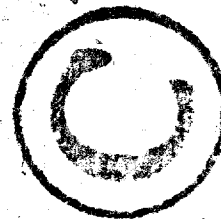


9

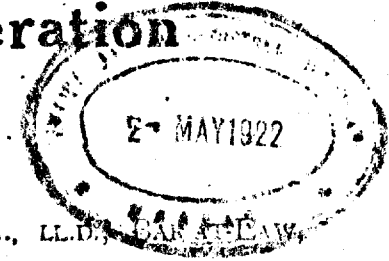
Gandhi and

Indian Regeneration



• ZG
N22
48228

GANDHI and INDIAN Regeneration



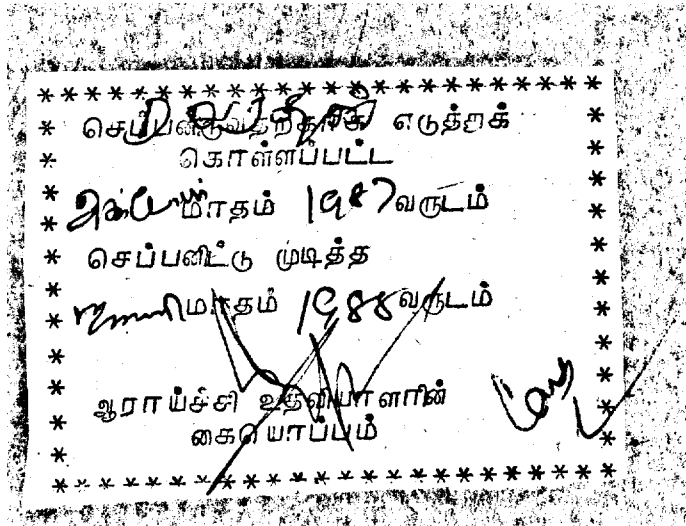
T. C. K. KURUP, M.A., LL.D., B.A., LL.B.

EDITOR, NEW HERALD.

AUTHOR OF GOSPEL OF GANDHI; RIGHT TO SWARAJ; &c.

All Rights Reserved.

PUBLISHED BY
NEW HERALD OFFICE,
GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS.





BRITISH PRESS MADRAS.

PREFACE. 3

In the following pages I set out the result of my studies on the present situation in India and have attempted to depict the views of Indians in general and of the two schools of political thought—Moderate and Nationalist—in particular. Each side has its own particular schemes to offer. Which of them is more acceptable will, no doubt, depend on several considerations, individual temperament occupying no insignificant place among them.

The object of this book is to give an unvarnished account of the events happening in India, their causes and their cure. Since both views are given equal prominence it is not intended that either side should be favoured. In describing Mahatma Gandhi's views on the subject I have used his own language as far as possible to avoid misunderstanding and make the whole thing as authoritative as possible. I hope to set my readers thinking on the various aspects dealt with herein and in their turn make them contribute to the evolution of our country. I shall be sorry if this book makes any one blindly accept the views expounded therein. It is intended to give young Indians a starting ground for further thought and investigation. In case this object is served, be it ever so little, I shall consider my labours amply rewarded.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Preface ...	i
The Present Outlook ...	1
Economic Conditions in India ...	27
An Empire to Govern: Sidelights on India ...	51
Scheme of Reconstruction ...	86
Immediate Demands ...	115
New Civilisation ...	144
Conclusion ...	169

GANDHI AND INDIAN REGENERATION

THE PRESENT OUT-LOOK.

Apart from the clank of steel and the thunder of bursting bombs and shells that shook the civilised world to its very roots and out of the welter of much agitation and repression, proposals and counter-proposals two things stand out in bold relief on the field of Indian politics. First, the assumption by the British nation of a new viewpoint and the consequent change in the "angle of vision" so far as this country is concerned; and secondly in recognition of the part played by India in the world-conflagration and her contribution to the cause of the Empire, the right of India to a higher status in the family of nations than she enjoyed before the war.

One immediate result was the grant of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 with a view to a re-construction of Indian Government on the basis of Diarchy, one branch

of which is entirely in Indian hands, while the other is still controlled by the British bureaucracy. Partly due to the disappointment caused by the inadequate concessions, for even the most moderate of Indian opinion always demanded since 1885 the immediate grant of colonial form of self-government, and partly to General Dyer's military display in the Punjab and the discomfiture of the Turks and Indian Muslims caused by the Treaty of Sevres, a violent agitation grew up in the land which finally culminated in the Non-co-operation movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. His programme is to boycott Britain and Britishers, British goods and British Institutions, in fact everything that smacks or smells even remotely of British agency. He seeks to supplant all institutions that grew up in India during her connection with Britain and to re-construct India on national lines and Vedic models. To his followers—not a large number perhaps proportionately to India's population, but still a energetic and determined band, active spite of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and adepts at capitalising every element of disaffection in a continent of 320 mil-

divided into innumerable castes and creeds—the only political and social re-construction worth looking at is the Non-co-operation variety and with a view to a return to the Golden age that was India's before the British advent. The Non-co-operator is found in railway carriages and in the market place, in tea shops and under the banyan tree, in courts of law, at public meetings, in temples and mosques, in newspaper offices and in vakil's chambers. Moderates complain that if one does not talk of Non-co-operation one is out of date and out of fashion; that if a moderate politician happens to address a public meeting, in spite of the non-violence insisted on by Mr. Gandhi, men and more often boys, are found to hiss and hoot, blow motor horns and otherwise heckle the speaker, if they fail to capture the meeting. On the other hand, Non-co-operators complain that co-operators hire rowdies and create all this mischief to discredit their movement. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi is the unquestioned dictator and his word has come to be accepted as current coin among large masses of Indians, Hindus, Muhammadans and view-hs alike, all of whom march side by side carrying the same banner as they never did before.

In view of the unprecedented happening in India, both duty and self-interest—duty to the Empire of which we form part, self-interest, because it is to our interest as Indians to speak and profit by that speech—demand that the present situation in India, so full of pitfalls and anxiety, should be realised in its true significance to overcome the great and imminent danger. British commonsense till now has saved the situation in every emergency, as it is now getting into action, for all the vehemence of the extremists on both sides. The attitude of the British Cabinet and of the British Labour party is one good sign of their inclination to handle the problem with sympathy and goodwill to arrive at a correct understanding. All the same an analysis of the situation is necessary, because while the Britisher thinks that every Non-co-operator is a declared enemy of Britain, he mistakes the sickly sycophancy of some others for loyalty. Both estimates are wrong; the latter more than the former and therefore, more dangerous.

Right through the weary years of the Congress agitation India's sons urged their claims to self-government on colonial lines and the greater association of Indians in the higher

branches of administration, with equality of treatment to Indians and Englishmen throughout the Empire, and other rights of citizenship. Some years before the war broke out, Indian politicians became divided into Extremists or Nationalists and Moderates, both demanding Self-Government within the Empire, neither advocating violence nor revolution and differing only in patience and in the greater or lesser degree of violence in speech and writing. When England declared war against Germany many adopted, or rather adapted to Indian conditions the Irish maxim "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity". One class of Indians paraphrased it to mean that when England is sorely pressed, India must insist on getting her dues paid; while others took it to mean that when England is brought to bay India should take that opportunity to generously come forward and assist her out of the difficulty, thus earning her gratitude and love and become an equal partner with England in the British Commonwealth. However, India was asked to help the Empire, which she generously did, and in the endeavour and anxiety to ward off the imminent danger every other emotion was stifled till better days

dawned. The extreme tension, almost to breaking point, suffered by Britain during the war was relieved after the armistice and a natural reaction set in. The days of peace following a great war are generally very hard even to the victors and the future of the nation will stand mortgaged to meet the liabilities of war. Promises, even voluntary, made during the war are seldom cheerfully performed during peace. The promisor gives less, the promisee expects more, than was promised. The result is discontent on both sides. Charges of sedition and counter charges of repression are frequent. Bad blood, distrust, abuse, calling names and accusation of selfishness are in plenty now, while during the war a brotherhood in arms and a brotherhood of sacrifices in France, Galipolli, Mesopotamia and East Africa was the general sentiment of Britishers and Indians alike. Brotherhood-in-arms was re-placed by bitterness in politics. How to keep something of the old spirit of brotherhood alive to prevent dismemberment and rebuild the Empire before another cataclysm again shakes the foundations of the earth, how to conserve the energies and resources of the Empire to form a real com-

monwealth of nations—a smaller league of nations within the League of Nations of the whole world—is the problem that now confronts British statesmen. Will British good sense and the generous spirit that animated Britishers throughout the war save them at this juncture? Indications are indeed favourable. But to mince matters or camouflage with words will be more a disservice to the Empire than otherwise. Worse things may otherwise happen than the irritation caused by calling a spade by its rightful name; but if by an unvarnished and faithful statement of facts each side can be made to see the views of the other and thus nullify some of the present political acerbities, the interests of both countries will be served.

The post-war state of mind calls for a sloughing off of old-time formulas of bureaucratic rule; a brushing aside, if not a complete deletion, of platitudes and meaningless phrases, shaking off inertia and girding the loins with a determination to face the new problems and vigorously apply all shoulders to the wheel. This is not the special function of any special class in India, but of every fair-minded man whatever his place and whatever

his profession. It is time that people of both countries cast off class suspicion and racial hatred, because never before have their interests been so much in one boat as now and nothing but a spirit of earnest and lively co-operation on terms of absolute equality, social and political, will help them out of the difficulty. Other devices may temporarily push the problem into the background but cannot allay, much less cure, it.

Unrest in India is nothing new. Time was when a few theorists and idealists met at Christmas and aired their pet theories and ideas year after year. But under Mahatma Gandhi things have changed. His Stayagraha and his Non-Co-operation separated the theorists and visionaries from the practical workers, the "talkers" from the "doers". A number of hard-headed men, many of them first-rate citizens, inspired by zeal and spurred by conviction, are going about the country placing their side of the case in a convincing manner leaving something behind for their hearers to keep in mind for future use and reference. Surface unrest arising from small and temporary causes can be smoothed by the exercise of sympathy and imagination: but

unrest lying deeper and keeping on smouldering, with only occasional outbreaks here and there, calls for a more thorough diagnosis and requires to be dealt with in a statesmanlike manner broadbased on unselfishness. It is wrong to estimate such unrest, which is a chronic discontent, as the work of individual agitators. There was a time when agitators of even the calibre of Tilak were dealt with by the bureaucracy very drastically, and the country looked on with little or no concern. But when a sentence of imprisonment is treated as the crown of the martyr, and the prisoner's release is made the occasion for mass meetings and monster demonstrations, when going to jail has become as important as going to temple or church and as easy as washing one's hands, it does not require a genius to prove that popular sympathy is no longer with the rulers. Add to this the soaring prices of food and other necessities of life, the advance in the standard of living, the economic distress, the Panjab wrongs and Khilafat grievances that loom large as constant sources of embitterment. The present exchange situation and consequent trade dislocation, the increased taxation and the expensive Dyarchy are not exactly calculated

to rub off the edge of that discontent. Nevertheless, India believes in non-violent peaceful methods; and that is the most redeeming feature of the whole situation.

Agrarian discontent owing to insecurity of tenure, increased taxation now and the possibility of further taxation on improvements for want of Permanent Settlement, a great shortage of houses amounting almost to a famine alike in towns and in the country, growing unemployment and the grievous absence of openings for talent and enterprise, have bred a mountain of ill-feeling alike against the landed classes as against the Government. Men are bitter and discontent is rampant. Food and clothing, as well as a roof to cover one's head, are becoming increasingly difficult to get. House rent within the last ten years has advanced more than three hundred per cent; congestion and over-crowding make the people unhealthy and irritable and ready to listen to the agitator. This state of affairs cannot continue indefinitely and from every point of view there is the most urgent need for prompt and effective action. "Rest cure" and *laissez-faire* policy will not remedy discontent; and repression is always out of place.

Agriculturists and farm labourers are working harder than ever without getting enough to eat or to cover their persons; and whereas they themselves in many cases could at least write their names, their children cannot boast of even so much education. At this juncture, Mahatma Gandhi comes and says: "Your food, your cotton and other raw materials are carried away to England and sold back to you for ten times the price. Your children are taught on wrong lines with a view to develop the "slave-mentality." Withdraw them from Government and aided schools if they are there, plough and cultivate as much as you can to raise foodstuffs and take to the spinning-wheel to make your own clothes. Give up western life and western culture. Get back to the simple Vedic days, and by minimising your wants become less material, more spiritual; and by the unbounded use of soul-force and by all legitimate non-violent methods of Non-Co-operation you can paralyse government, reduce the Bureaucracy to submission and attain Swaraj or independence for India."

The idea of a return to the simple ways of olden days is nothing new. Before the French revolution Jean Jacques Rousseau devoted all

his talent to propagate the idea of a return to Nature. According to this class of thinkers, civilisation, far from being an unmixed good, is an unmixed evil. All the troubles of mankind may be traced to it. Under the new order civilisation means increased wants, which mean increased activity and greater production and all the attendant evils of competition, double dealing, sharp practices, that walk in its train. To-day we have to work more to spend more; work more, not to make any permanent gain but to keep up show and appearances—the work itself tiresome, monotonous, soul-killing, such as spending a whole life-time in shaping the head of a pin or the point of a needle. A strenuous life is the modern cult, and under it, existence becomes a burden and a perpetual source of anxiety, breeding disease and discontent, leading the individual to a premature grave. Caught in the vortex of civilisation humanity is rendered helpless and gets carried away into an empty void. True we have railways and telegraphs, undergrounds and elevators, merchantmen and sky-scrapers of the sea, motor cars and air-ships. It is also true that to a few millions of men and women these things make life one continuous

revel; but think of the hundreds of millions that have to slave and starve to make it so! And what do they get in return? A long and weary day from year's beginning to year's end, a hungry stomach that never knew what it is to be full, an endless dunning from a heartless land-lord for rent they are unable to pay, a bundle of rags that fail to cover their nakedness that civilisation made it a disgrace and an offence to exhibit, with dirt disease, squalor, as daily companions and a growing family they are unable to maintain.

As against all this on the other hand there is the life of a cultivator "in simple plenty crowned" raising enough to keep his family in comfort, even in luxury, spinning and weaving enough home-made cloth for domestic use, simplifying needs and sparing time to attain the destiny of man—spirituality. Under the present arrangement the attempt to keep body and soul together takes up all one's life and energy, and under its exacting conditions women and even children have to become wage earners to keep the family pot boiling. Still, an honest hardworking man often fails to keep himself above want, leave alone com-

fort and luxury, dying nearly as ignorant of spirituality as at birth and as near the God-head as a motor lorry or a steam engine. Under the old order existence being simple and easy its cost in time was little, its temptations fewer and opportunities for self-improvement infinitely greater. This is Mahatma Gandhi's ideal, at once great and easily attained. The conception is not new. It was the entire national life of old, and still of millions in this country, with its adjuncts of village panchayats and village schools, village artisans and village manufacturers, divided, no doubt, into classes, but in practice with no element of untouchability and none of the incidents of caste, as we know it now.

Apart from the Revival scheme of Mahatma Gandhi the centre party in Indian politics has its counter-proposals based on existing institutions. The Moderates demand larger employment of Indians in the higher branches of administration regardless of pre-war conditions and old understandings, reform and retrenchment in the military and other departments of Government, complete Indianisation of some branches of administration, separation of executive and judicial functions, repeal of the

Arms Act, spread of primary and technical education, equality of positions for Indians and Englishmen, giving the same pay for the same work regardless of colour, and generally redeem the pledges given to India by the Queen's proclamation of 1857 and the subsequent promises of succeeding sovereigns. It is their grievance that while England pretends to hold India as a trust from Providence for the benefit of Indians till they are capable of managing their affairs, neither her policy nor its result has exactly resulted in discharging that trust or in restoring Indian administration to Indian hands. They do not accept the promises of Britain as seriously made. The bureaucrats having tasted power and pronounced it good find it hard to relax their hold, which will mean, in their opinion political harikari for their class in India. They and their friends the planters and European merchants, like their forefathers before them, had India as their own and the present generation of Britishers in their turn, hope to retain it for their sons and grandsons. It is a hard nut to crack. The situation is pregnant with possibilities and difficulties, Indians claiming the country as their own; the bureaucracy claiming a vested interest therein, while the

British nation look upon it with all the partiality of possession, dominion and ownership. Real statemanship consists in devising new lines of settlement by effecting new understandings and creating new safeguards to protect the interests of all parties concerned.

It is indeed sad to recollect that after more than 170 years of British rule in India the two nations are no nearer a correct understanding than existed between Clive and Umichand or Warren Hastings and Nundkumar. Differing from one another in all that divides one branch of humanity from another, race, creed, colour, religion, language, literature, civilisation, history and tradition, conditions are to this day different in this country from those prevailing in England. In the main their national aims may be similar, but they do not see eye to eye in all particulars, least of all, where they concern each other. Britain says India is unfit for democracy. India retorts by saying that Britain made her so; and if after 170 years of rule by one of the greatest democracies the world has seen India, the land of village communities and panchayat system, is unfit for democracy, her education is obviously defective or on wrong lines, and

it is time she changed her university for fear of worse results. The two races living side by side view each other with suspicion, indulge in constant recriminations, often treating each other with contempt and keeping aloof whenever and wherever possible. A generation ago when India was more eastern and less western, when Indian orthodoxy and prejudices looked crude in English eyes and social life was almost impossible between the two communities, there was better understanding between them than now. To-day there is complete isolation and mutual exclusion from society. Indians and Englishmen are drifting wider and wider apart in India. In the midst of this human clash and conflict it is difficult to keep a semblance of order and goodwill. To be otherwise would be a miracle. This is the root of Britain's trouble in India.

To win the war and wrest East Africa from Germany and Mesopotamia from Turkey was a great achievement for England; to reduce a warlike race to subjection and establish a civil administration was an achievement still greater; but England's fitness to hold an empire will be decided in India within the next few years. The American War of In-

dependence made an Englishman exclaim that colonies are like fruits; they fall off when they are ripe. But England falsified that dictum by her policy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Her daring statesmanship in South Africa fairly left the world gasping for breath. To-day she stands face to face with the most difficult of situations—self-interest pulling one way; honour, justice and duty all pointing in the opposite direction. It is for England to convince India that on the chessboard of the Empire she is not a mere pawn to be moved at the pleasure of England but a real living entity, with rights and duties similar to the other component parts of the Empire, and will not be moved unless it be for her own benefit. The task before Britain now is to create and maintain a sympathetic, humanising atmosphere in India and make the machinery of Government run smooth and silent by a copious application to the wheels of that potent lubricant—understanding and goodwill.

A reconstruction of Indian politics and incidentally of Indian society is not only necessary, but imminent. There are two alternative methods. Either India can continue developing on the lines she followed hitherto.

viz., Eastern ideals and institutions running in double harness with the Western, and proceeding to a democratic goal like other parts of the Empire, feeling community of interests with them, enjoying the privileges and shouldering the burdens of the common partnership; or, on the other hand, cut herself completely away from Britain and her Empire, casting off the culture of the West with all its emblems and paraphernalia of civilisation and return to the ways she developed centuries ago and retained intact through the changing vicissitudes of her chequered history. It will be more correct to call the former Reconstruction and the latter Restoration. That a change is even now taking place no one denies. The only question is whether it is to be Restoration or Re-construction. The process is going on rapidly, in spite of daily difficulties, and increasing perplexities. The strides are long and rapid. All parties are trying to make the transition as orderly as possible. The Bureaucrats cry, 'Halt!'; Moderates shout, "Go easy; steady!", while Non-cooperators preach passive resistance and non-violence all along the line. Every one is convinced that the future of the country is

trembling in the balance and are sparing no pains to influence the decisions that will ultimately be determined upon by the masses. It is a three-cornered contest now, the bureaucrats and N. C. O.'s vigorously playing and Moderates watching—any two teams working together whole-heartedly being at present able to beat the third hollow. Moderate and Conservative opinions accept the new condition knowing that the future of India is at stake and are ready to throw themselves into the task of Reconstruction if they see their way to get a recognition of their right to self-government on Colonial lines as an integral part of the Empire and elicit from the Britisher an appreciation of the new spirit of self-respect that has taken hold of Indians generally. They ask for an improved status for Indians in the Empire, for, despised within the Empire itself they are despised round the rest of the world. They demand equality of possession and treatment as between Indian and Englishman and consider that in their own country and in its affairs where their interests are affected they have their own views and suggestions to make. Co-operation as equals, not subordination, is their watchword.

Among the progressive politicians and thinkers of England these views and aspirations meet with no opposition; but on the other hand are welcomed as signs of a promise of better relations and firmer unity. They recognise, as voiced by Lord Reading even recently, that Imperial unity is unattainable unless the confidence of all races and creeds in the Empire is gained and their sympathy and co-operation assured; unless they are placed in a position to realise how their help and co-operation are needed for the safety and welfare of the Commonwealth. Trust, not distrust, is the basis of strength. Confidence must take the place of suspicion, duty to the Empire must take the place of sectional self-interest in the relation between the various races and classes. Indians do not see themselves as a mere incident in the history and happenings of the Empire, nor are they prepared to look upon their rights and privileges or their particular requirements as subordinate to those of any one else. England and the Empire may prescribe any remedy they like for India, but in her own affairs she is the final authority. She is both intelligent and enlightened, astute and alert—India's message to the nations of the world

to-day, including England, is: "I have as much right to live, and live as well as you."

The Indian political agitator is not an accident in Indian life. He is a product of the times, born of the changed conditions, and has come to stay. He will take his place on the other side of the table against the bureaucrats in all their undertakings, schemes, plans, projects and programmes, seeking no favours, and going there as a matter of right insists on an acknowledgment of the fact that he has come and claims to be heard. He is strong in the conviction that his advent is for the benefit of all concerned and in case he is not given a respectful hearing threatens to make it unpleasant for the bureaucracy outside the council chamber.

The war in many respects was an eye-opener to India. It demonstrated beyond doubt the immense possibilities of India in men and material and the supreme importance of both in times of war and peace. It brought out the dependence of India on foreign countries even for the articles of daily use and proved, more than anything else, the utter want of organisation of the vast resources of the country which with care could be used for national

advancement. The extent to which India had lost her industries, the damage and deterioration caused to the existing ones by foreign competition, the amount of new capital required to revive and restore them, the necessity for adopting modern industrial methods before India could hold her own industrially, the innumerable difficulties that have to be surmounted before anything could be achieved, the certain prospect of enhanced taxation as a consequence of the war, all point to the barren prospect ahead. The Government and the people are both confronted with this huge problem; and conferences, committees and commissions have kept cropping up everywhere. The war has taught them both many valuable lessons and they are busy sizing up the problem and devising ways and means. An increase in salaries has almost satisfied the bureaucracy for the time being, while for the people they recommend an industrial regeneration to enable a larger employment of the man power of the country, and industrial training to the better classes of Indians to enable them to organise labour and capital and thus ensure more production, which alone means prosperity to the country.

These proposals are nothing new. They

formed the subject matter of agitation before the war. While in the West, England, Germany and America were taking rapid strides in industries, Japan in the East showed India what was possible here. The partition of Bengal gave a stimulus to the increasing desire of India for industrial regeneration. After the war even the bureaucracy was convinced that India's production of wealth was out of all proportion to her immense possibilities and in the characteristically slow way of the Britisher and the slower way of the Bureaucracy they are now thinking of finding the way to make a beginning; and as a first step have appointed Directors of Industries with undefined powers and functions.

The N.C.O. movement opened the eyes of the Bureaucracy to the agelong fight of the masses against poverty. The prospect of having to pay less rent and less taxes appeals to the starving peasant more than narratives of the glories of British rule, of the great blessings of law and order or even eloquent panygerics on Pax Britannica. There can be no greater enemy of a Government than a wide spread famine, no greater condemnation of the method of rule than a nation in rags. This is the problem the Bureaucracy has to solve. Unaided it is

helpless. Intelligent co-operation between the bureaucracy and the Indian publicists alone will give the key to its solution.

If Britain finds an enemy in the Non-co-operator she ought to see a worse enemy in the English extremist who fancies he finds a foe in every Indian bush. Extremists on both sides make the usually difficult work of Reconstruction, if not impossible, at least of increasing difficulty. It is the aim and object of the British extremist to keep political and industrial India precisely where she is, perpetually marking time, always dependent on Britain primarily and on other European and American nations secondarily, degraded, slavish, straving. On the other hand the Indian extremists, particularly Non-co-operators want a return to the Vedic days with its abundance of soul-force and spiritual assets, but heedless of material wealth of any kind. Whatever the new order, if it is not suited to the genius of the Indian nation, before the experiment is many months old there will be widespread discontent and utter chaos for the pains of its authors.

The other alternative is that the future of India lies on the line of an industrial regeneration by a mutual arrangement between the bureau-

cracy and the people based on mutual respect and sympathy, by welcoming the Indian as sole owner of India and an equal partner in the Empire. Many level-headed people of both races have subscribed to this view and consider that the true function of Britain is to hold the balance even between the various nations of the Empire, to enable every component part thereof to increase the extent and quality of its wealth and production, to enable each race to take its position as an integral and worthy member of the Commonwealth.

On the successful discharge of this function will depend the position of Britain in the Empire on the one hand and of the stability of the Commonwealth on the other.

17

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA.

The stress and strain of war introduced a new spirit into the world and infused new life into all nations. Many orthodox theories of government, established as the hills and accepted as gospels, disappeared. Quite heterodox ones that in pre-war days shocked respectable citizens and often secured for their exponents an unevitable position as involuntary guests of the State came to be freely aired, and before the close of the war, definitely accepted. The position of Europe as the one and only stronghold of civilisation, the right of Europe to the last word on trade and diplomacy throughout the world, the claim of Europe to be the policeman of the world on beat, with the right to interfere where and when deemed necessary, as against which assumption America propounded the Munro doctrine, the dependence of the rest of the world on Europe as a practical result of the "Whiteman's Burden", all had to give way

before a new spirit of self-reliance and enterprise. Then came the famous Fourteen points of Dr. Wilson that caused endless controversy in Europe and on which the world almost came to blows again. But the outstanding fact from out of all this is the recognition of the right of every nation to self-determination and the right of even small nations to independence. These two great and humane principles were reduced into practice all over Europe—except, let us add in a stage whisper, in Ireland until recently. But with all that great changes have taken place in the industrial world, creating a new interest in industrial research leading to mutual co-operation and the opening of technical schools and institutions in all countries.

It is one of the fundamental facts of Indian economics that India pays large sums to England for the services of her sons in Indian Civil Service and towards the maintenance of the Army and Navy of England. And it is elementary economics that such payment can only be made in commodities. In addition to this India has borrowed heavily from England, the interest on which again has to be paid for in kind. Apart from all this she

imports large quantities of manufactured goods for which she gives her raw materials in exchange. As against all these liabilities which are becoming heavier year after year she is entirely dependent on the bounties of Nature, which certainly do not increase likewise. As population increases and our annual income remains the same, while the price of imported articles rises two hundred and three hundred per cent., national bankruptcy is an inevitable result, unless it is met by increased production—if not of raw materials, at least of manufactured goods.

It is easy to talk about the necessity of production; but the difficulties surrounding it are many and almost insurmountable. Turn whichever way she likes India finds the mailed fist of the British manufacturer trying to shower excise duties on her. Then, there is the difficulty of coaxing Indian capital, which is always shy, besides the necessity in most cases of entrusting the infant concern to a foreign expert who is naturally jealous. And above all there will be the difficulty of reconciling labour to prevent strikes, which at present in India spell—RUIN. In the face of all these conditions it is necessary to undertake the business.

of turning out goods good in quality and ample in quantity, after paying all engaged in their manufacture wages large enough to command the ordinary comforts of life and supply incentive enough for fresh exertion to make the undertaking a success. The first requisite for this is the promotion of mutual goodwill and understanding between labour and capital, and lay down the rules under which the parties agree to co-operate with one another to promote the common business which is vital to all.

There must also be co-operation among capitalists; and lastly sufficient attraction to draw business heads on which depends ultimate success.

Military expenditure and the cost of civil administration in India are increasing year by year. This means increased taxation which can only be met in the long run by increased production. This necessitates the adoption of up-to-date machinery and methods. The retention of plants out of date or inconvenient in their design are wasteful of time and energy that would otherwise have gone into the work itself, producing better results; whereas an adherence to conservative methods kills efficiency

in production. To compete, therefore, with the European and American manufacturer Indian capital and labour require expert advice, State-aid and encouragement and, in some instances, a protective tariff. India exports almost all her raw materials such as cotton, oil seeds and so forth, which she imports back manufactured, at often ten times the price, paying in exchange raw materials again and even the very food-stuffs that should have gone to feed her children. By the export of one commodity, e. g., cotton alone, India enriches an army of foreign capitalists, middlemen and labourers: the English merchant purchasing the cotton in India, the railway company carrying it to a port, the steamship company taking it to England, the English railway transporting it to Lancashire, the merchants and brokers buying and selling to the mill-owners, the spinners and weavers making the cloth, and the numerous agencies back again till the cloth reaches the Indian market and is sold to the cultivator who originally raised the cotton with his own hands on Indian soil.

The conflict between England and India, though on the surface political is at bottom also economic. In a debate in the Legislative

Assembly on Non-Co-operation Sir William Vincent proved that the Government of India had sized the situation and said that steps will be taken to introduce a tenancy legislation. The political side of the agitation affects and interests primarily the higher or "politically-minded" classes, as the Bureaucracy calls them. To the average Indian living in a village, whose excursions into towns are rare and into politics rarer and strictly confined to those occasions when he listens to an homily from his vakil or more likely from his vakil's clerk, the British Government to him is like air or ether, electricity or magnetism, existing somewhere, but unconscious of its presence. When the political agitator confronted him with the prospect of Swaraj and self-rule he remained philosophically calm and unmoved. In the pre-war days he strongly doubted the possibility as well as the desirability of the suggested change. But it is suspected that the troubles of England during the war were capitalised by the agitators. To the Hindu, the German and to the Muslim, the Turk, were respectively pointed out as the prospective rulers of India until the time came when the next step of claiming independence for India was taken. But with all that the ignorant

villager had to be told that under Swaraj the fearful drain of civil and military expenditure would be stopped and the consequent saving utilised for the development of manufactures and industries, promising thereby a future full of glory and a land flowing with milk and honey.

The war affected the average man and woman in England and in India in exactly opposite ways. In England "unemployment passed out of the country during the war, because trade was booming, new demands on the labour power mounted daily, productive men by the million left their work-places for the Front, the Government become the great spender and almost monopolised the purchasing power of the nation, having to pay no regard to the consequences of destroying rather than replenishing things." "All through the war the country has been prosperous. Women who never saw the inside of big Piccadilly and Regent Street shops became familiar customers of the luxury department. The ghosts which haunted the very retreats of pre-war statesmen, Unemployment, was happily laid, at least for the time being. There was work enough—something new in British memory. Labour disturbances, though not unknown during the war,

fell to a small figure, for war power has a way of bringing the industrial disputants to terms, and short shrift for the recalcitrant." Though war proved a spendthrift business and the future became its prey, a semblance of general prosperity pervaded all classes. Whereas in India the raw materials which constituted all her wealth and which could only be exported to be manufactured elsewhere, there being no factories here, could not find a sale in enemy countries, did not find a market in other countries and in all cases the producers were greatly handicapped by the growing tonnage difficulties brought on by the indiscriminate submarine policy of Germany. While India's produce was sold for little or nothing her imports had to be paid for through the nose. Unemployment increased, while the men recruited into the fighting and labour ranks were paid but a pittance. The armistice which was hailed as a blessing and Godsend relief and followed by the signing of the peace treaty itself brought no real economic relief to the land. Prices remained as high, living as dear, as in war time. And what is worse, with no prospect of improvement in sight.

This is the real discontent in rural India. Common suffering made all parties join hands and turn to the political agitator for a lead. The Jallanwallah Bagh incident and Khilafat grievances are merely pegs on which all parties find it convenient to hang their respective grievances. A brotherhood of sacrifice is vigorously being preached and is fast becoming the general sentiment of the nation. To-day hundreds and thousands of India's proudest and noblest souls are cheerfully undergoing imprisonment as passive resisters for civil disobedience. Bitterness against the bureaucracy alike from the economic and political point of view is daily hammered into the heads of people. The problem for England, therefore, is to devise means to avoid an eruption by inaugurating a policy of industrial advancement, drastic retrenchment and other definite proposals to be immediately taken on hand progressing side by side with the transfer of political power to the people, and thus vindicate the honour and prestige of British statesmanship.

Under the changed conditions brought about by the war no one in India appreciates the go-slow policy of the British Cabinet, much less the mark-time methods of the

bureaucracy. Condemnation is general, with only this qualification, that all enlightened Indians feel it and own it, though only the more outspoken and impulsive among them voice it publicly. What we, therefore, hear is not the whole story, much less in all its details. Some are afraid of the law, others of the Bureaucracy, yet others hope to get favours and titles and choose to keep their views to themselves. But in drawing rooms and at dinner parties, in secluded places and in safe retreats, where official and non-official spies of the Government are not suspected discontent has been known to be ventilated even by persons who earned a reputation for loyalty. It is, therefore, more important to know what is in the minds of people rather than see that they apply the brake to all expression. By a true appreciation of the real state of affairs we will not be condoning a mutually disastrous situation but will be in a position to deal with it intelligently and effectively. It will be foolish to shut our eyes and try to ignore a magazine of gun powder which may explode any moment, while to be fore-warned about it will keep us fore-armed to render the magazine harmless, if not remove it altogether. British

statesmanship has not failed so deplorably in any instance as in the industrial policy they pursued in India hitherto. Some blind economists and muddle-headed politicians in England came to the conclusion at one time that India, with her extensive and fertile land, her cheap labour and teeming millions was specially created by Providence to grow raw materials, that bleak England, with her snow and frost and unable to produce enough food for her children, but abounding in coal and iron, was specially ordained to make into finished articles. This dispensation of the Almighty was found so satisfactory that steps were taken to put it on a firmer footing by an admirably regulated system of tariffs and excise arrangements. This resulted in British manufacturers, especially in Lancashire, coming to believe that in the trade with India they had acquired a vested interest, any attempt to interfere with which even for the supreme good of this country is resented most bitterly, as is the case to-day. While the expenses of Government keep on increasing the wealth of the country remains stationary. It is a mistaken belief that in the industrial world there is only a certain fixed amount of work to go

round every year, and if that is got through quickly or by employing greater numbers unemployment will be a sure consequence. Ignorant of the principles of economics they concluded that the demand for any one kind of article is necessarily limited and under no circumstances could increase; and that demand is bound to remain stationary for all times. This led them to see the advantages of obtaining a monopoly in production and supply for their country, ignoring the increasing needs of civilisation and the birth of various new industries. If on the other hand English economists had realised that the world is large enough for both the English and Indian manufacturer to exist side by side, that prosperity of the one need not necessarily be at the expense of the other, that India's growing wealth did not necessarily spell the loss of Britain's political power here, and realised that a prosperous India was in any case less dangerous to Britain than a flourishing Germany or Japan, even if she could not be counted an asset of the Empire, and allowed India's wealth•production to progress unhampered, the last war would not have been a 'four years' hard grinding for England or the work of re-

construction nearly so difficult as now, nor found the economic situation in the Empire in such hopeless muddle. England paid a heavy price for the war by the lives of many brave men, by the limbs and physical senses of thousands of her youth in their prime, by the toil of her men, women and children in the fields and in the factories, by untold anxieties and worries and by the expenditure of every pound she could spare and every penny she could borrow. A lesson learnt at this appallingly high price must indeed be a valuable one and will never be forgotten. But a greater and more useful is the one she is now learning by realizing her utter helplessness to repair and improve her position with all the unlimited and untapped resources in men and material and other immense possibilities in India that still stagger the world.

When the war broke out suddenly England found herself unprepared, the Empire unorganised, and India useless as a fighting element except for her army. Every part of the Empire put forth its best. England showed what tremendous sacrifices she was capable of and what possibilities lay lurked in her unknown to all, including herself. So far as

India was concerned serious doubts were entertained whether she should be entered among the assets or liabilities of the Empire, and the bold statesmanship of Lord Hardinge alone finally proved the reality. India did her utmost to win the war and the loyalty, alike of the Princes and of the People, elicited the warm admiration of England and brought about the far too much advertised "change in the Angle of Vision". In the place of a power that could crush the Central Powers in the hallow of her hand if all India's resources in men and material had been conserved, organised and kept ready for an emergency, England found India weak and helpless, sending up her prayers to the Almighty in her temples and mosques for the success of the British arms—displaying plenty of Mahatma Gandhi's soul-force to meet Germany's high explosives and submarines, and immediately capable of offering only Mr. Gandhi's frugal meal of goat's milk and nuts to feed the armies in France and Flanders.

The time has come for thinking men of Britain and India to act. The stupid fears stupidly entertained hitherto have done enough harm already and must not be allowed to

stand any longer in the way of a progressive policy of Indian Industrial regeneration being generously undertaken and sympathetically carried out. India does not wish for any paternal solicitude from Britain but desires to make a hard business agreement calculated to benefit both countries. Patronising attitude and paternal solicitude will no longer be appreciated and is sure to be resented. Co-operation between the two countries, team-play against others in the markets of the world, is all that is needed and will be tolerated. By the combination of the cheap but efficient labour of India with the technical knowledge of the British manufacturer and under the expert guidance of British captains of industry India seeks to rise in the scale of manufacturing nations, attaining to greater production and all-round efficiency for the masses and material prosperity to the country.

This is England's primary task in India now—viz., how to profit in common and by agreement. The time is passed for enforced submission or even for enforced "compromise." Even a voluntary compromise entered into between the bureaucracy and any section of the people will not allay the present difficul-

ties, because discontent has moved from the educated classes to the masses, who too often feel the skins of their stomachs tickling their backbones. Until a way is found to stop this and the wolf efficiently kept away from Indian doors England's task here will remain unfinished, her trust undischarged.

Under the "Montford" regime there is now such a functionary as Minister of Developments. The war threw a searchlight over the industries of the Empire, especially India, and war time economies taught important lessons. The German submarine has been called the Champion Promoter of British agriculture. Before the war England did not produce enough food stuffs to feed her children for six months and was content to import the remainder from India and other countries—America and Russia being prominent among them. After the Russian Revolution one source was cut off and with the increasing activities of the German submarines in the Atlantic the Indian supply became of vital importance. But there was not much forthcoming from this side of the waters because agriculture was undeveloped and carried along crude lines. The war showed in England what could be

done by the extension of tillage opportunities, increasing the number of small holdings, and the adoption of scientific methods of cultivation and management. From out of the surplus of the vegetables grown in the kitchen gardens in London the stalls in Covent Garden received their supply, demonstrating thereby the possibilities of intensive cultivation. The possibilities of an increased output in India are enormous. Every one will concede that individual as well as national prosperity depends upon maximum production. Be productive and all things shall be added unto you is one of the commandments of economics that "cannot be trifled with or ignored without general misery as penalty."

In all matters of production goodwill is an important factor everywhere. In India we want goodwill between labour and capital, between the factory owner and the Government. "If we catalogue the waste that stands in the way of increased output, which output every body concedes is the basis of prosperity and will alone make good the war damage we should have to place at the head of the list the waste from ill-will or rather the absence, of goodwill. I have always held that good-will

is as big a factor in rapid and economical production as skill itself. Great Britain has begun to think about the place of this valuable article, good-will, in its productive programme. I do not mean to suggest that this is a new thought: far from it. There are establishments that have understood it, and lived up to its suggestions for more than a generation. But never has there been so widespread an effort as now to work out a basis of mutual confidence in the relation of the employer with the employee. It may fairly be said that all parties realise that the production called for is out of the question unless a new spirit of reciprocity is at work. To make this spirit possible waste prevention is one of the first obligations—prevention of wastes material and wastes human."

The enhanced need of production for India is obvious. Her population is increasing. Her administration is becoming more and more costly. Large sums have to be sent to Britain year after year as the earnings and pensions of British employees in India and our naval and military contribution "for the protection" and "defence" of India. We have to pay interest on the British capital invested in this

land in railways, factories, mills and other business concerns. All this, as already pointed out, has to be paid for in goods and materials; by replacing old ones with new, by supplying fresh materials in place of those taken out of the country. To possess more than is given away is to be prosperous. To have less is to become poorer and tread the road to national bankruptcy. Any way the situation can only be met by increased output, by giving an incentive to both capital and labour and by the State giving aid and encouragement.)

Then there is the present system of education that is severely taken to task. It is one of the stern indictments of Mahatma Gandhi that all that is imparted in our schools is vile, unnational, irreligious, soul-killing and specially devised to shape the "slave-mentality". It is a grim fact that our schools and colleges have turned out office-clerks and quill-drivers by the dozen, who can be had for any price and on any terms. Another plentiful supply is of Vakils who possess plenty of learning and book knowledge easily capable of burying you in a hail-storm of leading cases and Full Bench decisions on any given subject without one moment's notice, but quite unable to tell you

where their next day's meal is to come from. The lack of openings, suitable or unsuitable, for the young men of the land, the growing poverty and unemployment of the masses, the imposition of Western culture and learning with Western methods of life without the wherewithal to maintain them, the absence of industries and the pardonable dislike of an educated man to manual labour in the farms and fields, make agitators of our young men rather than useful, wealth-producing citizens of the State. It is essential, therefore, that we must do all that we can to encourage agriculture and thus at once relieve unemployment of hundreds of thousands and increase the amount of food produced. Increase the number of small holdings and divide all the land now lying waste among the masses; introduce legislation that will see the land put to the best use to benefit society rather than fetch the biggest rent to the landlord or the largest revenue to the State; erect factories at State expense and run them as models for others to copy, guarantee State aid to all ventures likely to benefit the community and be profitable as a business concern until they are able to stand on their own legs; and make it possible for young men to work in them to

the advantage of both the individual and the community. "It all comes to a question of putting more brains into industry. We have too often been putting our brains into trying to cheat each other; we must learn to apply them not merely to make profit but to produce. The true way is to discover how to prevent waste and loss, to find how to do an operation in half the time and with half the effort—how to save half the capital. This is real economy and an addition to actual production."

"Consider what an advance it would be if all the boys and girls out of the 15 million of workers instead of being allowed, as a large number now are, to grow up rather clumsy, stupid louts who have not their intelligence awakened, were turned out with as good minds, say as the ordinary Working Men's Educational classes. Think of the increased productivity in the real sense that such a trained and disciplined labour force would mean.

"We have muddled along without organisation, but now we recognise that we have to face a great emergency. We must produce more or go short. This can be done by large scale organisation alone. How best to bring this about will take a good deal of investigation

and discovery. We have too many separate people doing the same thing. To avoid the peril of monopoly we have no end of wasteful competition."

How correctly these words describe Indian conditions of to day? Only here they exist on a far larger scale and in a more accentuated form.

In the words of Mr. W. L. Hichens, an English manufacturer employing some thirty five thousand hands: "Before the war we lived in an age of individualism, but the war taught that "patriotism ranked above individualism and that the supreme good of the country could only be secured by self-sacrifice." At the close of the war "we woke up surprised to find how far we had drifted from the old individualism of pre-war days."

"This widened outlook, I think, applies to the subject of production.....We realise now that there is an unlimited demand for everything that we can produce; it seems to me that it is an essential thing for us to work as hard as we can in order to preserve our liberties; it will also be a valuable thing if after the war we realise that it is worth while then to work as hard as we can for the sake of the whole community.

"As I say, to-day there is an unlimited demand for everything that we can produce. Now, everybody knows that if we import from abroad we have got to pay in one of four ways: By means of selling our securities; or by exporting gold—but the supply of gold is small compared to our requirements; a third way is that we can raise loans in the countries with which we wish to trade—that again is not an unlimited source of supply; the fourth and by far the most important way is that we can exchange the goods imported from this country. And that, anybody will realise, is by far the most satisfactory way of achieving our object.

"Now there are ways in which more can be done. The first is by means of increased Government organisation.....Individual liberty has its price, but it is worth paying for. However, there are certain things that Government can do. But though in this way a good deal can be done, yet I believe that we have got for the most part to depend upon our own individual enterprise and effort. I feel convinced that the production of this country can be largely increased because I believe that it is still in use to make a much bigger effort

direct method is hardly recognised as governing, though the precise name by which it is to be called still remains unsettled. "Sphere of Influence", "Protectorate", "Dependency", "Crown Colony", being some of the expressions devised to conceal the real state of affairs and practically work out the truism that Art consists in concealing Art—the Art of governing included.

Statesmen and thinkers have come to the conclusion that to keep a nation under subjection by bombs and bullets, aeroplanes and machine-guns requires much less knowledge of statecraft than winning their love and co-operation by appeals to their intelligence and self-interest. Convinced of the practicability of this plan and its soundness Britain tried it in South Africa and found it a success. Fourteen years after the Boers were vanquished in the field they were seen to shoulder their muskets and fight the battles of Britain. This is the function of the nations forming an Empire, to develop themselves internally without let or hindrance from any one, but combining to present a united front to the enemy of any race in the Empire: who is also deemed the common enemy of all. All the nations in the

Empire, whatever their race and religion, culture and material development, intelligence and martial valour, can work together in the Empire, promote the welfare of all and teach the less advanced amongst them to manage their own internal affairs independently. The final stage in Empire-building is the assumption of equality of position and opportunity by all within, discussing Imperial problems among all, rendering aid and advice in the internal affairs of any component state, when sought. An Empire should be another League of Nations on a smaller scale, acting on the decision of the majority, without constituting any one nation therein at once complainant, prosecutor, judge, policeman and executioner, nor even a big elder brother with a heavy stick. To be otherwise is nothing but the translation into action of the dictum "Might is Right" which had come to be known during the war as Prussianism, to destroy which, it was proclaimed from house-tops, the last war was waged and won at such appalling cost. The reverse of the Prussian ideal is commonly called the Anglo-Saxon ideal which is taken as synonymous with national honour, political honesty, justice, equity and good conscience.

so far as less advanced or small nations are concerned, broad-based on sympathy and the spirit of service. Without this the very institution known as Empire is doomed to fail. Where self-interest and the desire to profit at the expense of another become the dominant note in the dealings between races thus banded together disruption has begun and its culmination in the total collapse of the Empire becomes only a question of time.

The greatness of an Empire is not measured in terms of army corps and naval contingents, armaments and munition output: nor yet in terms of square miles kept under subjection. It only depends upon the love and goodwill of the races within the Empire and their readiness to co-operate with one another in war and peace. Germany's power on land and sea has been crushed; yet the German Empire still exists as a potent reality. It is a feeling of unity, the recognition of common interests and the anxiety to avert a common disaster that uphold an Empire. The government of a country is merely management of large masses of men. Management of men means management of human nature. Human nature in all countries, among all races and

at all times is not the same. It is capable of great variations. To reconcile all these variations, to adopt means and methods that will suit each community and periodically alter them as occasion demands, is at once the aim and crowning glory of the statesman and the administrator. Everything else spells failure and means disaster. It is the desire of man, civilised and uncivilised, to settle down to peace, order and a contented life. The longing for a quiet and ordered life is never out of his heart unless external circumstances are too strong for him. For this Society alone is responsible. The process of settling down, either for an individual or for a nation, will begin only when certain preliminary difficulties are overcome physically and all uneasiness of mind appeased. It will be complete only when a feeling of at least temporary satisfaction supplants a feeling of restlessness. Otherwise discontent, disaffection and bitterness alone will prevail.

That there has been growing something on the minds not only of the "politically-minded" and educated classes but also of the common people of India that has bred discontent and disaffection against the ruling com-

munity and still continues to harrass and disturb their minds in spite of two instalments of reform within twelve years, requires no great proof to convince either the Britisher or the Indian. The causes that led to this have been differently estimated by different people. British journalists like Sir Valentine Chirol coursing through this country spending much time in Government Houses and at the residences of high-placed officials have had their say on the point. The extreme wing of Indian politicians find the one and only cause in the rule of the Bureaucracy; Some years ago one of the Madras daily papers found a cause for all diseases Indian in the absence of Home Rule for India and their cure in the immediate grant thereof. That worthy journal on one occasion went the length of saying that the water supply in the Madras city was unsatisfactory alike in quality and quantity and tracing the cause to its root pronounced oracularly: "This is because we have no Home Rule". But to the impartial observer acquainted with Indians in their homes, apart from blue-books and statistics, without the aid of bureaucratic spectacles, coloured and magnifying, nor suspecting a revolutionary movement

in every marriage procession, equally free also from the mentality that under all circumstances and on every occasion is capable of thinking of only one thing, Swaraj, reminding one irresistibly of monomania, one can get a glimpse of the true cause in a kind of unvoiced resentment against the way the administration is carried on, not only by the British bureaucrat, which is certainly disapproved, but more so by many of his Indian subordinates who often out-Bureaucrat the Bureaucrat himself in their anxiety to please the rulers and ensure promotion in office. It may be extremely unfair and grossly exaggerated to characterise the bureaucratic administration generally as either harsh or incapable. Individual instances can be pointed out of European officers endearing themselves to Indians by their ceaseless wisdom and understanding of the needs of India. But they become eclipsed in the larger crowd. Indians charge the Bureaucrat with arrogance and an assumption of superiority. They find the Governors of provinces holding parties and functions to which Indians are invited along with Englishmen and treating both with equal respect and courtesy. But in the districts a Collector or a District Judge

will not as a rule invite an Indian to his house. If an Indian actually calls he is often made to wait under the shade of a distant tree, or if the person making the call is very eminent, a rickety chair is specially brought out to accomodate the distinguished visitor. He is seldom admitted into the great district official's drawing room, decorated with second hand furniture and other cheap articles of trumpery. While the bureaucrat treats the Indian as if he were infectious the Indian bows to the ground in salaming, showing extreme respect outwardly, but invariably goes home and takes a bath to purify him from the polluting touch of the former. Whereas the foreign educated Indian who treats the Englishman as an equal and expects to be treated likewise, at least treats the latter as a human being whose touch is not rendered synonymous with pollution.

While the Bureaucrat within the last forty years developed a sort of shell into which he retires from the public gaze to avoid that familiarity which is suspected of breeding contempt, and became the great person that he is, the Indian had not kept himself idle, but developed certain convictions as to how he should be governed and what his relation with Britain

should be. All sections of the people have not voiced them in the same breath, nor at same time. But the purpose has always been there and clear enough to all who looked for it. The only difference was that the more extreme and the more impulsive adopted a phrasing which sounded as if they meant to be aggressive and to undo all the organisation we now call government and tumble it into a shapeless heap. Even the others, as much as the Extremists, ardently cultivated notions of better relationship with Britain, which thoughts developed into desires and finally became convictions, the results of which we are experiencing to-day.

In 1914 India was called upon to make immense sacrifices to wage a war that was not her own, to help nations that had nothing to do with her, to fight for principles that she always cherished but always withheld from her. She was asked to be generous and not to press for political power during the war and was told much about the change in the "Angle of Vision", the democratic upheaval the world was passing through, and the right of nations to self-determination. Her representatives were taken into the closest councils of the Empire

She was made to understand with all the charm and splendour of vague indefinite promises contained in the famous pronouncement of 22nd August 1918, that the Empire, including India, was engaged in a common business directed to a common end, that the war killed the old ideas of polity, especially Imperialism and created a new interest for peoples to band together out of their free will and not by the aid of Prussian methods—muskets and sabre—and all races to possess equal interests in the Empire and create a new sense of their relation to it. Indians from that time abandoned the idea that they were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own land for the benefit of a foreign power who hold the country by the strength of its sword, and came to consider themselves equal sharers in a mutual benefit society. All through the war India was told what an important part she had played in France and in Gallipoli; how essential she was in Mesopotamia and East Africa to relieve the tension in Europe; how on her exertions depended largely success in the war; and how notions of military history had to be revised so far as India was concerned.

But almost immediately the war was over the Bureaucrat, who was inclined to recognise the Indian as a fellow-being during the period of the war, appeared suddenly to forget his existence and when reminded of it exhibited signs of irritation, as if the recollection was unpleasant. Indians soon began to talk about the bad bargain they had made of the war. Extremists got on their high horses and asked Moderates and others what simpletons they made of themselves. When the Diarchy came everybody was ashamed to acknowledge it except Mr. Montagu. The Bureaucrat displayed utter dissatisfaction and threatened to resign. The threat elicited from the Secretary of State the reply that all those who felt dissatisfied with their position under the reforms could resign or retire, which possibility with the additional allowances and revised scale of increased pay proved more satisfactory than the prospect of resignation or retirement. Then came the Punjab tragedy and the open support of General Dyer by the Englishmen in India while even people in England condemned his action.

All these things struck home the hardest. Then came a period of repression. Several

presses were closed and many newspapers gagged, followed by trials for sedition. Finally came the Rowlett Act. In all these things the Bureaucracy had naturally to depend upon its Indian subordinates. No chain can be stronger than its weakest link, the chain of administration making no exception to the rule. The weakest link in the bureaucratic administration of India is the ill-paid, underfed, severely tempted Indian underling, who must on the one hand please his foreign master to ensure his promotion, but at the same time is put to the gruesome necessity of taking "tips" to tide over present difficulties. He is the man who comes into direct contact with the masses and, therefore, stands in their eyes as the British Government that rules them here, if not hereafter. He acts as a sort of intermediary between the British Bureaucrat and the average Indian. The Indian suspects him as an instrument of the Bureaucracy, the Bureaucrat treats him as a man of the people and therefore, credits his views with knowledge and sympathy, little realising that the Indian subordinate shapes his opinions and suggestions on the bend of the bureaucratic mind.

Between the Indian subordinate suspected by the public and the unapproachable Bureaucrat apparently afraid of mixing with Indians either for fear of infection or for reasons of prestige, the present administration is entirely out of touch with popular sentiments and notions—the rulers and the ruled paying each other the doubtful compliment of suspicion and fear. There is nothing at work that expects, still less encourages, either class of people to broaden its outlook on life. The administrators, Indian and British, are placed on a level from where they seldom condescend to look down. The people are placed in a niche and are intended to remain there for all times quiet, obedient and regularly paying taxes as per patta previously issued or as per demands duly made. Any break in this routine is at once visited with official displeasure. The short and simple annals of the poor are the only things expected of them. Nothing else will be tolerated.

The rock on which the British administration in India threatens to get wrecked goes under the name of "Prestige". Of late we have heard so much about this rare commodity and seen such queer exhibi-

bition of it that Indians hardly recognise it now even when they stand face to face with the genuine article. Its rise in India may be traced from the days of Lord Curzon and Mr. St. John Broderick (Lord Middleton). To save the face of the one the other cast all ideas of even elementary justice and fair-play to the winds and justified and confirmed his acts as necessary to uphold the prestige of the British administration in India. From the heights of Simla it came down to the plains and has now permeated the ranks not only of the European officials who support one another even to the extent of condoning minor errors and perpetuating them, but also of their Indian subordinates. The idea underlying this sapient conception is that if the error is rectified on the complaint of one of the persons aggrieved it will be admitting to the "natives" that the members of the Heaven-born Service also, like ordinary mortals, commit mistakes and that to allow it to be taken successfully to a higher authority is to make appeals paying and the work of administration increase in volume and difficulty. It must indeed be a morbid mind that does not see that the sufferer of any wrong is only too

conscious of it and when it is not rectified by the person paid to do justice the wrong becomes a double wrong. While at first he considered but one official incapable of rendering justice he now concludes that the higher ones prove no better. If to this is added the impression that the latter's acts are the result of a calculated policy steadily pursued, all faith in justice vanishes and justice itself appears as a caricature of its real self.

This mistaken idea of prestige, at best false, has contributed much to create disaffection against the administration. Quite unjustifiably, none-the-less definitely, there is the impression going strong among some classes of Indians that it is no use appealing from one European. I. C. S. officer to another because for reasons of "Prestige" the order of the former is certain to be upheld. This belief is gaining ground even in matters of civil and criminal administration of justice. One common, but none-the-less sore, ground of complaint is in civil and criminal revision cases to the High Court. No serious attempt has been made to refute the charge that the administration of criminal justice in India is not as it is in England or in other civilised countries, but is a great deal

more stringent, rigorous, even vindictive. The subordinate magistrates are mostly persons promoted from the clerical ranks of Government service and, therefore, necessarily without the requisite qualification to make good judges. Ignorant alike of law and procedure, unable to follow the nice and subtle rules of evidence, often without much culture, with little or no knowledge of human nature and human psychology without any training at the bar, which alone could qualify one to the Bench, the subordinate magistrates that preside over the criminal courts in India are certainly no ornaments to their class, except in some notable instances. Even among the lawyers, who form a truly democratic body, some refuse to appear before these custodians of other people's liberty. Some others fight shy of these courts and only consent to appear in special cases ; while all lawyers insist on getting a much higher fee to appear in a criminal court than in a civil court, in spite of the fact that a criminal case is both easier and more interesting, showing thereby the position these courts occupy in popular and professional esteem.

Then there is the police force about which no long disquisition was ever necessary. As early as the fourth Indian National Congress,

1888, it was resolved " That it is the general belief of the people of this country that the existing system of police administration in India is highly unsatisfactory in itself and oppressive to them, the Government be respectfully urged to appoint a commission, consisting of official and non-official members to investigate the entire system as speedily as possible." The mover of this resolution said: " The British Government had bestowed on them many blessings, and had also given them the Police. No Lieutenant Governor, no Viceroy, had such power over his comfort as a simple Chowkidar or His Honour the constable. The humblest labourer in the village, the most exalted noble in the city, are equally under the control of these distinguished officials. There is no place, no spot, where Their Highnesses the Police, like the Angel of Death are not present. Let a man displease them in the slightest, and see the beneficence of our kind Police. He may know nothing about it, but there will be a criminal case filed against him, and arrangements made for requiring him to give security for good behaviour, before he can reach his home." He thought the Police were more troublesome to the honest people than to the

thieves and budmashes, and the investigation into a theft was more annoying than the robbery. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar in seconding the resolution pointed out that the policeman who ought to be loved, was detested; because, being shamefully underpaid and uneducated he was never-the-less invested with enormous powers, so that he can annoy and insult all around him with impunity. Although things are not so bad as this at present it cannot be said that the police in India are like the police in European and other countries, being in many cases inefficient and sometimes unscrupulous. Anyone who knows the conditions in India will bear testimony to the fact that like the British Army in pre-war days the Indian police force is mostly recruited from among the blacksheep of the family and the dregs of society, out of which material the Bureaucracy manufactured the existing champions of law and order. Sometime back when the present cadre of Police Sub-Inspectors was chosen from better-class men high hopes were entertained for the future of the Indian Police. They were in most cases men from respectable families, fairly educated and just the class of persons to follow a noble calling honestly. But with Rs. 50 for a start

and fifteen rupees for the upkeep of a horse, (the horse that could be kept on that sum and able to carry a police officer being still unborn, the existing horses requiring from forty to sixty rupees a month for their upkeep), with no satisfactory allowance for house rent and their uniform to be paid for out of their salaries, these young men, mostly brought up in comfort and luxury, are left with a few rupees a month to keep not only body and soul together but also to maintain a family and the dignity of their official position. There is only one way of doing it, unless their pay is raised to suit their position. With their intelligence and their opportunities they must be either more or less than human not to take advantage of them. Complaints against the police have always been numerous. The length to which they are prepared to go was recently seen at Madras when a body of police constables abused and threw stones at the Chief Presidency Magistrate for convicting a fellow constable.

And what is worse the police are almost invariably supported by the Magistracy. A young graduate who was appointed a Magistrate directly he left college told the present writer that on being asked by the Collector of

his district as to what he did in a certain sensational case, which the police charged after considerable delay, answered that he could not definitely find the accused guilty and giving the benefit of the doubt discharged him. The Collector looked shocked and exclaimed "What! benefit of the doubt in a police case?" The young Magistrate took the hint and has faithfully discharged his duty since, as seen by his subsequent promotion and present position.

The chief cause of the present administrative decay is the easy-going habits of the Bureaucrat that necessitated the adoption of the system of office notes. Here the Brahmin clerk makes his entrance. Intelligent, industrious and educated he finds it both pleasant and paying to go through large bundles of papers primarily meant for his European "boss". When this dignitary opens the bundle he sees the notes prepared by the Indian clerk and finds them both correct and useful. Instances have not been unknown where the clerk noted in pencil the order that was to be passed which the (boss) quietly adopted as his own—himself getting credit for quick despatch of business, the clerk, an appreciation from the boss and an assured chance of promotion. This makes

the boss lazier and more and more dependent on the Indian clerk who never forgets to advertise, even by showing his pencil notes to others, his power and influence with the "boss." This in many instances led to corruption ending in dismissal, departmental inquiries, degradation and transfers.

This system, if anything, tends to lower the prestige of the Bureaucrat, who is sometimes put down as a mere tool in the hands of some Indian underling. The underling thinks he is pleasing his boss and feathering his own nest, not caring what other people think of him. The frequent transfers of officials from place to place and the certain chance of official support by virtue of the doctrine of prestige render his position perfectly safe and the fear of public opinion almost nil. The Bureaucrat takes the views of the Indian underling as the real condition of the popular mind and acting on them gathers all the odium on his head, while the underling goes about advertising himself as having done his best to dissuade the boss from the step taken, though inwardly feeling satisfaction at having pleased his superior in office. This sad tragedy is going on from day by day and every one sees it

except the purblind Bureaucrat who thinks of emergencies in terms of machine-guns and martial law without trying to find out what can be done immediately to relieve the tension and restore good feeling between the two communities.

The whole trouble with the present situation is that it is not so simple as all parties seem to think. Neither machine gun and martial law nor N. C. O. will clear the atmosphere. The temper of both races, Indian and British, should be changed, and changed at once. Extremists on both sides are equally unfit for this purpose. By extremists I do not mean all non-co-operators on the one hand but only the extreme wing among them, and on the other the rabid Anglo-Indians who are creating a fuss in England in spite of the earnest prayers of their compatriots here. There is no class anywhere in India that influences the tone and temper of the Indian public like the educated classes, who must be satisfied and won over to ensure the smooth working of the administrative machinery. They shape public opinion in India and unless the State provides them with the means of existence, not clerkships nor other Government

places; necessarily, the State cannot claim nor legitimately command their support. They think of the State as existing for its people and unless it makes life and existence possible the State has very little use for them; and the State can have no claim on them. Who can say that they are wrong? What is more important, because it is more immediately wanted, is to introduce some change in the intermediary between the Bureaucrat at the top of the administrative ladder and the rank and file of the people below. Under the present system an Indian entering Government service is looked upon as having sold himself body and soul. For him the class to which he once belonged does not seem to exist any longer. He becomes centered in himself, his work and his future, and allows all else to go by the board. Directly he enters service he feels transported to a higher, better, nobler atmosphere, even though at times he has to salaam low, cringe, fawn and flatter. All this he exacts in his turn from those under him and when the average man in the street treats him as an equal this official feels insulted, outraged, and holds aloof. In time he loses touch with the public altogether, but assured of his promotion he

does not mind the change and is glad that with time his power will increase and the public will remain more and more at his mercy.

This may sound a little exaggerated. But take any young Munsif who five years ago was a briefless vakil at the bar and see what airs he puts on when raised to the Bench, though there were both before his time and after scores of other vakils who would not have accepted a Subordinate Judge's place to start with. When he becomes one of the chosen few, who alone can hold power and none are lifted over his head, except those already in the service, he pays back in disrespect and arrogance for the lean days he had to submit at the bar and soon develops a shell like a tortoise and at every contingency withdraws himself into it rather than learn the naked truth about things. When you come to a High Court Judge or member of the Executive Council he is absolutely unapproachable. In the case of judges administering civil justice the harm, if any, arising from this affects only themselves not the public. But where it extends to Police and administrative officers the injury is more to the public. This evil can only be remedied when the officers concern-

ed are made to realise that men of superior merit, even if not in the service to-day may become their official superiors to-morrow, and thus ensure respect and courtesy to all.

This system of direct appointment to high offices has, in addition, the charm of making the administration less wooden, less iron, more flexible. An infusion of fresh blood will keep it strong and efficient, as also up-to-date; while the possibility of better men being drafted over their heads will make the officials strive their utmost to give all-round satisfaction, for fear of being superceded. It will make them broaden their out-look on life generally and on their work in particular without being transformed into pocketted, side-tracked individuals. It will also help them to grow in insight and deal with fellow-men with more kindness and sympathy. The action and reaction of the Indian official on the public and vice versa will result in better relations between the two communities, British and Indian.

To-day the gap between the rulers and the ruled is very wide. This can only be reduced by setting up a fluid and elastic Indian element between the Bureaucracy and the masses. The Indian Ministers, so far, have

only succeeded in crossing the floor and joining the ranks on the other side without setting up any fresh line of communication with the people. They seem to think they have attained Bureaucratic rank rather than appreciate the honour and confidence reposed in them by the public. This spells their ruin in the final settling of accounts. For good and for evil their power and influence is slight, at best temporary. The real evil and its proper solution should be traced to the underlings of the service who must be occasionally stiffened with new men and infused with broader ideas till they come to believe that they are servants of the public and not its masters.

About these same underlings on whom the Bureaucrat depends so much, and for whose office-notes he is ever thankful, he is sadly mistaken. It is one of the peculiarities of the Indian administration that a man enters it with glee, but after a time becomes indifferent and comes out of it in many cases seething with disaffection and discontent. The number of ex-service men turned agitators is by no means small. Yet these are mostly the right-hand men of the Bureaucracy while

they were in the service. This clearly proves that for economic reasons they entered Government service and danced to the Bureaucratic tune all the time they were there, but having made their pile and earned their pension they went back to what they felt the right thing. This may not be very honest, certainly not grateful. But they call it patriotism, which they claim, ranks higher than honesty and gratitude. Surely this state of affairs offers room for reflection.

On the other hand the masses have also been undergoing a mental overhauling, the exact nature and extent of which no Britisher has yet realised. The Bureaucrat has wound himself into the belief that the educated classes, otherwise styled "politically minded," are mostly disappointed and discontented place hunters who create all this noise whilst the agitation has not reached the masses. It is the present fear of the Government that the N.C.O. propaganda might hereafter rouse the sleeping masses in the villages. No error can be further from the truth. That propaganda was at all rendered possible because the ground has been prepared and got ready to receive seed a long time ago. True, it began with

the educated classes. The foreign travelled men gave it an impetus; the Congress propaganda strengthened it; but the War gave it the coping stone and the finishing touches.

To form a correct estimate of what has really taken place among the masses and what is on their minds we must watch them at their meetings and other places of gathering, mosques, temples, fairs and festivals. Here some people air their views and others get their inspiration. It is wonderful that people who were not till then aware that in Europe there were other races than the British suddenly evinced an interest in the great war and ranged themselves into two camps dividing their sympathies between Britain and Germany. Some amateur agitators made much capital out of the battles of Mons and Charleroi and when told about the fight on the Marne received the news with a smile. Every village, if not every family with an English-knowing member, subscribed for some daily paper and evening after evening large crowds met and discussed the latest war news—the agitators, no doubt, magnifying the losses of the Allies. This continued till every one was convinced, at least, made to believe that Britain like any

other power is capable of checks, even defeats. Then came the Home Rule agitation headed by Mrs. Besant, her internment, soon followed by her release, the Armistice and the great hopes that came with it, the economic muddle and trade dislocation, the high prices, increasing unemployment and a thousand other little things with fresh agitation that made people feel discontented and the Government as roundly described as selfish in their own interests and partial to their countrymen.

Along with the advancing political demands there has also been a corresponding advance in ideas of independence and self-respect among the people. All Englishmen with progressive ideas and enlightened views have not only observed these stirrings in the Indian mind, but have viewed them with sympathy and goodwill; and earnest attempts have been made to square the old idea of England's tutelage of India with the new born self-respect of the Indian; and be it said to the credit of Englishmen that not a few have been found to welcome the change as opening a vista of new possibilities.

The present unrest in India cannot, therefore, be accounted for as the discontent caused

by a few disappointed place-hunters. On the other hand we see to-day men earning fabulous incomes at the Bar, in trade and other occupations and who could not certainly be place-hunters in any sense of the word, making superhuman sacrifices devoting themselves and all to politics; others giving up titles as a protest against the existing state of affairs, yet others braving the disgrace and hardships of prosecution and jail. In previous political agitations Britain could ask a simple question: "How much more power for your Legislative Councils do you want this time, and what additional appointments for your leaders?" and the answer constituted the full political advance the country had made till then. No doubt demands for the repeal of the Arms Act, Salt tax, Press Act, repressive measures, etc., walked in the train behind. Until recently the masses had not felt that there was anything wrong in the system of Government nor felt any revolt against the ruling classes. But within the last three years, since Mr. Gandhi's interference in Khaira and Champran and the whirl-wind propaganda he set on foot, a marked change has taken place in the minds and attitude of the people towards the

Government. There grew up a new note of criticism, a spirit of condemnation of present institutions, a violent denial of the idea that the present administration is well-conducted, leaving hardly any room for improvement. Among large classes of the people, especially the younger generation, a new spirit has arisen, a new turn has appeared, making them prepared to go any length, face any risk, undergo any sacrifice. They are told of the stupendous sacrifices that the young men of Britain made in the hour of that country's peril, and young Indians are also asked to sacrifice something in their turn for the good of their country. True, the boycott of schools was entirely out of all proportion to the hopes entertained by Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants; the boycott of the law courts and suspension of practice by lawyers was almost negligible. The outward results of the present political movement are not very great, but the ferment is there right enough and still powerfully agitates all minds, young and old.

It has been said that the whole thing may be dismissed with contempt as the "half-baked notions of the imperfectly educated", who have been rendered the victims of new phrases and catchwords by the more experienced

agitators. But there is not a school-going boy who has not been infused with violent political feelings, who has not been told what his country ultimately wants and how it may be achieved. Plastic and impressionable, these young men and boys are indeed tenacious. They resent being told that they are a subject-race. They retort by saying that if they are a subject-race they are the victims of treachery, because Britain did not conquer India but made India conquer herself for Britain. Having realised it, at least now, they seek to remedy the evil at once. They begin by refusing to remain a mere cog-wheel in the machine of the Empire. They declare that the Empire exists for them and not they for the Empire. On their banner is inscribed the motto adapted from Ireland, "Live India; perish the Empire." They violently repudiate the idea that they ought to be content with a slow advance in their political condition, dislike intensely the committees and commissions intended to investigate the changes necessary to ameliorate their condition, suspect keenly the new educational policy inaugurated, treat the new Reforms as a fraud committed on their credulity and meet every action of the Government with the

suspicion that it is actuated by a desire to circumvent by subtle means their right to self-government. At one time any little kindness was appreciated; and the Indian could be humoured with a show of listening to his demands. Now he wants something different, and claims to be treated by Englishmen as an equal—equal in politics, in business, in society—without which he finds his new born self-respect cannot thrive. In the civilised cities of the world Indians are not treated with respect, but often with ill-concealed contempt. The more active spirits in India are out to rectify this. Raising the status of the Indian in India, in Britain, in the colonies and elsewhere in the Empire, is his self-appointed task. This, he believes, is the only way to command respect in other parts of the world as well.

The Bureaucracy was prosecuting and suppressing the minor fry among the agitators leaving the tallest heads alone. The immediate result of this is to bring the Government into hatred, ridicule and contempt. When Mahatma Gandhi went about the country denouncing the Government as unconstitutional, immoral, unjust, satanic, he was allowed the right of free speech, but when his followers used less violent

language they were prosecuted and convicted, printing presses were put on security or threatened with confiscation. Agitators have used this action of the government to serve their ends and depicted the government as wanting in courage where big men were involved but tyrannising smaller men. Behind all this there is a great deal of quiet propaganda going on among the masses not fully appreciated by the public and hardly known to the government. Ask any man in the street, even a Muhammadan, what is meant by the Khilafat. You will find him supremely ignorant. But ask him about the N. C. O. and he will tell you in vivid terms and excited tones, with shining eyes and dilated nostrils, the possible predicament of Britain when N. C. O. order rules the land. The idea tickles the vein of humour in many people as they imagine the powerful British Government helpless, the Collectors and District Judges grooming their own horses, their wives cooking their breakfasts in time for the husbands to get to court, which they themselves dust and sweep, eagerly expecting the approach of some possible litigant or complainant, who does not, as a rule, turn up. The idea appeals to others

as a means of paying off old scores; while yet others take it up as a weapon of offence and defence in politics. The more intelligent among the Indians take up N. C. O. on non-violent lines as a means of individual and national discipline which will make them good followers, those alone being fit to lead who can follow without questioning. All this is done in the strong conviction that only as they fit themselves can they hope to snatch and retain a bigger role in the government of their country.

SCHEME OF RE-CONSTRUCTION.

An unprecedented crisis in the relations between England and India has now arisen. Britain has realised this in some measure and sent out one of her foremost statesmen whom she selected in her time of direst need to proceed to the New World to win American help in the war. That the same personage and no other is found to suit the present requirements in India is significant. Khilafat has taken root; N.C.O. is spreading; economic discontent has not even been faced; while the new ministers are asked to take charge of their various departments with a depleted treasury. Recently Volunteer organisations had been started and civil disobedience was all but actually begun. The Bureaucracy met the situation by prohibiting public meetings, little realising that the worst form of sedition is not found on public platforms but in private houses, market places, mosques and temples. So far, it has been very ineffective; and in every instance where a prohibitive order was served the meeting did not fail to come off. To-day hundreds and thousands of India's proudest and noblest

sons are voluntarily courting arrest and imprisonment by intentionally violating executive orders and even legal commandments. But a worse evil, secret, underhand, propaganda, is sure to be set on foot which no Government, however powerful or vigilant, can detect or remedy. This is the present state of India put in a nutshell.

A new order must evolve out of all this muddle and confusion. As has been pointed out elsewhere, the solution lies between Re-construction and Restoration. Re-construction must be along existing lines, an improvement on the present; Restoration is of the old pre-British institutions with the exception of the invasions from outside and the internecine quarrels of which our history gave us a plentiful supply. Re-construction is what most men have in mind—Re-construction political, economic and educational—a kind of team-play between the two races, British and Indian, based on the common interests of both. It is no good telling India that she has got at present all that she is really fit for. Something has to be done and the sooner it is done the better for both countries. All that is left is to arrive at an early understanding as to what that is.

to be and ascertain correctly what is wanting and where, and the best way of supplying it. To give in time is to give twice over.

But the party of Restoration or the N.C.O.'s do not look to Governors and Viceroy or even to Parliament and British electors for a solution of the difficulty. They are all agreed that the solution rests with themselves, viz., by co-operating with one another and non-co-operating with the British. In their hands, they think, they have the means of getting all that they want, without so much as striking one blow to get it all. Non-co-operation with the Government, they say, means co-operation among the governed. By this means they hope to evolve a working basis for advancing the common interest having due regard to the interests of their country at large, and with a fixed aim to cripple the trade of Britain which alone keeps the wolf away from Britain's door.

If the Restoration scheme is adopted the industrial evolution of the country on modern lines will be put back by four centuries, the education of our children on modern lines will be retarded most deplorably. Politics may get tangled and inevitable confusion will result. If she wishes to be a modern nation India will

then have to begin again from where she started a hundred years ago. Under these circumstances the Wrecker alone may have his innings and may gain all that the others stand to lose. The present is a state of marking time, leaving the door open to any one to enter. The work of Re-construction must begin immediately or the Restorer will step in. In the absence of either of these the Wrecker is sure to go into occupation. Then politics, industries, education, all will take wing.

Now, as at any other time before, there is no occasion for panic. In every country and in every community there are sure to be a certain number of people who delight in hugging a bogey. The Russian invasion of India, the Yellow Peril, the German invasion of England, being only some of the more prominent among them. Fortunately the greater number, at least, among the leaders of the community, kept an amazingly sound and cool head on their shoulders. In the same way, in India also the higher rung of the Bureaucracy is trying to adopt and nourish a bogey presented by their subordinates and, imagining the possibility of a revolution, unconsciously create a panic. Invariably out of touch with the peo-

ple of the country they depend upon their underlings for information. The position of the underlings is peculiar. I have heard it said by many that unless they supply information in plenty they are considered dull and ultimately put down as unfit for promotion. Civilian officials and Superintendents of Police living isolated from the public and looking to their underlings for information expect to be kept continually informed; and the underling, in his over-anxiety to display his alertness and the extent of his activities, furnishes non-existent details with copious exaggeration of the existing ones. This information is paraded without disclosing its source to other underlings and more is invited. These worthies determined not to be behind-hand their boss freely draw upon their imagination. Under the Indian climate and in its congenial atmosphere the situation soon develops into a sensation. Often the public come to know of these supposed happenings from some petty clerk or other Government servant. The Bureaucrat in his turn sends thrilling accounts of all this to the local Government first by wire in code words and follows it up with a brilliant despatch, meanwhile adopting "emergency measures" to sup-

press an outbreak that brews only in imagination. No doubt a considerable contingent of Police and military force will be kept ready and made to parade the streets. The people of the place get news of the events in their own locality from the Press Bureau and Publicity Board or from the Associated Press of India telegrams—an excellent testimony to the efficient way outbreaks are dealt with. A few days later the district officials get encomiums from the head of the province. The reference by the district officials of the excellent work done by their subordinates is acknowledged by the Government, followed by promotions, titles and rewards all round.

This is the way the Bureaucrat gets his notions of the happenings in India. No Government, however feeble, has ever been subverted by such happenings nor are they likely to create a revolution hereafter. But there are more serious things happening elsewhere that are not quite so innocuous.

Actual outbreaks of any kind there will not be in India, at any rate, for sometime to come. Recent tragical occurrences taught both sides enough for that. The non-violent teachings of Mr. Gandhi have taken root in the minds of

people. Anyway, that name works wonders in the popular mind to-day.* To cripple the administration, to make it ridiculous in popular eyes, is the aim and end of Non-Co-operation; and civil disobedience of law is the last step in that direction. If jails are intended merely to restrain the activities of people that object is easily gained; but as a method of punishment the institution becomes a signal failure if the man coming out of jail is hailed as a hero, martyr, patriot and superman. With such prospects ahead thousands can always be found, especially in India, to go to jail and even the same man several times. That this is actually so may be seen from the lives of Tilak, Harkisan Lal, Bepin Chandra Pal, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das and many others. Real danger does not lurk in the persons of such men who are all gentleman, in every case highly honourable. With a bloodless civil war threatening in all directions, with irresponsible young men, half-educated and full of half-baked notions of law and politics, going about with Gandhi's name on their lips, and possessed of the power to bring about all sorts of confusion and dislocation, the real danger is not far to seek. The outlook of the masses on life generally is

not very cheering. The situation is about as bad as it could be. Starvation is seen on every side; new taxes are in the wake; the administration is becoming more and more top-heavy and trade is at a stand still; rents and prices are rising day by day, unemployment is increasing and people become poorer and poorer. Bitter passions are smouldering everywhere; and what is worse, mutual distrust and ill-will between the rulers and the ruled are not on the wane.

Discontent is the order of the day. The European officials are dissatisfied because of the "Reforms" that curtailed their powers. Owing to the abnormal rise in rent and prices they demand further increases of pay. The subordinate services are discontented because of their heavy work and unsatisfactory remuneration; the non-gazetted officers are still more discontented, and the classes of men in still lower places threatened to strike and got increased salaries in many cases. The rank and file of the people are thoroughly discontented because they feel that they exist for the administration instead of the administration existing for them.

Indian administration at present is a sort

of family affair between European officials and their Indian subordinates from which the average non-official Indian is kept religiously out. Feeling has become so strong that between the Indian Government servant and the public there is no sympathy or understanding. He is still feared in many cases, but not generally loved. In some instances he has served to exhibit his European superior as a mere tool acting on the wrong advice of an Indian underling. As one coming directly in contact with the rank and file of Indians he rules their lives and liberties and generally stands in their eyes for Government. His ignorance, narrow-mindedness, incapacity and pettiness are all put down, wherever found, as attributes of the Government of which he is the personification in popular esteem. A whole district covering some thousands of miles of square area, with a population of several lakhs, with only a few European officials scattered here and there and those too proud to mix with the people, with the nearest public road some miles away from most places, Post and Telegraph offices farther away still, with only a Village Munsif getting a salary under ten rupees a month, the British Government, the Indian Legislative bodies and

other institutions are as well known to the average villager as the Arctic Ocean, the Centaur or the Unicorn. But whatever may be the order prevailing elsewhere he finds himself surrounded by appalling poverty, dirt and disease, rising prices and rents, taxes growing, money market getting tighter and interest leaping. Slowly into his mind has crept a stubborn suspicion that his claim to be treated as a human being has subtly been circumvented. He finds all the political reforms hitherto conferred enfranchising the rich man who has already proceeded to settle the political house in order. The rich man's interests are now secured in every way; but the poor man stands exactly where he stood before the Montford Reforms, with only this difference, that whereas formerly he had only the White Bureaucrat to please, he has now the Brown Bureaucrat dressed as Minister in addition.

The political and economic position of the masses has changed for the worse. Two years ago the rich and poor alike in the land combined to agitate against the imposition of any new tax, and in most cases such agitation was in the name and on behalf of the poor. When

the Salt tax was abolished the Congress claimed a victory and paraded it for the benefit of the masses. The cry then was that the Indian poor were unduly taxed, that they were not given education, sanitation and medical relief in any degree worth mentioning. Under the present order these things are left to the Transferred Departments that start life with a bankrupt treasury and as unrealisable assets, full powers to tax.

Add to this the fact that the Ministry of Agriculture and Development is also a Transferred Department. So far as we see now, and as we may reasonably expect, for many years to come, the majority in the Councils and consequently the Ministers also will in all probability be drawn from the landed classes or their dependants. To-day the Government claim to have opened the door for the democrat to enter the Indian political arena by lowering the franchise and widening the electorate. They have told us explicitly or impliedly that in future elections influence will not work and that corruption will fail in its purpose. It was complained by the non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency that the Brahmin official played a great part in former

elections to the Legislative Councils and that in most cases he got his relations elected. Whereas to-day, we are told that the electorate is too wide for such activities and that coupled with the rules of canvassing and taking electors to the polling stations and the obligation of submitting a list of expenses of all candidates, successful and unsuccessful, fairness in election tactics is assured.

There never was a more grievous error; so much so, that the point is not worth seriously disputing. All those acquainted with the secret workings that preceded the Reforms know that one of the aims of the Reforms, was to keep the lower and middle classes as much out of the new councils as ever. The only classes that can muster strong are the landholders and the rich merchants. Both by their influence among the ryots and other tenants and by their great wealth the landholders could easily keep out any competitor. A candidate wishing to send by post an election manifesto to every voter in a moderate sized constituency of thirty thousand electors has to spend a thousand rupees when postage is only half anna per letter. Most candidates have to send four, five, even more manifestoes and

reminders before each election. Again, one agent working ten hours a day may be able to interview about twenty electors if he spends only half an hour to go, talk and convince that elector about the eligibility of his particular candidate. Working twenty-five days a month he may be able to interview about five hundred electors. If the canvassing and electioneering campaign goes on for three or four months before the polling at least twenty men are required to go round to the electors even once. Paying them on an average fifty rupees a month it costs about five thousand rupees, to which should be added the travelling and other expenses. The last election, wherever there was a contest, cost most candidates anything between ten thousand and thirty thousand rupees; and in one instance the estimate came to about fifty thousand. Few lawyers, and for the matter of that no man who *worked* to make his fortune will be disposed to spend all this money solely to enable him to sit in a toy council denuded of all real powers, where the best day's proceedings fall considerably short of the average good sense and decorum of many college debating societies. Bureaucracy is in ecstasies because the lawyers as a class have

been kept out. But the successful lawyer is the man who frequently comes into contact with the rank and file of the people, is in fact their friend, philosopher and guide. In every country and at all times the lawyer has been the natural leader of the people and fountainhead of their politics; and when the Government of India showed an unreasonable dislike to the lawyer in politics it showed that either their imagination was deceased, their system unhealthy or their reading of the situation deplorably wrong. Yet they have now a lawyer as Viceroy and till lately another as Governor.

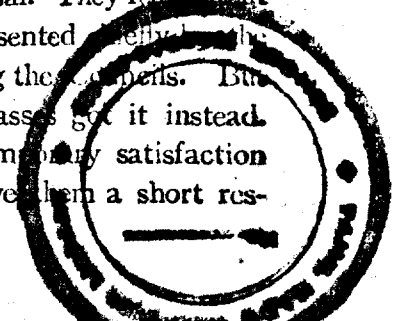
In India the only alternative to the lawyer in politics is the landholder. It does not require much knowledge of politics nor the intellect of a genius to realise that between the landholder representing the most conservative form of vested interests and an oppressed, poverty-stricken mass of people striving to get greater opportunities for existence, not to say prosperous conditions, there can but be little in common, if they are not totally antagonistic to each other. It goes without saying that to maintain the one in power and prosperity, the other must at least be kept stationary, marking time. The increased

prosperity of either can only be at the expense of the other. In India land is the most important source of revenue. If government becomes more costly or new activities become urgent and the money required has to come primarily from land, it is plain that either the landlord or tenant will have to find it. To-day the landlord is to decide the question of payment both for himself and his constituents, made up chiefly of ryots and other tenants. This is the alternative that the Reforms have given the Indian Demos.

But it is asked why should the tenant elect the landlord, why not choose another as his representative. The answer is twofold. First, none but another landholder can afford to fight out such an expensive campaign and secondly, if the average voter knew his interests accurately and had the courage to act up to that knowledge the volume that contains the reforms will become a back number, if it ever came to be written at all. Unfortunately, these voters are supplied with ready-made opinions upon which they have to act. At the last election not even 5 per cent. of the successful candidates got in by merit or through popular favour. The appalling cost of an election campaign kept out

thousands of eligible persons, in many cases the most capable and the best; while the influence of the rich landholders, powerful and influential enough to oppress the petty ryots in case of disobedience, also gravitated in favour of the wealthier candidate. To-day, the councils are the rich man's assemblies where the poor are not represented by even one member of their free choice, although they have in their hands the right to vote.

The short-sightedness of the authors of the reform is particularly noticeable in this. Till the reforms the Bureaucracy argued that the masses in India were not fit to handle the vote. But nothing indicates the causes that led to a sudden change of opinion that brought the franchise down to the ten rupee level. I do not blame the Bureaucracy for this action, though I do for leaving it unfinished. If it was their object that the masses should have power in their hands rather than any one class in particular, their failure is indeed colossal. They feared that the educated classes, represented by the lawyers, were monopolising the councils. But to-day the half-educated classes got it instead. This might afford some temporary satisfaction to the Bureaucracy and give them a short res-



pite from sharp criticism. Meanwhile the educated classes have capitalised the grievances of the people as against both the landholders and the Bureaucracy and ushered in Non-Co-operation that now taxes the ingenuity and energy of the Government.

To-day, therefore, the poor men are enfranchised in law; but the rich men are provided with all power in the land, as though they are the specially appointed class from which the members of the Legislative bodies should be exclusively selected. This done they will naturally see that the increased taxation necessary under the Reforms does not fall upon them wherever else it may fall. It can then only fall upon those other classes whose interests are now left in the hands of people who are their natural enemies. The rich man, even before the reforms, had all that he wanted. His only fear was that he may be too heavily taxed. This too he can now control to a large extent. His economic interests once secured in this manner and his social position always assured both with the people and the Bureaucracy, he is content to have any form of Government and any system of administration. He is afraid of Bolshevism, even socialism. For this he wants

an army and a navy. He has them. To lead them in time of war is dangerous; to train them in times of peace is tiresome. He would rather pay British officers to do it. Governing is difficult. It requires knowledge, understanding, application. Governing be bothered! He leaves that also to others. With an army and navy for big things ready provided and the task of administration amounting to difficult brain work left to those with a taste for it, he only wants for the small things of life the policeman and the local administrator. He has them handy too, ever ready to oblige him on the off-chance of his putting in a good word when promotion is in prospect. For the rest the rich man's doctrine is *laissez-faire* and only asks to be let alone. He can shift for himself, has enough wealth to secure him all the happiness he requires. Markets are good, prices of grain and other things that his lands yield run high, interest on the money he advances to tenants is heavy; and he has a substantial balance at the Bank. Even if this were not so the tenants are handy and always provide some pretext to seek the rich man's "help" which has its own price, duly charged and collected. Once, therefore,

the councils are enlarged and either the landholder himself or his puppet gets elected he can control everything else easily. For all this money alone is wanted. He, therefore, finds the present situation quite satisfactory and gets excited when he sees any attempt to criticise it adversely.

What the present political situation teaches us is this: The appeal to the political instinct of India first by Mrs. Besant and more recently by Mr. Gandhi and the success that attended on each occasion shows that the rank and file of the population can no longer be ignored as a sleeping mass steeped in ignorance. The successive hartals and the ready response of all classes, even the merchants and traders whose pockets are greatly affected thereby, show that all have begun to understand and appreciate what they are told. The readiness with which Hindus took up the Khilafat agitation and vigorously carry it on with the Mussalmans, the All-India outcry about the outrage at the Jallianwallah Bagh, the readiness with which thousands of men, women and children accept Mr. Gandhi as leader and show their anxiety to do his bidding, while similar commands and messages

from other persons fall flat or evoke scorn and contempt, all tend to show that India to-day is as much a nation as England, Germany, France or America. And more; because unlike other countries, she gladly follows one leader. We may laugh at the N.C.O. movement over a cup of tea or at the dinner table. But the spirit that has been awakened in the people and makes them submit to very hard discipline, even to show the unsmitten cheek to the smiter, goes farther than all the laughter in the world and all the prandial and post-prandial hilarity. In this state of unsettled order and excitement something has to be done. What is that, is the question.

So far, judging by the results, British statesmanship in India has fallen far too short of the requirements. The English mind is all development on one side and utterly rudimentary on the other. The English people have shown beyond doubt that they are intelligent, clever, resourceful, and what is better than all these things put together, possess an uncommon degree of commonsense that has carried them farther than any other race and established their ascendancy over the greater part of the globe. But in point of sympathy, the one

thing necessary for dealing with races different from themselves in details as in essentials, and much more so in matters that divide and demarcate the human races from one another as wide apart as the poles, they have shown a lack of imagination truly bewildering. What is a patent reality to any other man in India often remains a closed mystery to an Englishman; and even when brought to his notice sometimes obstinately refuses to see, and tells you, more or less politely, that he does not believe you. I have known English undergraduates directed by their tutors to devote two hours a day to Roman Law religiously devoting the allotted two hours day after day, week after week, wet or fine, holiday or working day, during term and vacation, until the examination in Roman law is over. I have seen older Englishmen going to a Club for months and years and sitting in the same chair, in the same corner, ordering the same drink, reading the same favourite paper or magazine, desiring no change, appreciating none when found necessary. I have known an Englishman, typical of his class, who made it a point to eat an apple exactly at midday and did it for years, feeling miserable if there was a break. All

this shows steadiness, discipline of the mind, the capacity and training for success in life; but it also means moving along a rut, inability to get out of it and the negation of all initiative and imagination.

But the Indian mind is constituted differently. Quick, sharp, and sensitive it is highly imaginative, so much so, that imagination sometimes takes the place of commonsense. Alike in the arts of peace as of war, imagination played the largest part in India's history. We may go further and say that at all ages the undue development of the imaginative faculty rendered the Indian less and less practical, and always succumbed to the hard-headed practicality of any foreigner that took the trouble to invade India. One peculiarity that India possesses, and in this respect she is like Ireland, is that the invader invariably loses his distinguishing characteristics and soon gets merged among the local population, adopting before long their ways and ideas. We, therefore, find to-day Hindu and Mussalman, Parsee and Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain, all standing up for India and her rights with one voice, while the Europeans, one and all, exclaim that India is not

a nation but a continent of nations, if not a heterogenous mass of human beings. One extraordinary fraud practised on Europeans in India, especially in the law courts, is that witnesses are attempted to be discredited on the ground of their belonging to the same caste or the same religion, and an unfailing source of motives alleged for offences or for preferring false complaints is some old animosity between two individuals and one of them getting his caste-men or co-religionists to support him. But the unimaginative English civilian fails to see that this rule is not observed generally or in many cases, or for the matter of that in any case, as all classes of people help one another in their litigation. Yet in judgments we often read of witnesses discredited only for reasons of similarity in caste or religion and believed for no other cause than their differences in the same. If only the Civilian Judge could see the glances and smiles in court as this trick is practised on him or the loud merriment evoked when the simple artifice goes down his unsuspecting throat he will feel inclined to invoke the aid of Martial Law for punishing this violation of the dignity of his great self and the majesty of the law court.

Thus, to-day, caste and religion exist in India more for the benefit of the European than of the ordinary Indian. The Bureaucrat finds it useful to make his task of Government easier; while the Indian with an eye to his prospects calls his religion and caste to his assistance for purposes of appointment—each believing that he has hoodwinked the other. In the fundamental principles that lie at the bottom of society and politics in India most Indians are in agreement. That this is the truth is seen from the fact that when an appeal was made in the name of the Motherland all classes, castes and religions mustered strong round the banner of Mahatma Gandhi. He had promised us much and has only given large orders for starvation and hartals. Yet his hold on the Indian public is unprecedented. He says, stop business, and shops are automatically closed. "Do not eat for twenty-four hours," he says, and the order is religiously obeyed. "Do not vote", he says, and whole electoral areas go without a man appearing at the polling booths. What is the reason for all this?

People talk about the Khilafat grievance. It is at best a highly magnified picture of the

violation of a secondary religious sentiment—but a prominent peg on which something else hangs. When the Indian Mussalman fought Turkey he certainly fought for that country's overthrow and not for its enhanced prestige in Europe or Asia. Even to-day ninety-nine Musalmans out of a hundred do not know what on earth Khilafat means and wherein the grievance lies. Nine hundred and ninety-nine Hindus out of a thousand are not any wiser. And it took a Hindu by birth, a Jain by persuasion, Barrister by training, philanthropist and agitator by profession, recluse by habit, saint and sanyasi by choice, to lead the Khilafat movement in India, advocating the use of soul-force and the adoption of the spinning wheel as the only weapon of offence to redress that grievance.

It is, therefore, clear that the lure of the reforms and the promise of more on the same lines do not meet the popular demand. They may still satisfy the richer classes, as indeed they have already satisfied. The poorer Indian claims to get the right 'to Live' guaranteed to him, free from official, non-official and un-official interference. He wants the ancient village community with its *panchayat* system

for revenue, civil, military, police and magisterial functions of State revived, where these functions will be discharged by human beings rather than by automatons. Every man willing to earn his living should get a chance to earn it. There must be schools to teach the young and hospitals to cure the sick. He does not pine for the factory system that has caused the West its life, liberty and soul; but asks for co-operative concerns and cottage industries that give the individual work without slavery, adequate remuneration without strikes, freedom from lockouts and plenty of leisure for study, recreation and pleasure.

The conflict we witness to-day is, therefore, one between the rich and the poor, between the rich man's government and the poor man's wants.

This is the eternal struggle in world politics, which philosophic India had solved ages ago but which material England upset with rude and irreverent hands.

It would seem that this is Mahatma Gandhi's attitude and that he has shaped his future work on that plan. According to him the way to power and freedom is along the line of preparation, effort, sacrifice, simplicity

of life, staying power and discipline. His movement generally and his personality in particular proved that under the guidance of a master-mind that rises superior to personal glory and selfish ends the man-power of the country can be called out at a moment's notice to undergo any sacrifice and pursue any line of action. He has made the nation realise that the road to freedom is not studded with platforms, that the heroes of a hundred platforms, or even a thousand, can never take India anywhere near Swaraj, unless the nation is prepared to do its duty to the country by making itself self-contained in respect of food and clothing ; by simplifying life and wants becomes contented and healthier in body and mind ; that the best way to get Swaraj is to acquire a spirit of independence without trying to oppose aeroplanes with slings and stones, bayonets with spades and sickles, bullets with insolence and Martial law with threats of lawyer's notice.

The masses in India are broadening the basis of their existence. They are not content to remain satisfied with a wholesome view of the fatherhood of the Bureaucracy and the brotherhood of the rich landholder. They have

come to believe that they got a separate existence and a destiny higher than as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Above all they claim the right to a full meal, cloth to cover their person and a roof to shelter their head. The days of old ideas and traditions are gone. The times are far too critical for the rich-man and his government to still indulge in their pet notions and try to defeat the new forces that are coming into action. The present political ferment is not a peculiarity of the Indian soil. The whole of Europe is still groaning under its weight. America lives in dread of it. Under all circumstances compromise is the essence of statesmanship. To prevent friction wherever possible between man and man, between classes and classes, between themselves and the people is the duty of all Governments. The time has come in India as it came in England and other countries earlier, for the Government the rich man and the poor all playing the game together. Team play has now become essential to success in the match, however much individual players may suffer thereby in their personal glory. The rich man wants the poor man to produce, and produce as much as he can. The Govern-

ment want him to help them in office during peace; in the field during war to be a semi-genius in the office room, a hero in the battle-field, but an absolute dunce at all other times and in all other respects, especially where his own interests are concerned. But between his quill pen and sword he has learnt a thing or two which he now attempts to turn to account. Who can blame him?

From the present *impasse* there are but two ways of escape. The first is by co-operation calculated to conciliate the conflicting interests of all parties by a reconstruction of society on lines beneficial to all; by intelligent team-play with all parties in the field till the goal is reached and the match won; the second is brushing aside the existing work of generations and getting back to the old days of Vedic ideals and village institutions.

61

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

With the British Emergency Committee headed by Lord Amptill and blessed by Lords Sydenham, Curzon and the rest of the conservative noblemen, who pride on their knowledge of India by reason of having served out here a five-year sentence of banishment from their native land, making themselves busy in England on the one hand and the unceasing activity of Non-Co-operators on the other, both the British Cabinet and other responsible men and the leaders and masses in this country, are alike waiting for inspiration as to impending changes. As pointed out already the choice is only between Reconstruction and Restoration. The N.C.O. movement may succeed. There is no reason to think that it will not, because its scheme is so simple and it is a wonder why it has not succeeded already. The only explanation one can offer for this is that N.C.O. leaders do not organise themselves to carry out a settled programme but in effect work more or less as free lances, and if not actually non-co-operating with one

another at least do not co-operate. If their much advertised but equally maligned spinning wheel, N.C.O. National schools and increased agricultural activity, Cottage industries and khaddar take the place of the present industrial institutions, educational methods and professional activities, we may legitimately say good-bye to all the work and progress of the last seventy years and more. The supporters of vested interests claim that trade, industry and commerce, as we see them to-day, will take wing and what the coming Utopia will usher instead we have to guess as suits our individual fancies. A life of Arcadian simplicity may be a great aid to the cultivation of soul-force but to make India take her place among the great nations of the world the specific sounds inadequate. So far as the non-co-operator is concerned he does not mind all this. He considers the present order vile, the prevailing atmosphere viciated and existing institutions all tainted and upside down. According to him the work of the past seventy years and more marks not progress, but national deterioration, so that to sweep all that away does not appear anything like a calamity in his eyes.

The Moderate politician's way out of the present difficulty is by a process of Reconstruction. By this he means the co-ordination of the conflicting interests of all classes with a view to reconcile them and promote their common interests by intelligent co-operation till the national goal is reached and the best results produced. In the process each side has to give and take something. Without this compromise nothing is possible. So far as the masses are concerned a dead-lock is setting in. They are being told, and slowly the belief is gaining ground, that the solution of their problems and the amelioration of their condition rest with themselves and not with governors and Viceroys, Secretaries of State and Cabinet Ministers. If they arrive at a working basis for advancing their mutual interests and ignore the Government never seeking its aid and giving none, the future will be in their hands. The Non-co-operator is not for industrial organisation, in the shape of factories, limited liability companies and gigantic trusts, but for archaic simplicity—each man for himself and God for all. This was India's considered opinion after centuries, of experiments, her one lasting inheritance through all

the troubles of foreign invasions and internicine wars; what she still preserves in her villages where town life and Western civilisation are still unknown. The village community must therefore remain the basis of all future schemes of Reconstruction. There must be a representative council for every village. For every ten villages or so must have another council with representatives from all the villages. The taluk must have its council, as also the district,—the province having its legislative council as at present.

Most Indians feel that to-day the villages have the privilege of returning a member to the legislative council. This member in most cases has not seen the villages he claims to represent. And no blame on him for that. Even today there are villages one hundred and one hundred fifty miles distant from the nearest railway station, ten miles and more from the nearest public road and much farther away still from the nearest post or telegraph office. Yet these out of the way villages are supposed to be represented in the council at the capital towns. Commonsense tells us that they can only be served by institutions nearear home with first hand knowledge of the local conditions, that

can take the work on hand in time and bring it up to the higher authorities for sanction, if necessary; but in most cases possessing the power to do all things needful or beneficial to the community; and do that as and when found necessary.

Again, the legislative councils must be enlarged. Franchise in constituencies with thirty thousand voters and more in a country without enough roads and less railways are useless to the electors and no bed of roses to the candidates. On the other hand there must be a member to represent every five thousand voters. Plural voting must be abolished to make each member responsible to a certain section of the electors and answerable only to them for his actions. Elections to councils must be direct as at present. The self-consciousness of the people has grown sufficiently for that.

In every village or group of villages there must be set up Bench Courts for the trial of criminal cases and Panchayat Courts for civil cases, with much wider powers than at present. The system of trial by jury should be introduced. Arbitration Boards must be established as in Baroda and execu-

tive and judicial functions must be separated. There must be an elementary school in every village and high school and technical institute for groups of villages. The Headman of the village must have police functions with a posse of constables, paid and honorary to help him. There must be a fair and equitable distribution of the land in the village—the State first acquiring and selling it to the people on easy payments spread over a period of fifty years or more. Where in any village land is scarce, the unoccupied areas and lands now lying waste should be utilised by encouraging the founding of new villages. For any surplus population still left over State should give facilities and assistance to start industries on both large and small scales on co-operative basis so as to avoid ultimate contingencies of strikes and lock-outs with consequent breaches of the peace. A uniform rate of taxation of land according to area and quality should be introduced, and the same settled permanently so as to encourage agriculturists to improve land without fear of being asked to share the fruits of their labour with the State who did nothing to help that improvement.

The present administration must be overhauled root and branch. For one thing it is top-heavy and in most departments overmanned. The personnel must be reduced wherever possible and the scale of pay cut down. Judging by the grand eloquent talk about the "White Man's Burden" and of holding India in trust for Indians one would think that the whole thing is a matter of love and sacrifice. For a burden voluntarily undertaken and a self-constituted trust the price paid is indeed exorbitant. An Englishman in India should not in any instance be paid a higher salary than his services would fetch in England or in Canada, except in rare cases. His wages, like everything else, should be settled by considerations of demand and supply. Most of the people now considered indispensable for the government of this country would have been only too glad to get a chance of livelihood anywhere. But here they are paid ten and fifteen times the equivalent of their services. In every case before another official is appointed it must be carefully ascertained whether he is absolutely necessary. Competition for the Indian Civil Service now held in England must be abolished.

All recruitment by competitive examination or otherwise must be made in India. The doctrine of vested interests for Britishers in the government and commerce of India must be revised. Mr. Montagu's answer to Lankashire did much to disillusion the Britisher and satisfy the Indian. In the year of Grace 1922 even a Hottentot will not accept the superiority of the European or his claim to act as guardian of the person and property of other races, leave alone an Indian who now combines in him the culture of both the East and the west, ancient and modern, in addition to an intellect inferior to none.

Many Indians feel, with all respect to the great and self-less men who have sacrificed all but life for the cause of India and took to non-co-operation that the proposal to sever the connection between Britain and India will not stand the test of practicability. Recrimination and abuse either of Non-Co-Operators or of Anti-Non-Co-Operators will not advance the country's cause one inch farther than today. On the other hand, a mutual understanding between the Britisher, the Non-Co-Operator and the Anti-Non-Co-Operator will result in immediate, possibly, lasting good. To say

that every Britisher is selfish or that every Anglo-Indian in India and in England is a declared enemy of this country is, without doubt, wrong and hopelessly wrong. There are many of them here who, while drawing high salaries, take a genuine interest in this country's welfare, and for whose services we owe a lasting debt of gratitude. To say that the present educational policy of the British in India produces the slave-mentality is to put the cart before the horse, because the slave-mentality was there and the present system of education only came afterwards. The slave-mentality is often the result of a half-starved physique, the emptier the stomach the greater the slavishness. Early marriage and large families, no proper openings for a young man to become a wealth-producer and earn enough to maintain himself and family, if not in ordinary comforts and luxuries, at least, free from want, naturally draw him in the only direction that appears to hold out hopes of getting at least a starvation allowance. It is only through the portals of universities that a man can get into Government service, which at present is the main source of income and livelihood in this land for a man without capital. That this

is so can be seen from the fact that the majority in Government service are Brahmins and education has spread more amongst them than all the other classes in India put together. Often at sixteen a husband, in many cases at twenty and earlier a father, with another arriving every eighteen months or two years, the Brahmin is put to the necessity of maintaining a home of his own. His parents, often steeped in poverty and indigence, resort to even menial service and sometimes to begging to maintain their child at school and college. He has naturally a greater incentive to study, for, on his diploma or certificate depends his whole life, and without it he has nothing in prospect but the lot his parents inherited and promised to bequeath in their turn to him. While other classes and castes in India are engaged in agriculture, trade and other occupations the Brahmin, whose sole inheritance through the age-long years is a subtle brain and hereditary poverty, has to turn to the Bureaucracy for his daily bread. He cannot join the Army or the Navy, any more than other upper class Indians, as these services only invite very inferior men, chiefly for menial services for which he is both physically and temperamentally

unfit. Placed in the same predicament with him are some of the higher classes of Hindus and Moslims who have also no chance of making an income except by entering Government service. Such dire necessity as theirs will make cowards of us all. If these men have only developed the slave-mentality in spite of all these adverse circumstances there is still plenty of hope for them, because under existing circumstances it is inevitable.

To say that the present education has only produced the slave-mentality in India is almost a libel on educated India. That this assertion is not true is easily proved. Thirty years ago when a hundred great men of India, and more, from all parts of the country worked through the Congress organisation to wake up the masses to demand self-government how feeble was the response! Recently when Mahatma Gandhi launched forth Non-co-operation even the slow-moving Bureaucracy thought it necessary to counteract the movement in spite of its professed and oft-repeated non-violence. If the leaders had only the slave-mentality to show the masses, Non-co-operation, either as cause or effect, could not have been a possibility. Save in the persons holding

office under the Bureaucracy there is not much of slave-mentality manifested; *e. g.*, among the lawyers, doctors, school-masters and other professional classes. Even among the Government servants it is doubtful if there is much of real slave-mentality. Can any stretch of the imagination say that our merchants, especially the educated among them, display that mentality? Where it is found it is not the present system of education that brought it about, but the hard social conditions, the utter helplessness of large classes of people to earn an independent living. Change these conditions and let the present education continue. Then say whether the slave mentality still prevails. Nature has not made any one, even an Indian, proof against the pangs of hunger. Even recipients of the Victoria Cross and other heroes and philosophers have been known to obey the dictates of hunger. To call that slave-mentality is to deprive words of their correct meaning.

On the other hand, take the people who have not been "contaminated" by the present system of education. In most cases instead of the harmless "slave-mentality" you find unmistakable manifestations of the brute-men-

talities *e. g.* the Moplas of Malabar. The choice under the existing social and economic conditions is only between these two alternatives.

It is not to be inferred from this that the present system of education is perfect or even that it is good enough. In many ways it is unnatural and vile. It saps the energies and brain power of our young men, without giving them enough culture in return and leading them to a premature grave. Their heads often do duty as a sort of lumber room where all sorts of useless information are stored, that decay and perish with age and disuse, while they go about the whole time badly equipped for the battle of life. Education in India is different from what it is in England and other European countries or America. It is often the raw graduates of English universities, fresh from their colleges, that come out as professors here. They soon forget to take with them the traditions and methods of their college and college-days and fall into line soon enough with Indian conditions. Judging by the results one is tempted to say that the articles for "Home" consumption are not the same as for Indian consumption. Wherefore this difference! However,

since the Educational service is being Indianised more than ever before and as the Universities are controlled more and more by Indians the future rests mainly with us.

While some Indians have thus only taken a one-sided view of education and mercilessly criticise, and condemn, the present system their opponents have been no more charitable. There is at present a widespread habit gaining more and more ground to condemn an idea of an institution for no better reason than its parentage or its adherent. On the other hand the younger generation who have not had sufficient opportunities to study and realise the good or evil effects of the present system have taken to wholesale opposition to everything that even remotely suggests the Britisher's agency. They do not correctly understand the immense stride we have taken to fall into line with the great intellectual nations of the world in modern arts and modern culture and to some extent even in modern science and industries. They fail to realise that the saint-like personality of their great leader, who has turned and twisted the Indian masses on his one finger on a scale hitherto unapproached even by Kings and Emperors like Ferozshah and Akbar

or by saints and reformers like Nanak Shah or Swami Vivekananda, is one of the products of the present system of a combination of Eastern spirituality with Western culture. All that India owes to him for his work in South Africa and elsewhere would have been denied to her but for his immense culture which made him a great political sanyasi instead of a merchant measuring silk and cotton cloth by the yard or lending money at usurious rates of interest. On the other hand the opponents of the N. C. O. movement wrong both themselves and the selfless workers who sincerely believe in N. C. O. and honestly work at it, to deny the good points in their programme where the work proceeds on constructive lines, and attempt to cure undoubted evils like Drink. For example, their proposal to establish National Schools has to be recognised as good, though opinion might differ about the agitation to withdraw boys from existing institutions aided or maintained by Government. An idea or an institution ought to be judged on its own merits irrespective of the opinions held by its authors or supporters on other matters. This is elementary fairness and bare commonsense. Because

a person was caught red-handed in the act of thieving and was sent to jail for six months, does it stand to reason that if on return from prison he goes about saying that the Earth is round, that the Sun is hot, that human beings walk on their feet instead of on their heads, that he should be disbelieved and the rest of us should go about preaching the contrary? Does it on the other hand sound proper to say that because your great-grandfather and all his ancestors before him as his successors down to yourself never used a motor car that you should also use a bullock cart instead of the new fangled and pot-walloping methods of locomotion? Fortunately all political parties in all countries do not adopt this line of action. If they did, four-fifths the volume of work done in assemblies like the British Parliament in any one year will be but attempts to repeal the numerous measures passed by the previous Government.

Mere recrimination without any definite scheme of action to improve the present conditions serves no useful purpose. Both sides have shown themselves champion players in that game and on every occasion have put up brave fights. Among Non-Co-Operators neither

the unsparing use of the policeman's truncheon nor exemplary sentences of imprisonment, nor even the threat of employing machine-guns produced much change. Their attitude is to suffer all that a foreign Government will heap on their devoted heads, until Soul-force conquers that Government. Hence many respectable people have unhesitatingly, even cheerfully, gone to goal, while one word from them would have preserved their liberty for them. Passive resistance is their stand. Non-Co-Operation is indeed a powerful weapon in the hands of an able leader and a determined band of people. A Non-Co-Operator does not use violence; he does not even retaliate when attacked. But in his sphere and where he can influence you by unseen pressure of mind and circumstances he tackles you failing which he leaves you, individual or class, like a derelict to drift farther and farther away from your original moorings till destruction. In the social world and in the political, no greater punishment and injury can be conceived. Directed against a Government it is held up to ridicule, hatred, contempt and all those sentiments that make government the laughing stock of all instead of an object of love and admiration, wonder

and awe. Directed against an individual he will find flight his best course, isolation and seclusion his only refuge, unless he discovers quick enough that death will be a relief. Once the idea takes root and the movement spreads everything else that held the ground will take wing or obey its dictates. To use the lawyer's language it is one of those instances of *Damnum sine injuria*, causing great damage and loss for which there is no remedy whatsoever, legal or otherwise.

But the Non-Co-Operator must realise that India to-day is surrounded by powerful, lawless neighbours and other mighty nations ready to sweep the length and breadth of the land at a moment's notice and that the only obstacle in their way is the strong arm of the British Nation. It is easy to talk of Swaraj without the British Empire. It is not enough if we attain Swaraj outside the British Empire. We must also see that we are not pushed headlong into another Empire, only not the British, with Swaraj even farther away than to-day. This indeed will be a sorry change, for we will then be exchanging for a hungry and unknown leech a full and well-known one. Who desires this?

Non-Co-Operators must also remember that strong feelings and violent emotions never won battles nor established Governments. What we primarily want are calculated circumspection and a determination to push along constructive lines, to build on the strong foundations of the past a lasting edifice for the future; to retain the existing fabric as far as possible for present use until our building is complete, preserving it for the future as an ornament to signalise our ordered progress and as a symbol of the difficulties we successfully overcame.

Nature abhors a vacuum. N.C.O. amounts to one if it flourishes and dies merely as Non-Co-Operation. There must be something substantial to fill this space. What is that, is the question. We may want the British connection now and for a long time to come—the Britishers as servants, not as masters. India wants an army, a navy, an air force, her own arsenals and munition factories. Soul force has kept no country politically free. If it did, India of the ancient past must have been eternally invulnerable. But bows and arrows, swords and shields, could only be met by mail-armour, passive resistance

and soul-force, making no headway and affording but scanty protection against such fearful odds. In these days of bombing-planes and long-range guns, high explosives, fast cruisers and gigantic ocean liners, poison-gas and mining activities, which practical politician will talk of soul-force and Swaraj without the British Empire, together with non-violence, in the same breath? Every country in the world is increasing its naval and military armament. Within the British Empire the increasing expenditure entailed by the attempts to keep pace with the rest of the world in military and naval armaments involves yearly increasing military expenditure for India also. This necessitates the introduction of mass production in industries, intensive cultivation of land, greater development of commercial chemistry, manufacture of machinery, the maintenance of our railways and numerous other things that the West alone can teach us now. If this were so, we may just as well have Britain as any other country to help us. This is, of course, subject to the proviso that India is going to take her place among the modern nations of the world and not merely deteriorate into the fossilised

remnant of a state of society that the world has long left behind.

Even after we have secured Swaraj outside the British Empire, will it not be necessary for India to maintain diplomatic and commercial relations with other countries? Is it not possible like every other country that India also will have to form offensive and defensive alliances with other nations? In that case why not have Britain, the greatest naval power, as our ally? Arguments in this strain can be advanced by the dozen. Look at the question from whichever point of view we like, everything tends to show that British connection, not mastery, is beneficial to India. Even independent states like Japan, France and Italy have concluded alliances with Britain. Why not we do the same? True, Britain will have to stop playing the part of the dominant partner and will have to become an equal partner with India and other countries in the Commonwealth of Nations, now called the British Empire. In common fairness to Non-Co-Operation it must be said that that creed talks of separation of India from the British Empire only as the last resort, giving Britain a chance to reconcile her

imperialistic ideas with the new-born self-respect of the Indian Nationalist. Non-Co-Operators say they will have Swaraj within the British Empire if Britain will have it so. If not, they will have complete independence. There is nothing unreasonable, illogical or disloyal in this attitude, provided they do not insist on absolute separation here and now.

There have been numerous agitations in India but never one on a scale such as the present. Till now Bureaucracy followed the principle of *laissez-faire* but have now begun to allow its officials to vigorously fight Non-Co-Operation. This, so far, proved to be a method of doubtful efficacy. A widespread agitation is always the result of some deep-rooted grievance. Agitation under all circumstances may appeal to individuals but to get a following to take up that agitation is the real difficulty. To lead a peaceful existence is the instinctive desire of most human beings. The majority of us will rather put up with a grievance than exert ourselves to get it removed, unless the wound created by it is too sore. Once the roots go deep enough into the ground an investigation into the causes is

useless. The position has to be accepted as a reality and we must proceed to find out what can be done to cure it. The usual Government of India style is to appoint a commission or committee to investigate and probe into the causes of the unrest and submit recommendations. Commissions and Committees often sit from one to three years adducing evidence and take about the same time to submit their report and recommendations. Meanwhile, owing to the fast-moving activities of the unsteady human race, new changes take place and the reports in most cases become obsolete by the time they see the light of day; and the recommendations excite the interest of none but antiquarians, contemporary historians and leader-writers of newspapers. All this time the Government, forced by circumstances, make shifts and changes to appease the popular outcry and thus tide over an immediate difficulty.

The situation now is too serious for a commission and too urgent to await the result of an inquiry into the causes of the unrest. These causes are of no consequence except from the historian's point of view. The more pertinent question is what is the present un-

rest about and what are the popular demands? The main business is to devise ways and means best suited to the exigencies of the occasion. During the war it was thought that enlarged councils will solve the then existing difficulties. Mr. Montagu came, saw and passed the Montford Reforms. But the discontent of the masses still remains, though the richer classes seem satisfied and are making all attempts to shout "Peace" to the masses for the special benefit of the Bureaucracy.

It is, therefore, clear that the present position does not resolve itself so readily into enlarged councils, more appointments to the educated classes and some titles to others. These had their day. It is the cultivation of more friendly relations between Britishers and Indians that is wanted now; the reconstruction of India along the lines of her ancient past on the existing foundations in the light of modern developments in the west, an equality of position all over the world for Indians with any other race, the proudest and mightiest included. This requires a wider understanding, deeper sympathy, greater humility and more handsome behaviour on the part of the Bureaucracy than generally obtain

now. Lord Curzon said that the East is a University where the scholar never takes his degree. At any rate he never succeeded in taking his, as also many another Britisher, though there are some outstanding exceptions. Humility is a virtue that the Indian has inherited through centuries upon centuries and which the Bureaucrat has always mistaken for pusillanimity. In his relations with the Indian he puts on an air of arrogance that is really foreign to him, and thinks that is the way he could maintain his dignity and position. In this he is false to himself, and falls an immeasurable distance in the Indian's estimation who soon views him in the light of a vainglorious fop, whatever the Indian's outward behaviour might be. If, however, the Bureaucrat behaves with that modesty which is considered the true attribute of learning and gentlemanliness both by the East and the West, how much easier the administration of India would have been and how much of bitterness could have been avoided on either side!

Even to-day one section of the people do not as a class clamour for the expulsion of the Britisher from India, nor even for his exclusion from the public services, nor for the

immediate transfer of the government of the country from the Bureaucracy to a purely Indian body. But the idea of a larger share in administration has taken root. Inspired by the example of Japan in the last century and of Britain during the late war, Indians have realised that there is nothing that a nation of 320 millions cannot achieve, if bleak, barren Britain and the diminutive little Jap could perform wonders in their countries. With this in mind a vigorous and enthusiastic band of N. C. O. workers are pushing ahead their work with millennial ardour in spite of the assertion of a section of the people to the contrary. Every class, even the merchant, is in the movement—except the landed classes, who are scared by the spectre of the Russian revolution and its after-effects. Notwithstanding the intensity of feeling, and thanks to the unbounded influence of Mahatma Gandhi on the public mind, the general temper of the nation is still good. But how long this state of suspended animation of the mob is going to last one can hardly guess. Sections 103 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code certainly do not allay the disease, if they do not actually make it worse

by turning the agitation into secret channels, rendering it dark, unhealthy and unchecked, instead of being open and straightforward, exhibiting the evil in its worst form on the surface.

Past experience in India and the verdict of history in other parts of the world point the way out of the difficulty in the direction of building up an idea of mutuality between the Indian and the Britisher, thinking that each is wanted for the other, that each is as important and useful a member of the British Empire as the other, and live together as equals within the commonwealth, not as lion and lamb lying down together, strength enforcing obedience and the one only to afford food for the other, but as a harmonious family, the members of which standing by one another in summer and in winter, through good report and bad, in darkness and in sunshine.

Something must be done immediately to secure a permanent improvement in the relations between Britain and India and to satisfy the immediate demands and grievances of the masses. According to one school of thought village communities must be organised at once and Panchayats set up to manage

local affairs; then come groups of them having their joint councils until we come to the taluk council, the district council, the provincial council and finally the All-India council. A permanent revenue settlement should be effected at once—each village being taxed proportionately to the extent and quality of its land. After the state dues are paid the village must be left to itself charged with the duty of maintaining schools for boys and girls and a special one to impart technical education, a hospital, roads and other elementary requisites of civilisation, subject to supervision by State Inspectors who will have power to enforce a certain minimum standard of efficiency in every village. Everything beyond this may be left to the enterprise of each village which can, if necessary, apply for State aid up to a certain limit on achieving a prescribed level of efficiency. In all matters of internal administration the village unit must stand by itself, absolutely independent of the rest of the world, except to the extent stated above. By the practical adoption of the principle of co-operation the village becomes a self-contained, self-governing unit. This was the ancient Indian fabric that successfully

worked for centuries, which is still existing in a broken down condition in parts of the country.

The village community is the outcome of centuries of evolution, that has withstood the ravages of time and revolutions, of conquering civilisations and foreign culture. Any reconstruction of India, political and social, must necessarily proceed on this line to make it lasting and satisfactory.

NEW CIVILISATION.

Whatever might be the New Civilisation of India, according to Mahatma Gandhi it is not to be either the existing one nor any modification or improvement of it. He has laid down in no uncertain words that the future civilisation for India is her civilisation of the past. "I believe that the civilisation India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate, the might of the Pharaohs was broken, Japan has become westernised, of China nothing can be said, but India is still, somehow or other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory. In trying to learn from them, the Europeans imagine that they will avoid the mistakes of Greece and Rome. Such is their pitiable condition. In the midst of all this, India remains immovable; and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilised, ignorant and stolid that it is not possible to induce them to adopt

any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty; it is the sheet-anchor of our hope.

"Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilisation means 'good conduct.'

"If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers have shown, has nothing to learn from anybody else and this is as it should be. We notice that mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors, therefore, set a limit to our indulgences. They said that happiness was largely a mental condition. A man is not necessarily happy because he is rich, or unhappy because he is poor. The rich are often seen to be unhappy, the poor to be happy.

Millions will always remain poor. Observing all this, our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures. We have managed with the same kind of plough as it existed thousands of years ago. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times, and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade, and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our hearts after such things we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation, decided that we should do only what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned, that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance, and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages. They saw that kings and their swords were inferior to the sword of

ethics and they, therefore, held the Sovereigns of the earth to be inferior to the Rishis and the Fakirs. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from others. This nation had courts, lawyers and doctors, but they were all within bounds. Everybody knew that these professions were not particularly superior; moreover, these Vakils and Vaidis did not rob people; they were considered people's dependents, not their masters. Justice was tolerably fair. The ordinary rule was to avoid courts. There were no touts to lure people into them. This evil too, was noticeable only in and around capitals. The common people lived independantly and followed their agricultural occupation. They enjoyed true Home Rule.

"And where this cursed modern civilisation has not reached, India remains as it was before. The inhabitants of that part of India will very probably laugh at your new-fangled notions. The English do not rule over them nor will you ever rule over them. Those whose name we speak we do not know, nor do they know us. I would certainly advise you and those like you who love the Motherland to go into the interior that has not yet

been polluted by the railways and to live there for six months; you might then be patriotic and speak of Home Rule.

"Now you see what I consider to be real civilisation. Those who want to change conditions such as I have described are enemies of the country and are sinners."

That in this land there are child widows, where two year old babies are married, where twelve-year old girls are mothers and housewives, girls dedicate themselves to prostitution and where in the name of religion sheep, goats and fowls are killed in large numbers are only so many blots on the ancient and abiding civilisation of India, that have managed to survive in India in spite of this civilisation and not as parts of it. "We may utilise the new spirit that is born in us" says Mahatma Gandhi, "for purging ourselves of these evils. But what I have described to you as emblems of modern civilisation are accepted as such by its votaries. The Indian civilisation, as described by me, has been so described by its votaries. In no part of the world and under no civilisation have all men attained perfection. The tendency of Indian civilisation is to elevate the moral being; that of the western civilisation is to propogate

immorality. The latter is godless the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilisation as a child clings to its mother's breast."

If we consider our civilisation to be the highest the present system of education, is quite unwholesome, if not baneful. No doubt the motive of its numerous advocates in every instance is laudable, even praiseworthy. But according to the Mahatma the results that follow from their effort are on an entirely different footing.

What is the meaning of education? If it simply means a knowledge of letters, it is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well-used or abused. The same instrument that may be used to cure a patient may be used to take his life, and so may a knowledge of letters. We daily observe that many men abuse it, and very few make good use of it, and if this is a correct statement, we have proved that more harm has been done by it than good.

"The ordinary meaning of education is a knowledge of letters. To teach boys reading, writing and arithmetic is called Primary

Education. A peasant earns his bread honestly. He has ordinary knowledge of the world. He knows fairly well how he should behave towards his parents, his wife, his children and his fellow villagers. He understands and observes the rules of morality. But he cannot write his own name. What do you propose to do by giving him a knowledge of letters? Will you add an inch to his happiness? Do you wish to make him discontented with his cottage or his lot? And even if you want to do that, he will not need such an education. Carried away by the flood of western thought we came to the conclusion, without weighing *pros* and *cons*, that we should give this kind of education to the people.

"Now let us take Higher Education. I have learned Geography, Astronomy, Algebra, Geometry &c. What of that? In what way have I benefitted myself or those around me? Why have I learned these things? Professor Huxley has defined education: 'That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will and does with ease and pleasure all the work that as a mechanism it is capable of, whose intellect is a clear

cold, logic engine with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the fundamental truths of nature whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience who has learnt to hate all vileness and to respect others as himself. Such an one and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education, for he is in harmony with Nature. He will make the best of her, and she of him.'

"If this is true education, I must emphatically say that the sciences I have enumerated above I have never been able to use by controlling my senses. Therefore, whether you take Elementary Education or Higher education, it is not required for the main thing. It does not make of us men. It does not enable us to do our duty."

"I do not for one moment believe" said Mahatma Gandhi "that my life would have been wasted, had I not received higher or lower education. Nor do I consider that I necessarily serve because I speak. But I do desire to serve and in endeavouring to fulfil that desire, I make use of the education I

have received. And, if I am making good use of it, even then it is not for the millions; but I can use it only for such as you, and this supports my contention. Both you and I have come under the bane of what is mainly false education. I claim to have become free from its ill-effects, and I am trying to give you the benefit of my experience, and in doing so, I am demonstrating the rottenness of this education.

"Moreover I do not run down a knowledge of letters under all circumstances. All I have shown is that we must not make of it a fetish. It is not our Kamduk. In its place it can be of use, and it has its place when we have brought our senses under subjection, and put our ethics on a firm foundation. And then, if we feel inclined to receive that education, we may make good use of it. As an ornament it is likely to sit well on us. It now follows that it is not necessary to make this education compulsory. Our ancient School system is enough. Character building has the first place in it, and that is Primary Education. A building erected on that foundation will last."

"To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them. The foundation that

Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us. I do not suggest that he had any such intention, but that has been the result. Is it not a sad commentary that we should have to speak of Home Rule in a foreign tongue?

"And it is worthy of note that the systems which the Europeans have discarded are the systems in vogue among us. Their learned men continually make changes. We ignorantly adhere to their cast off systems. They are trying, each division, to improve its own status. Wales is a small portion of England. Great efforts are being made to revive a knowledge of Welsh among Welshmen. Mr. Lloyd George is taking a leading part in the movement to make Welsh children speak Welsh. And what is our condition? We write to each other in faulty English and from this even our M. A.'s are not free; our best thoughts are expressed in English; the proceedings of our Congress are conducted in English." If this state of things continues for a long time, posterity will, Mr. Gandhi opines, condemn and curse us.

"It is worth noting that, by receiving English education we have enslaved the nation. Hypocrisy, tyranny &c., have increased; English-knowing Indians have not hesitated to

cheat and strike terror into the people. Now, if we are doing anything for the people at all, we are paying only a portion of the debt due to them.

"Is it not a painful thing that if I want to go to a Court of Justice, I must employ the English language as medium; that when I become a Barrister, I may not speak my mother tongue, and that some one else should have to translate to me from my own language? Is not this absolutely absurd? Is it not a sign of slavery? Am I to blame the English for it or myself? It is we, the English-knowing men, that have enslaved India. The curse of the Nation will rest not upon the English but upon us."

"We are so much beset by the disease of Civilisation, that we cannot altogether do without English Education. Those who have already received it may make good use of it wherever necessary. In our dealings with the English people, in our dealings with our own people, when we can only correspond with them through that language, and for the purpose of knowing how much disgusted they (the English) have themselves become with their civilisation, we may use or learn English, as

the case may be. Those who have studied English will have to teach morality to their progeny through their mother tongue, and to teach them another Indian language; but when they have grown up, they may learn English, the ultimate aim being that we should not need it. The object of making money thereby should be eschewed. Even in learning English to such a limited extent we will have to consider what we should learn through it and what we should not. It will be necessary to know what sciences we should learn. A little thought should show you that immediately we cease to care for English degrees the rulers will prick up their ears."

As to the kind of education that India of the future is to have the Mahatma is emphatic that we have to improve all our languages. "What subjects we should learn through them need not be elaborated here. Those English books which are valuable we should translate into the various Indian languages. We should abandon the pretention of learning many sciences. Religious, i. e. Ethical Education will occupy the first place. Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language, if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a

Mohammadan. Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Muhammadans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagri characters. In order that the Hindus and Muhammadans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time. All this is necessary for us, slaves. Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved, and it will be free with our freedom."

You cannot do without Religious Education. "India will never be Godless. Rank atheism cannot flourish in that land. The task is indeed difficult. My head begins to turn as I think of Religious Education. Our Religious teachers are hypocritical and selfish; they will have to be approached. The Mullas, the Dasturs and the Brahmins hold the key in their hands, but if they will not have the good sense, the energy that we have derived from English Education will have to be devoted to Religious Education. This is not very

difficult. Only the fringe of the ocean has been polluted, and it is those who are within the fringe who alone need cleansing. We who come under this category can even cleanse ourselves, because my remarks do not apply to the millions. In order to restore India to its pristine condition we have to return to it. In our own civilisation, there will naturally be progress, retrogression, reforms and reactions; but one effort is required and that is to drive out Western Civilisation. All else will follow."

From the material and economic point of view "It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester than Indian handicraft has all but disappeared."

"How can Manchester be blamed? We wore Manchester cloth, and that is why Manchester wove it. I was delighted when I read about the bravery of Bengal. There were no cloth-mills in that Presidency. They were, therefore, able to restore the original hand-weaving occupation. It is true, Bengal encouraged the Mill industry of Bombay. If Bengal had proclaimed a boycott of all machine-made goods, it would have been much better.

"Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilisation ; it represents a great sin.

"The workers in the Mills of Bombay have become slaves. The condition of the women working in the mills is shocking. When there were no mills, these women were not starving. If the machinery craze grows in our country it will become an unhappy land. It may be considered a heresy, but I am bound to say that it were better for us to send money to Manchester and to use flimsy Manchester cloth, than, to multiply mills in India. By using Manchester cloth, we would only waste our money, but by reproducing Manchester in India, we shall keep our money at the price of our blood, because our very moral being will be sapped and I call in support of my statement the very mill hands as witnesses. And those who have amassed wealth out of factories are not likely to be better than other rich men. It would be folly to assume that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than the American Rockefeller. Impoverished India can become free, but it will be hard

for any India made rich through immorality to regain its freedom. I fear we shall have to admit that monied men support British rule ; their interest is bound up with its stability. Money renders a man helpless. The other thing is as harmful as sexual vice. Both are poison. A snakebite is a lesser poison than these two, because the former merely destroys the body, but the latter destroys mind, body and soul. We need not, therefore, be pleased with the prospect of the growth of the mill industry."

It is difficult to close down existing mills. It is not easy to do away with a thing that is established. "We, therefore, say that the non-beginning of a thing is supreme wisdom. We cannot condemn mill-owners ; we can but pity them. It would be too much to expect them to give up their mills, but we may implore them not to increase them. If they would be good, they would gradually contract their business. They can establish in thousands of households the ancient and sacred hand-loom, and they can buy out the cloth that may thus be woven. Whether the millowners do this or not, people can cease to use machine-made goods."

With regard to the innumerable machine-made things that have become articles of daily

use in Indian homes the Mahatma says : "Indeed, our Gods even are made in Germany. What need then to speak of matches, pins and glassware? . . . What did India do before these articles were introduced. Precisely the same should be done to-day. As long as we cannot make pins without machinery, so long will we do without them. The tinsel splendour of glassware we will have nothing to do with, and we will make wicks, as of old, with home grown cotton and use hand-made earthen saucers for lamps. So doing we shall save our eyes and money and will support Swadeshi and so shall we attain Home Rule."

"If we are to do without the Railways, we shall have to do without the tramcars. Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery there are large cities ; and where there are large cities there are tramcars and railways ; and there only one sees electric light. English villages do not boast of these things. Honest physicians will tell you that where means of locomotion are increased the health of the people has suffered. I remember that when in a European town there was a scarcity of money, the receipts of the tram-

way company, of the lawyers and of the doctors went down ; and the people were less unhealthy. I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery. Books can be written to demonstrate its evils."

Machinery seems to say to us "Beware and avoid me. You will derive no benefit from me". "Do not, therefore, forget the main thing. It is necessary to realise that machinery is bad. We shall then be able gradually to do away with it. Nature has not provided any way whereby we may reach a desired goal all of a sudden. If, instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we would look upon it as an evil, it would ultimately go."

"It is not to be conceived that all men will do all these things at one time, or that some men will give up all machine-made things at once. But if the thought is sound we will always find out what we can give up, and will gradually cease to use this. What a few may do, others will copy and the movement will grow like the cocoanut of the mathematical problem. What the leaders do the populace will gladly follow. The matter is neither complicated nor difficult. You and I shall not wait until we can carry others with

us. Those will be the losers who will not do it and those who will not do it, although they can appreciate the truth, will deserve to be called cowards.

Mahatma Gandhi says to the Extremists: "I know that you want Home Rule for India: it is not to be had for your asking. Every one will have to take it for himself. What others get for me is not Home Rule but foreign rule: therefore, it would not be proper for you to say that you have obtained Home Rule if you expelled the English. I have already described the true nature of Home Rule. This you would never obtain by force of arms. Brute force is not natural to the Indian soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal."

"I would say to the Moderates: 'Mere petitioning is derogatory; we thereby confess inferiority. To say that British rule is indispensable, is almost a denial of the Godhead. We cannot say that anybody or anything is indispensable except God. Moreover, commonsense should tell us, that to state that for the time being the presence of the English in India is a necessity, is to make them conceited.

"If the English vacated India bag and baggage, it must not be supposed that she would be widowed. It is possible that those who are forced to observe peace under their pressure would fight after their withdrawal. There can be no advantage in suppressing an eruption; it must have its vent. If, therefore, before we can remain at peace, we must fight amongst ourselves, it is better that we do so. There is no occasion for a third party to protect the weak. It is this so-called protection that has unnerved us. Such protection can only make the weak weaker. Unless we realise this we cannot have Home Rule. I would paraphrase the thought of an English divine and say that anarchy under Home Rule were better than orderly foreign rule. Only, the meaning that the learned divine attached to Home Rule is different to Indian Home Rule according to my conception. We have to learn and to teach others that we do not want the tyranny of either English Rule or Indian Rule. If this idea were carried out both the Extremists and the Moderates could join hands. There is no occasion to fear or distrust one another.

To the English the Mahatma says; I admit you are my rulers. It is not necessary to debate the question whether you hold India by the sword or by my consent. I have no objection to your remaining in my country, but although you are the rulers, you will have to remain as servants of the people. It is not we who have to do as you wish but it is you who have to do as we wish. You may keep the riches you have drained away from this land but you may not drain riches henceforth. Your function will be, if you wish, to police India. You must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us. We hold the civilisation that you support, to be the reverse of civilisation. We consider our civilisation to be far superior to yours. If you realise this truth, it will be to your advantage, and if you do not, according to your own proverb, you should live in our country in the same manner as we do. You must not do anything contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that, for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef and for the sake of the Mahammedans you should avoid bacon and ham. We have hitherto said nothing, because we have been cowed down; but you

need not consider that you have not hurt our feelings by your conduct. We are not expressing our sentiments either through base selfishness or fear, but because it is our duty now to speak out boldly. We consider your schools and law courts as useless. We want our ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should, therefore, learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our National language./

"We cannot tolerate the idea of your spending money on railways and the military. We see no occasion for either. You may fear Russia; we do not. When she comes we will look after her. If you are with us we will then receive her jointly. We do not need any European cloth. We will manage with articles produced and manufactured at home. You may not keep one eye on Manchester, the other on India. We can work together only if our interests are identical.

"This has not been said to you in arrogance. You have great military resources. Your naval power is matchless. If we wanted to fight with you on your own grounds we should be unable to do so; but if the above submission

be not acceptable to you, we cease to play the ruled. You may, if you like, cut us to pieces. You may shatter us at the cannon's mouth. If you act contrary to our will we will not help you and without our help we know that you cannot move one step forward."

"If you will abandon your so-called civilisation and search into your own scriptures you will find that our demands are just. Only on condition of our demands being fully satisfied may you remain in India and if you remain under those conditions we shall learn several things from you and you will learn many from us. So doing we shall benefit each other and the world."

"It is only those Indians who are imbued with real love who will be able to speak to the English in the above strain without being frightened, and those only can be said to be so imbued who conscientiously believe that Indian civilisation is the best, and that European is a nine day's wonder. Such ephemeral civilisations have often come and gone and will continue to do so. Those only can be considered to have been so imbued who having experienced the force of the soul within themselves, will not power before brute force. Those only

can be considered to have been so imbued who are intensely dissatisfied with the present pitiable condition having already drunk the cup of poison."

"These demands are not demands, but they show our mental state. We will get nothing by asking; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the effort and that strength will be available to him only who will use a foreign language like English only under unavoidable circumstances, will give up professions like Law and Medicine and take to some profitable trade essential to India's existence and progress like spinning and weaving and devote his knowledge to educate Indians and Englishmen, settling disputes and promoting harmony and concord among people, avoiding courts, both Bench and Bar, or instead of trying to learn to cure the bodily ills of mankind by such diabolical methods as vivisection, resort to advising men and women to remove the cause of illness rather than pamper them by giving useless drugs. Wealthy men, regardless of their wealth should speak out their minds fearing none and utilising their wealth to the advancement of cottage industries and setting an example using only

hand-made things; realise that this is a time for repentance, expiation and mourning and that to blame the English is useless as they came because of us and remain also for the same reason, and that they will either go or change their nature only when we reform ourselves; that in mourning there can be no indulgence and that in a fallen state to be in jail or in banishment is much the best; that action is much better than speech: that it is our duty to say exactly what we think and face the consequences, and that it will only be then that we shall be able to impress anybody with our speech"; that we will become free only through suffering; "that deportation for life to the Andamans is not enough expiation for the sin of encouraging European civilisation"; that no nation has risen without suffering; that even in physical warfare the true test is suffering and not the killing of others, much more so in the warfare of Passive Resistance; that it is an idle excuse to say that we will do a thing when others also do it; that we should do what we know to be right and that others will do it when they see the way; that to suffer under pressure is no suffering.

"You and I have nothing to do with the

others. Let us each do his duty. If I do my duty, i. e. serve myself, I shall be able to serve others. "Real Home Rule is Self Rule or Self control. The way to it is Passive Resistance; i. e. Soul Force or Love Force. In order to exert this force Swadeshi in every sense is necessary. What we want to be done should be done, not because we object to, the English or that we want to retaliate, but because it is our duty to do so. Thus supposing the English remove the salt tax, restore our money, give the highest posts to Indians, withdraw the English troops, we shall certainly not use their machine-made goods, nor use the English language, nor many of their industries. It is worth noting that these things are in their nature harmful; hence we do not want them. I bear no enmity toward the English, but I do towards their civilisation."

CONCLUSION.

We have seen the Reconstruction scheme of the Moderates and other partisans of the Bureaucracy as also the Restoration scheme of Mahatma Gandhi. It is at once the right and duty of every Indian, both as an individual

and as a member of the community, to decide what shall be the future of India. The way to spiritual happiness, which alone is real happiness, is pointed out by the Mahatma, whereas the road to worldly happiness which is the Gospel of Western Civilisation is presented in picturesque details by the other school of politicians. The line that divides our future from our present is becoming narrower day by day. To-day we are almost on the brink of a deep precipice. This position is clearly untenable. A deflection to one side or other is inevitable. Which side shall that be is the only question.

It is hoped that all my readers will reflect deeply on both aspects of the question and give India of the present and of the future the benefit of a considered opinion. The progress and happiness of India in the immediate future and for some centuries to come will depend upon the momentous steps we have already begun to take.

May God give us the wisdom to do the right thing in this, the moment of our direst need.

E. T. WARR

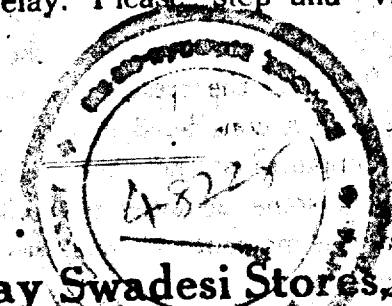
New Style Goods **Moderate Prices** **Best Quality**

Benares, Bangalore, Conjeeveram
Sarees for daily wear and tear ::

Salem, Kornad, Madura Goods for
Marriage and birth-day presentations ::

Cotton and Silk Dhoties with and
without lace and all varieties, etc. ::

Don't delay. Please step and view
our stock ::



Bombay Swadesi Stores
Benares, Bangalore, Salem Silk Warehouse

404-42, Rattan Bazaar Street,

P. Town, MADRAS.

NEW HERALD SERIES.

- (1) Gospel of Gandhi.

Price Rs. 2-8-0

To subscribers of New Herald Rs. 1-4-0

- (2) Gandhi and Indian Regeneration.

Just published Rs. 2-0-0

To subscribers of New Herald Rs. 1-0-0

- (3) Right to Swaraj and Way to get it.

(In the press)

Price Rs. 0-12-0

To subscribers of New Herald Rs. 0-8-0

- (4) Ethics of Freedom. (In the press)

Price Rs. 0-12-0

To subscribers of New Herald Rs. 0-8-0

New Herald, formerly Madras Review
published from 1890.

A progressive journal devoted to all topics
of interest political, social, economic, etc.

Subscription Rs. 6/- per annum payable
in advance.

For sample copy send two annas in
stamps to,

The Manager,

"NEW HERALD"

275 LINGA CHETTY St.,

G. T. MADRAS.

END.