

school for real freedom in any country and under any conditions whatever. It holds that the struggle for freedom itself is the highest tutor of freedom which, if it can once possess the mind of a people, shapes itself the life, the character, and the social and civic institutions of the people, to its own proper ends.

“The time has come when in the interests of truth and the civic advancement and freedom of the people, our British friends should be distinctly told that while we are thankful to them for all the kind things they have said all these years for us, and the ready sacrifices they have made to make our lot easy and their yoke light, we cannot any longer suffice to be guided by them in our efforts for political progress and emancipation. Their view-point is not ours. They desire to make the Government of India popular, without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British, we desire to make it autonomous, absolutely free of the absolute control. As in matters of individual faith every man had best beat his music out, so also in matters of civilised and free administration, every nation must reach the ideal by its own efforts and through its very failures and travails.”

15. *NEW NATIONALISM.*

The fundamental difference between the old nationalism of the Congress and the new nationalism of Tilak and Lajpatrai and Pal, is that the old nationalism built upon the consciousness of the weakness of the people: while the new nationalism built upon the consciousness of the strength of the people. Hence the old nationalism, obsessed with the age-long weaknesses, superstitions, divisions of the people, tried organically to connect itself with and depend upon British imperialism; the new nationalism, fired by the achievements of the people in the past, the glorious ancient Hindu

history and the brilliant expressions of the Indian mind in the medieval period, preached a separation from Britain and a re-assertion of the national self, in its independent and pristine purity. The Moderates cried again and again out of the abundance of their practical wisdom and realising fully the one hundred and one weaknesses of the Indian people, that where shall we be apart from the British connection ?

The new nationalists reply that they have absolutely no faith in the altruistic mission and the liberal declarations of the British Government. That faith has been killed in them by Lord Minto, Lord Morley, Lord Curzon. This disappearance of faith in the British Government and the revelation of it in its true character have produced a sort of despair and complete disillusionment in some people. A voice whispers in the ears of the disillusioned Indian, patriot, "since improvement is impossible, why follow the chimera? Go and improve yourself. Make your pile and enter into friendly relations with the Government...I will have 15 annas and 9 pies and you keep the three pies in the rupee."

To counteract this tide of despair and political pessimism and personal selfishness, it was necessary to reconstruct our political faith on different foundations. This is the genesis of the nationalistic party. In the Moderates' creed the whole reasoning appears to be very well-constructed: but one important factor is missing. The whole drama of Hamlet is there but Hamlet is not there. The Indian national struggle goes on: but the Indian nation is not behind it. The Indian nation is considered essentially dumb, and having no part or lot in the business. The whole business is done in its name, but it is supposed to endorse everything blindly. The British Government knew it and openly said that 'these educated classes are not the representatives of the Indian masses. Let their claims be

endorsed by the nation and we shall listen to them.' The fundamental cause of the failure of the Moderates was their incapacity, their deliberate refusal perhaps, to mobilize the interest of the masses in their political fight. They leaned more upon the Government than upon the people for the fulfilment of their political demands, and when the Government did not respond to them sufficiently enthusiastically, they quietly retired within their tents.

The new nationalist instinctively saw the radical weakness in the whole Moderate politics and at once took the great plunge required by the situation, and turned to the people for inspiration, for guidance, and for the attainment of their political objectives. This dramatic conversion of an academic movement into a mass-movement constitutes a truly revolutionary departure in Indian politics. "Our eyes have been turned away from the Government: away from the Houses of Parliament: from Simla and Calcutta; and our faces have turned now to the starving, the naked, the patient, and long-suffering 300 millions of Indian people, and in it we see a new potency, because we view them now with an eye of love which we had never felt before, and in the teeming, toiling, starving and naked populations of India, we find possibilities, potentialities, germs that have given rise to the movement namely, Faith in the people, Faith in the genius of the nation, Faith in God, Who has been guiding the genius of this nation through ages by historical evolution, Faith in the eternal destiny of the Indian people. With the decadence of our faith in the foreign Government and in the foreign nation, has grown up this higher, this dearer, this deeper, this more vital and more divine faith in Indian Humanity."

The new nationalism is not a mere civic, economic, or political ideal. It is a religion. The civic, the economic, and the political ideals are different manifestations of the central conception of nationalism. This new nationalism

is not to be taken as a larger kind of selfishness, like the nationalisms of Europe. It is essentially a religious ideal which inspires the patriots of this country to sacrifice their all at the altar of their country, in the name of God.

Old nationalism was a matter of intellectual conviction. Old nationalism was the outcome of the brains of men of profound learning and great talents. They wanted the whole process to be perfectly clear to their intelligence before they would act. They naturally argued: Has the Indian people the requisite military organisation? Has it necessary training and intelligence to get and work Swaraj? Are all people united? and so on. They concluded that this new nationalism is a perfectly thoughtless cult, a madness, which would bring ruin to the country.

New nationalism was therefore, less a matter of logical inference from universally accepted data, as an attitude of mind and will, determined to make itself felt, determined to make its votaries do or die. It is a matter of belief; and belief is not merely a persuasion of the mind; but something inspired by the heart and issuing in action.

The representatives of old nationalism were unanswerable from their point of view. "They are men who live in the pure intellect only and they look at things from the intellectual standpoint. What does the intellect think? ...Here is a work that you have undertaken, a work so gigantic, so stupendous, the means for which are so poor, the resistance to which will be so strong, so organised, so disciplined, so well equipped with all the weapons that science can supply, with all the strength that human power and authority can give; and what means have you with which to carry out the tremendous work of yours?"

New nationalism does not however rely wholly upon material weapons. It relies upon God: it, therefore, feels

that as long as there is an intense faith in God and unconditional surrender to Him, everything is bound to be all right in the end. New nationalism stands for a new mentality in the country which is the fundamental requisite both for getting Swaraj and for running it. If it is not there, any amount of intellectual learning, any amount of physical fitness or military equipment will not avail. If it is there, all other things will be added to it. This is the reply of new nationalism to the reasonings of intellectual patriots.

Is lasting degradation to be the fate of India? That is the conclusion to which rational patriotism leads us. To think that a foreign government whose every interest is opposed to ours will lead India to her salvation is the mid-summer of political madness. Honest, consistent, logical patriotism which builds upon mere actualities, takes literal facts as final, unalterable facts, cherishes no faith, harbours no illusions, will drive one in India to utter despair, and even death. If the Liberals do not surrender themselves to either, it is because they have managed to conjure up a faith—not based on facts, but on their fond beliefs—a faith in the beneficent tendencies of the British Empire in relation to the Indian people. This was the greatest illusion under which any sane political party ever lived. Surely if ever Swaraj comes, it will surely emanate from the rising tide of popular will in India and certainly not from the generous outburst of the British heart.

The old nationalism, fondly but foolishly believed that regeneration of India can come from outside: the new nationalism replies that in the very nature of things the revival of the nation can come from within. This is a radical difference. Hence the new nationalism brings an accession of enormous strength to the people. Faith can remove mountains: and new nationalism builds on such a faith. This faith is based not on any material creed or

earthly programme: it is something deeper, wider, and more powerful than the promise of industrial progress or economic development or political independence. The fundamental need of the situation is not a particular programme or a particular method; these are mere concrete lines on which the spirit of God is working in a nation. There is a Power higher than ourselves, higher than all the nations of the world, that is now guiding the Indian nation. This Power is invincible, almighty, immortal and irresistible: and it will do its work, it will sweep off all obstacles, it will rush us on to victory. The Indian patriots have to realise that the designs of this Power may be in part inscrutable to our finite intelligence and they have merely to obey that Power and go where it leads them.

Old nationalism was timid, hesitating, calculating, balancing loss and gain, obsessed by earthly considerations, prudence, and selfishness. It, therefore, failed to produce any effect. Its logic may be fine: but it has no real force of conviction behind it. It made no call for a higher life, because it felt itself none. New nationalism demands unlimited faith, unlimited self-sacrifice, unlimited courage. The in-dwelling spirit within, the immortal soul in all of us has to be released and floods of energy and new life will simply deluge the country. Self-interest, whether individual or communal, has never inspired the best deeds and the noblest thoughts of man. New nationalism kindles a new faith in man, and asks him to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. The patriot, when the call to self-immolation comes, rejoices and says: "The hour of my consecration has come, and I have to thank God now that the time for laying myself on His altar has arrived and that I have been chosen to suffer for the good of my countrymen. This is the hour of my greatest joy and the fulfilment of my life." New nationalism thus stands for that perfect love of the nation which

casteth out all selfishness and all fear. The root of Indian weakness is fear, and this fear is born out of selfishness and an utter lack of faith in God. The higher courage can only be the outcome of a higher faith. This higher faith tells you that you are a mere instrument of the immortal force within you, whom the sword cannot pierce, whom the fire cannot burn, and whom the water cannot drown. What can all the earthly tribunals and the powers of the world do to such an invincible spirit? Him the jail cannot confine nor the gallows can end.

New nationalism can make this supreme call for supreme sacrifice because it does not stand for one's own personal interests, or caste or class interests, or even the interests of the nation as a political and economic entity. Calculation and timidity are the result of these narrow egoisms. Suffering becomes a joy only when you overwhelmingly love the object for which you sacrifice yourselves. That object here is the Indian nation, the embodiment of the age-long Indian ideals. "When you have a higher idea, when you have realised that you have nothing, that you are nothing, and that the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives, you will then realise that the idea for which you are working is something Immortal, and that it is an Immortal Power that is working within you. All other attachments are nothing. Every other consideration disappears from your mind. You are led on by that Power. You are protected through life and death by One, who survives the very hour of death; you feel your immortality in the hour of your worst sufferings; you feel you are invincible.

"You have undertaken a work, you have committed yourselves to something which seems to be materially impossible. You have undertaken a work, which will rouse

against you the mightiest enemies whom the earth can bring forward. Have you the other strength in you? Try to realise it so that every hour ye shall live shall be enlightened by that Presence, that every thought of yours shall be inspired from that one fountain of inspiration, that every faculty and quality in you may be placed at the service of that Immortal Power within you. Then you will not need any leader. The leader is within yourself. If you can only find Him and listen to His voice, then you will not find that people do not listen to you, because there is a voice within that people which will make itself heard; and the whole people of this country will rise, filled with the inspiration of the Almighty, and no power on earth shall resist it and no danger or difficulty shall stop it in its outward course. God has work for this great and ancient nation. Therefore He is revealing Himself to you not that you may be like other nations, not merely that you may rise by human strength to trample under foot the weaker peoples, but because something is to come out from you which is to save the whole world. That something is what the ancient Rishis knew and revealed and that is to be known and revealed again to-day, it has to be revealed to the whole world and in order that he may reveal Himself, you must first realise Him in yourselves, you must shape your lives, you must shape the life of this great nation so that it may be fit to reveal Him and then your task will be done, and you will realise that what you are doing to-day is no mere political uprising, no mere political change, but that you have been called upon to do God's work."

Such is the burning faith, and the inspired insight of this new cry. In politics, its ideal is entirely different from the ideal of old nationalism. Old nationalism really stood for two ideals; progressive Indianization and piecemeal reform. Its talk of Swaraj was an after-thought;

it is something to which they were driven by the Extremism in their midst, even against their better judgment. Now new nationalism is as much opposed to Indianization as the old nationalism is attached to it. Indianization is a part of the programme of political apprenticeship which the Moderates are after. But the ideal of Englishmen, training Indians in order that these Indians may drive them out and take their place, is a self-contradictory and impossible conception. Indianization, therefore, must have a really sinister meaning. It cannot be the stepping-stone to political emancipation; it may be really a stepping-stone to further national degradation. Let us examine facts. To-day we have some Indians in the Indian Civil Service. Has it altered the character, the nature, the tradition of the British Government? These civilians are mere creations of the British Government. They have to carry out orders, they have to follow the policy initiated by the head-quarters. "There are traditions, there are laws, there are principles, there are policies to which every civilian, be he black, brown, or white, must submit and so long as these traditions have not been altered, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country."

The nationalist goes further and says, progressive Indianization will not make for good government either. The Englishman in high office often behaves better than the Indian in high office; the Englishman is trained in the free atmosphere of England and does not cringe to the extent that the Indian would do. The Indian has to behave differently not because he is naturally of a slavish mind, but because there is no one behind him to support him. If he assumes pro-Indian attitude or a democratic attitude, he will be at once misunderstood: and will be immediately asked to behave himself or go. These Indians, therefore,

are completely lost to the nation. They simply merge in the Sahibs and they behave very often worse than white Sahibs. It cannot be otherwise. It is the system which rules and these men suddenly get high salaries, get intoxicated, lose their bearings and try to give a very good account of themselves to their real masters: but care a fig for the people. "It is to the foreign ruler that the civilian is responsible, not to you. It is to him that the District Magistrate is responsible and not to you. It is to him that the Inspector is responsible and not to you, and therefore, the Inspector, the Civilian, and the District officer, and every other officer of the Government, in fact, looks to his own interest naturally, and looking to his own interest, he sees that if he can please the officials his interests will be best served, and if he displeases you, he will not in the least suffer in his own interests. Therefore, there is such weakness, inefficiency, such disregard of the rights, liberties and privileges of the people in the service of the Government, in this country. Therefore, if you have a larger number of officials, native officials, that will make things easy for a few families ..but for the nation at large it would not improve their lot."

It follows that policy of piecemeal reform covers the same danger for Indians. The directing power merely utilises a larger number of indigenous persons in the pursuit of its own ends. The half is here the enemy of the whole. The good here is the enemy of the best. This is the fundamental defect of all reforms which proceed from outside. The imperial brand is marked on all them. The new nationalism, therefore, tries to avoid this delusion and snare, and demands boldly and emphatically that it wants nothing short of Swaraj. It does not want more representation in the legislature, but the power to create one's legislature. "It is the very soul of blind folly

says Pal, "to seek to satisfy the demands of this New Spirit, by such moiety of reforms, as the extension of the time-limit for the Budget-debate, or the granting of the right to move amendments to the budget. These will not meet the present situation. It is not reforms, but Reform which is the new cry in the country. It is the abdication of the right of England to determine the policy of the Indian Government, the relinquishment of the right of foreign despots to enact whatever law they please, to govern the people of the country, the abandonment of their right to tax the people according to their own sweet will and pleasure, and to spend the revenues of the country in any way they like—it is these that will alone meet the requirements of the New Spirit. Timid people and old women of all ages and both sexes, dare not look this spirit in the face. They dare not think even in their own minds of the immense possibilities that are before it."

16. *PHILOSOPHIC BASIS.*

The new nationalism distinguishes itself effectively from the old nationalism in this: that it takes the Indian people as an organic whole with a great past behind it and a great future before it. The Indian nation has its own peculiar genius revealed to us in its entire history.

The first thing to grasp about the Indian nationality of to-day is that it is not a new entity having no historic past behind it. Neither Hindus nor the Mahomedans can be called barbarians in any sense of the term. It is in fact their past which comes in the way of their easily assimilating the Western culture. The Moderates want to ignore the past and if possible wipe out the past altogether. But it is neither possible nor desirable for the Indian nation to start its historic career only from the British period of Indian History. The whole of the