enthusiasm had cooled down probably because they were living in cooler atmosphere. The Non-Brahman deputation pressed for the next instalment of reform within a period not exceeding ten years. Whereas Mr. Tilak while addressing a London audience during that time expressed satisfaction "if we get full autonomy in one generation or a period of thirty years." The London Correspondent of Gnana-

prakash, a Maharathi Vernacular Daily of Poona expressed painful surprise at these words and said, "Tilak's extremism depends to a great extent on the place and the audience. His opinions propounded on different occasions are different. He confessed with great pleasure that he was assured, since his arrival in England, of the bonafides of the English people who, he believed, were really desirous of doing good to India." Where then is the difference between the view of the Non-Brahmans and that of Mr. Tilak when they were amongst English society? Then again the Non-Brahmans demanded communal representation as an effective palliative and remedy to cement communal differences in India. But no, the Congress leaders did not pay heed to it. They thought that by artificial means and soothing words realities of life could be solved. Now what do they find? The C. D. committee which recently visited Madras expressed that "the Non-Brahman and the untouchability problems are the two most serious problems in the Presidency," for the solution of which they advocated that the Congress party should put forth all the energy at its command. The same vexed question is troubling the Bombay Presidency. I have already noticed that the Non-Brahman movement in the Maharashtra has made rapid strides. The "Maharatta" writing about it recently said, "The development of strong prejudices, between each other (Brahman and Non-Brahman) is day by day widening the gulf between them. Proper remedies must be devised to this foul disease that is sinking deeper and deeper into the masses and poisoning all their activities, social, religious and political."

W. 2

112.2

7784

tical. It is consuming the very foundation of the present Congress programme." Let the "Maharatta" realise that it is due to the awakened consciousness of the "salve mentality" of the Non-Brahmans. But what are the "proper remedies"? Let the "Maharatta" find an answer from the evidence of Non-Brahman deputation before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The answer is in the speech of the Maharatta Leader Mr. Tilak who once boastfully said that he would keep off the Brahmans from seeking for services and for seats in legislatures. Let the "Maharatta" find an answer again in the speech of Mr. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya who spoke in similar terms. The easy solution for it is a wilful surrender of your monopolistic proclivities and clannish tendencies. Then only would you find a healthy state of affairs. For the present down-trodden condition of the Non-Brahmans, both the communities are to blame in a more or lesser degree. If the Brahmans have not generously opened up opportunities to the Non-Brahmans, the Non-Brahmans have sluggishly failed to take them. This "foul disease" is pervading also in Bengal society where keen differences are prevailing between the Non-Brahmans and the Brahmans called the 'Kulins'. The Non-Brahman is fully awake now and will not coolly submit himself in future to be sat upon either by the Chitpavans of Poona or the Kulins of Bengal or the Varnasrama Dharmites of South India. You are in a dreamy land, and forget the realities of life and father the blame on others. If according to you Mr. Gilman, a member of Madras Government, was deputed to seduce Sir Theagaraya Chetti to organise the Non-Brah-

man movement, will you tell us who set up Mr. Basavayya of Mysore fame to lead a similar movement? And Mysore is an independent state where you have no influence of this "Satanic Government." Why should the Brahmans of the Mysore state fight shy for admission of Non-Brahmans into Sanscrit schools and colleges at the present day which is the subject matter of agitation in Mysore? Why should you doubt the validity of a Hindu marriage conducted by a Non-Brahman Purohit? Why do you disentitle a Non-Brahman to the study of the Vedas, the word of God intended for all mankind, if it is really a word of God? Why do you boast of removing untouchability in the wink of an eye? You cannot remove it by the mere moving of the lips.

34 Again the Panchama problem should be ascribed to the Non-Brahman movement. It is synchronimous with the Non-Brahman Panchama problem. Readers are perhaps aware that it is Dr. Nair's mass meeting of the Audi-Dravidas at the spur-tank that roused them to a sense of individuality. It is since that time that the Brahman extremists began to realise the importance of their cause and make vain attempts to placate them. The latter day Congress had to include it in their propaganda for the same reasons, but it has failed to solve it. It is the Non-Brahman movement that gave the Panchamas a better status. It is the Non Brahman movement that urged for separate representation of the Panchamas in the Legislative Council. It is the Non-Brahman deputation that pressed for it wholeheartedly before the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

35 It is Dr. Nair that laid the foundation for the present Reform Act. The scheme that was drafted by him at Coimbatore and perfected at Biccavole looks as though it were the ground work for the said Act. While the other deputations cared more for the increase of Indians in the Executive Councils and for the pay of the Ministers, the Non-Brahman representatives busied themselves in asking for democratising the Legislative Councils. Hon'ble Rajah Ramarayanagar in his evidence opposed the system of Diarchy. The Non-Brahman movement has stood for simultaneous amelioration of social and political evils. They could not be separated. They should go hand in hand. The Congress movement has separated them and failed. It is said that the untouchability problem has been assigned the first place in the Congress propaganda by Mr. Gandhi and that as such the Congress stands for social amelioration. The Congress has made it a part of its programme only latterly as a subterfuge only to make a feeble attempt to wean the Panchamas away from the Non-Brahman movement.

36 Every item of the Non-Co-operation propaganda was, before its practice, weighed in the balance, tested by the Non-Brahman party and pronounced by it as having been foredoomed to failure and their verdict is amply justified by the corroborating evidence before the C. D. Committee. The reasons, now given by the Congress people, for the failure of the Charka movement are almost similar to those expressed by the Hon'ble

Inseparability of Social and political problems.

Non-Brahman anti-cipations

[Naidu, the Development Minister of Madras, when he opposed the introduction of the spinning wheel on Government subsidy in a debate in the Madras Legislative Council. But yet the Madras Extremist press spared no pains to accuse the minister of want of patriotism. From all the above facts it is clear that the Congress movement has not achieved anything more than what the Non-Brahman party had anticipated. The Congress party had, against more sober opinion, gone headlong and failed only to make the otherwise-yielding-Bureaucrat more uncompromising and more unyielding. This is only to turn him more arrogant and more intoxicated with power.

37 An eminent writer has said in a book "Germans are the worst enemies of Germany". So, Indians are with regard to India. They have, by their imprudent conduct, forfeited the confidence of their own people. They have lost their credit by bad investment of the trust imposed on them. They have made several political summer-saults. They are trying their level best to regain their confidence. But they fail to see that it is bound to take at least a couple of decades before it is restored. The people of the country are aghast at witnessing the last scene of the tragedy played by Non-Cooperators.

38 I was noticing at an earlier place that the Non-Brahman movement is a defensive movement. It is not born out of hatred towards the Brahmins. It is a flanking movement in defence against the active attempts for the revival of Varnasrama Dhrama which has been

Non-Brahman movement, a movement of 1 ve.

the root evil operating against social unity. Hatred is never the basis on which its foundations are laid. It is the love for the many. It is for the interests of the many that it was started. It is to show to the world by means of a torch-light that the real democracy of India is not what it pretends to be but what it really is. It is a "movement out of love and affection for all including the Brahman as well. The Brahman is said to have used his brain power in the olden days for the good of his fellowmen. As his name itself indicates he was a "Trikalaguni" i. e., one who is capable of seeing the past, the present and the future. In later times he is said to have applied his brains not for his self-aggrandizement but for the salvation of his fellow beings who were not able to think for themselves or do anything for themselves without the assistance of the Brahman. Now they are said to stand for the emancipation of down-trodden and the depressed! Therefore, the Non-Brahman has recognised the long services of the Brahman, and out of kindness and affection towards his elder brother wants to remove the strain on his already used-up brain power and to afford a good deal of rest which he well deserves for the great services professedly rendered by him for several ages. But unfortunately the Brahman brother is not for his well earned rest. He is still possessed with that slave mentality which is imposed on him by foreign rule and is of opinion that if he discharges himself from his guardianship over his younger brother he would be unkindly leaving his ward in the lurch. That is the reason why he clings to power not only in religious and social matters but pre-eminently in

service. Otherwise he would have considered his materialism and taken to him as in times of yore! But the Non-Brahman persists in relieving his elder brother and yet the elder brother protests with the intoxication of power. The Brahman says to the Non-Brahman, "We have moved like brothers hitherto and let us continue to be so". The Non-Brahman replies "My dear brother, we will continue to be so but let me be alone for sometime." The Brahman says "No brother, we have left off our Varnasrama Dharma and are drifting into life of corruption. Let us return to the original antique state and start life afresh." The Non-Brahman replies "No, brother, you are putting me on the wrong scent. I am grown to manhood by the liberal education given by the British Government and I cannot be a child again." This, in short, is the quarrel between the Brahman and the Non-Brahman. The Brahman at one place preaches boycott of Government colleges and schools but at another place protests against the fixed percentage for admission of Brahman students into the Government colleges. At one place he preaches untouchability, at another he joins the reactionary party against it. That is why the Non-Brahman party stands for the vindication of their rights and privileges which are invaded by the Varnasrama Dharma movement. It is therefore a defensive movement against the attempted revival of Brahmanism.

39 In this connection, a word is necessary

about the Justice Party in South India.

great Non-Brahman party

Justice Party the onslaughts of Brahmanism as first charge against it is that it was set up by the Government. This is proved to be a shamefaced lie. The Non-Brahmans who are about 97 per cent of the population of the Madras Presidency-why in every presidency-have greater responsibilities to discharge by reason of their superiority in population, in the holding of property and in the production of wealth. They know what is best for them. They have no faith in the English Bureaucrat as he has also neglected the claims of the Non-Brahmans in the name of so-called efficiency which a Brahman is supposed to possess. It is impossible to make common cause with him. The only thing is that the Non-Brahman is fair in his criticism. He does not want to sling mud at the European for anything and everything. But the Brahman looks at the Non-Brahman achievements through a convex lense while he asks others to look at his glorious past through a concave one. He always aims at the Non-Brahman Ministry now in power to belittle them in the estimation of the public. This is due to the spite developed on disappointed hopes. He is very fond of destructive criticism but is devoid of any constructive and feasible scheme. The Justice Party has stirred up the sleeping millions of backward classes. It has awakened the people to a sense of dignity, self-respect and individuality. It has raised them above the level of superstition and religious bigotry. It has given the Pauchamas a status in society which has been hitherto unrecognised

by any movement. It is organised on democratic principles. In short, it is the key to the country. If the Brahman has in reality at heart the country at heart, let him not, out of selfish motive, sling mud at the movement. Believe that the greater he co-operates with the movement, the nearer is the emancipation of his country. Let him not with his obstructive tactics apply a drag on the wheel. Let him shoulder the wheel with a willing heart and the machine will move forward without any friction. Let him not in season and out of season tom-tom from the house top that the Non-Brahman ministry has not achieved anything. A Brahman ministry would not have fared better. If the achievements of the Non-Brahman ministry are not believed to be substantial it is not their fault. It is the fault of the empty purse that is placed in their hands, the purse that is being emptied with the ever growing military expenditure occasionally supplemented by expenditure for quelling disturbances and rebellions resulting from political agitation. The iniquitous impost which drains a fifth of the revenues of this province to pamper Bengal and other provinces is the cause of unsatisfactory progress in this province. The unjust award of Lord Meston making an inam of 548 lakhs to the India Government is the cause for the present evils. The ministers have schemes ready for execution but the purse is empty. If any good comes out of the present agitation to liberate a good proportion of this provincial contribution, progress is in store for our presidency. It is hoped that some relief would be granted to the claims of this presidency.

40 The Non-Brahmans will bay  
warning. They have risen on their hind legs  
must try to stand on their hind legs  
Warning. They should remember that they proved to  
justify their previous position who are  
on the plea of our own neglect in the Madras  
must take a lesson from that and muster water  
by drawing together all our resources lest we  
should be liable to the same charge. After long  
ages of neglect we have risen to power. Let us  
not depend on the tantalising promise of the  
Britisher or the caressing breath of the Brahman.  
Let us stand on our own legs until the foundations  
are strong and until we feel steady and firm in the  
place we ought to occupy. Take care that the  
Non-Cooperators are busily shaking off their original  
methods as unfeasible and are briskly preparing  
themselves to contest the next elections to the  
legislative bodies. We should endeavour from  
now to maintain our position, stick to our guns and  
achieve success for the Non-Brahman party. If  
by petty jealousies and unwillingness to sink  
smaller differences among us, we again neglect  
the principles and the cause of the party, we go  
deep into the sea, never to rise again. Non-Brah-  
mans beware! A warning is also necessary  
to the Brahmans. If they, out of any selfish  
motives, are overambitious for any greater power  
than what is their legitimate share, they would be  
held responsible for a continuous strife between  
the Brahman and the Non-Brahman and for the  
perpetration of subordination under a foreign yoke.  
The sooner they realise this the nearer will be  
India's Swaraj.

chief cause for India's long subordi-  
position is the rigidity of its caste  
system. Though caste system is not  
a recognised part of the Hindu religion,  
it is a religion in itself. In spite of the  
universal application and extreme toleration  
claimed for Hinduism, it has not effectively  
attempted to weed out the caste system which is  
proved to be a rank and wild growth which has  
outgrown the principal plantation. In spite of the  
great efforts of Shankaracharya and Ramanuja-  
charya, the greatest exponents of Hindu religion,  
caste system has stayed in India. Though the  
country has been under foreign domination,  
it has not allowed fusion of races or castes.  
Though certain attempts were made for fusion  
of races from the time of the Greek invasion  
right to the time of Akbar through marriage of  
Hindu Princesses, they are too few to be reckoned.  
The Muhammadan conqueror was at the beginning  
sceptical about making India his home but ruled  
the country with one foot at Ghazni and another  
at Delhi. But at a later time he had full hopes of  
inhabiting the country and settled down in India.  
But the Hindu left the Muslim coldly alone and  
the attempts of Akbar in composing Aini-Akbari  
were of no avail in the fusion of both religions and  
races. The Britisher now reigns the country with  
both of his feet in London and learnt by experience  
that India is not a country for fusion of its own  
castes much less for the fusion of races. That is why  
Rudyard Kipling has said, "East is East and west is  
West," and they shall be always twain". Protec-  
tion of castes has been the guiding principle

in politics in all the periods of its history. Communal representation is based on the same principle but in a reverse sense. Incapability of this fusion is the most serious defect in the Indian political organism. It is proved to the root of unity, the chief element for the formation of an independent state. But the Europeans in India have adopted a different method. The Norman conquest of England has grafted Norman stock on Anglo-Saxons and there was a complete fusion of races in a short time. An ancient example is that of Greece. At the time of Roman conquest of Greece, the latter has lent the former its arts, sciences, manners and customs so freely that the Romans and Greeks became one so that the fusion of two races was characterised in the sentence "Conquered Greece has conquered her conquerors." This is an impossible feat to India. Therefore it is that India needs changes consistent with her social and political conditions. Aping the west in political reconstruction, without doing so in the case of social reconstruction would be meaningless. Both should go hand in hand. Sudden and revolutionary changes either in political or social structure are bound to bring about discomfort and disharmony.

42 There is a tendency among the Extremist section of Indian Politicians to blame the Britisher for each and everything in season and out of season. No body says that the Britisher is ruling the country absolutely with a free mind and without advancing his own interests in the country. Vested interests are at the base of any foreign rule. It was so with

Indian domination in the early period. It must be admitted on all hands that though not plenty, has come to India in the shape of the British. We cannot afford to neglect it. With regard to plenty, the Britisher has managed to increase the wealth of the country. He has no doubt crippled its industries in his overzealousness to stimulate English manufactures. But our neglect and lack of enterprise on our part largely contribute to this evil. We cannot afford to sacrifice peace and for that purpose we cannot afford to turn out the Britisher all at once unless we desire to go in for a change of masters. In the exuberance of patriotism, people are prone to lose sight of the fact of the country's defence and imagine that foreign aggression can be kept at bay by the pass of a magic wand or by Mr. Gandhi's "soul force." We cannot vanquish the foreigner by means of arms nor by Non-Co-operation. All the revolutionary movements have been proved to be futile. Such methods cannot settle the main issue, nor are they capable of maintaining internal order in the country. Ireland is a standing illustration of internal strife due to incapacity to settle local problems. It is only through good will and co-operation with Britain that we will be able to achieve anything for our country. But sometimes the arrogant spirit of the Britisher now and then frustrates our hopes. Whatever might have been the promises of the British statesmen before the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, we have been fed under the hope held out to us by the declaration of the 20th August 1917 in the House of Commons. But the recent performance of the

India. Asia cannot dispense with  
 ney dur of Europe in matters of administra-  
 ar. It Turkish Government had to employ  
 ans engineers for laying out railways. The  
 Afrigited an American to put their finances  
 Musli paid Sweedish officers to organise a  
 e we for them. Such a mixed adminis-  
 tation already exists in countries which form part  
 of the British and the French Colonial Empires,  
 although the Oriental colleagues are not given their  
 due. To quote Har Dayal again, he says, "The  
 upper and middle Classes of Egypt, India, and  
 Persia cannot administer successfully without  
 European control and guidance. They are wanting  
 in energy, public spirit and technical knowledge.  
 They can neither organise the defence of the  
 country nor establish a good system of internal  
 Government. A mixed European and Oriental  
 administration is the best for these countries as the  
 European officials are honest, energetic and capable,  
 while the Orientals know the customs and tradi-  
 tions of the people. There is no harm in admit-  
 ting that the upper and middle Classes of Asia are  
 not fit for all the tasks of progressive administra-  
 tion in this age. The principle of mixed personnel  
 is sound." At another place, he says "A purely  
 national administration in an Oriental country  
 composed of the effeminate sons of landowners,  
 lawyers bankers, manufacturers, priests and  
 other parasitic classes cannot secure these bless-  
 ings for the people. They must be trained,  
 controlled and inspired by European offi-  
 cials. It is, therefore, wise to co-operate with  
 these Nations (France and England) for the

British Premier in the same House of  
 debate, tends to give it a lie direct.  
 Reading's interpretation of the speech  
 there would be no retrogression from  
 ment of India Act of 1919. We  
 against the idea which the Primer's  
 ests to the effect that the I. C. S. men  
 'Steel frame' and that the present reforms  
 only "an experiment". Indians are not so despi-  
 cably protoplasmic that they require a "steel frame"  
 to cover themselves, nor are the reforms "an ex-  
 periment" to go back upon. If according to the  
 Premier, the experiment has failed, it is due to the  
 novel system of Diarchy forced against the will of  
 the country. And Diarchy has been a failure. The  
 Reforms are an experiment to show that partial  
 responsibility in legislatures is unsound in princi-  
 ple. But no body need be sceptical about the  
 success of the Reforms if they are worked on strictly  
 Parliamentary lines. The party system has not  
 thoroughly established itself in all the legislatures  
 except in Madras where the Cabinet system is so  
 successful, as deserving of enlargement of powers.  
 Madras is bound to lead the country, if it is capa-  
 ble of maintaining the present party system with-  
 out any hindrance.

43 As for the I. C. S. men, we should not  
 shun them because they belong to an English  
 nationality. Though we do not  
 want them in large numbers yet we  
 cannot dispense with their services.  
 European element is necessary in  
 certain departments of administra-  
 tion. In technical branches their assistance is most

establishment and continuance of govt. Party in Asiatic countries. The people of these countries cannot pay the high price it is <sup>Brahmanism</sup> misrule and stagnation for the satisfaction of this is proved a national flag float over the public buildings who capital. Egypt, Persia and India when a. Madr. run by Barbarians if England were to <sup>run</sup> from Asia as the Britons were enslaved by the Tuetons as soon as the Roman garrisons left the country. It is, therefore, necessary to read just our views to the actual circumstances of the situation as this war has revealed them to us. Self-Government, under a purely Oriental governing class, would be no blessing for the peasants and the working men and would finally lead to conquest by some European power. The system of mixed administration seems to be the only natural and necessary solution of the problem." <sup>yard</sup> Kipling's couplet may be altered as follows to suit the present conditions:—

"East is East and West is West

East plus West is the best."

#### 44 The British Empire in India

foundations deep in the historical forces and <sup>Co-operation</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>evolution</sup> <sup>the watch</sup> <sup>words.</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>quicksands</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>mere ambition</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>exploitation</sup> <sup>It has shown itself to</sup> <sup>be a solid structure founded on the</sup> <sup>rock of historical necessity and British wisdom.</sup> <sup>The safety of the Empire is the safety of India.</sup> <sup>Any forces that may be set against this safety</sup> <sup>must be resisted by India.</sup> <sup>It is neither chivalry</sup> <sup>nor coercion that actuated India for contributing</sup>

his book published in 1924 in Madras his personal impressions formed after travel in Germany, Turkey and the European Countries. Mr Dayal is the living example of an Indian nationalist who entertained a craze for India's freedom at any cost, even at the risk of bloodshed in India but who thoroughly changed his views in accordance with later day convictions. The same kind of craze has taken possession of the minds of the Extremist section of Indian politics. The sooner they are dispossessed of it the better for the country. They should realise that the root cause for mutual ill-feeling and disunion prevailing among the various Indian communities could only be removed by effecting a distribution of powers and privileges in the same manner as removing ill-feeling among brothers of a joint family by means of a joint family partition. Then only would the several brothers coalesce with greater affinity and fraternal affection and make common cause against any enemy. Without trying to make any provision for this, our political ambition would but be a craze and our cry would but be a cry for the moon. The craze is better illustrated in the words of the poet.

**"Whom the Gods destroy"**

Finish

[illegible]