

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

past may not be a very brilliant period of Indian history : but it is there : and to ignore it altogether is to fall into a very grave error.

The present movement of the Indian mind should be organically related to the past of the people, and in trying to frame our ideals or our methods of realising our ideals, we must take into full consideration the peculiar nature of the Indian mind as it has shown itself in history. Just as every child is in a way different from every other child, so every nation is in a way different from every other nation. And just as a clever and successful educationalist addresses himself to the mind of each pupil by trying to understand its peculiar composition, so a clever statesman or national leader must give full attention to all the peculiarities of national temperament and national character, if he is to successfully manage his material.

The Moderates assumed that men everywhere are the same essentially : and the Eastern people have only to be placed in a new environment in order that they may behave exactly as the Western people do. They, therefore, borrowed all their ideals as well as their methods almost literally from their Western Masters and carried on a ceaseless verbal agitation for the grant of those institutions which have become successful in the West, on the assumption that man is essentially a creature of environment and the Eastern man is just like the Western man in all relevant particulars.

This again partly explains their failure. The new school makes an attempt to rebuild the future on the past rather than entirely on the models supplied by the West.

In the shaping of the individuals as well as groups, we have two factors: heredity and environment. The Moderates considered environment but ignored heredity. Heredity helps the perpetuation of the type, environment leads

to variations of the species. Thus B. C. Pal propounds his theory of a distinct individuality of each nation. "There are essential and pre-historic peculiarities inexplicable but undeniable, which constitute the race-consciousness of the different nations. These peculiarities are partly physical, partly mental, partly social. The physical peculiarities reflect themselves in the construction of their heads, in the angle of the nose, in the colour or pigment of the skin. Mental peculiarities reflect themselves in literatures, arts, philosophies, and religions. Social peculiarities reflect themselves in their social institutions, state, family, and others.

"The Hindus constitute a distinct people. The regulative idea in the evolution of Hindu character, the idea which has given a peculiar shape and colouring to the entire history of the race, is their innate consciousness of the spiritual and the eternal. The Western people have tried to conquer nature and use it by the mastery of its laws: but the Easterns, and especially the Hindus, have either tried to escape from its bondage by the power of their mind, or to control it by purely subjective and psychical methods. The outer world is often considered supremely real: and its influence on the mind of man is rendered harmless by the development of the inner force of mind.

"This conception of the absolute supremacy of the spirit, over both animal instincts and natural forces, is the highest note in the Hindu culture and the Hindu civilisation; and we owe to it all that is the best and truest and noblest in them ... To these are due that proverbial patience, that passive resistance to all evil, that fortitude and calm dignity, the moral bravery that can face pain without flinching and meet death without a tremor and that absence of helplessness and despair even in the most helpless circumstances... To it also we owe the peculiarly Hindu ethical ideal of Ahimsa which means the absolute uprooting of all desire

to inflict pain or injury on any creature, as well as the recognition of the self in all beings. These are the spiritual and ethical legacies of our race.”

It is true that good and evil go together in social arrangements: and the Hindus, in their efforts always to transcend the present and live in the Eternal, have lost their grasp over the world of actuality which confronts them. Religion of the other world has often blinded them to their duties here and now, to the religion of this world. The doctrine of Karma soon developed into the doctrine of fate taking away all useful initiative from the people. Ahimsa degenerated into mere passivity and inertia: and the ancient religion became a mass of dead dogma.

The new civilisation, that we intend to build in this country, cannot be a mere revival of the ancient Hindu civilisation as it cannot be a mere by-product of British civilisation. The new nationalists try to steer clear of both these false positions. The past has to be incorporated with the present: in order that the Hindu of to-day, may, side by side with the Muslim and the Parsee and the Jain and the Christian, march to his new destiny. The new civilisation has, therefore, to be a composite civilisation and secondly, a modern civilisation, with an eye as much to the future as to the past. The nationalism of the Hindu or the Muslim or the Christian or the Parsee must not be wiped out in a new cosmopolitanism. It will be an act of cultural suicide in the case of each of these communities. The genius of each people is different: each has valuable contributions to make. The Liberal ideal of a cosmopolitan culture is based on false assumptions and will never work. The new nationalist ideal is to evolve a common and yet distinctive civilisation by a federation of all the different cultures which go to make the Indian nation of to-day. The attempt to impose one of these cultures on others is bound to end in failure, as the past history of India clearly shows. But

the attempt to reduce them all to one colourless western type has been far from successful.

The nationalist ideal is, therefore, the old Hindu philosophic ideal of the One in Many, of the Unity in Plurality, restored and applied to the modern Indian problem. The Hindu demands that the One must triumph over the many; this is the supreme note of his philosophy: but not at the expense of the many, but in and through the many. The Indian nationality must be one single nationality,...not a collection of heterogeneous and unrelated peoples: but a single spiritual whole working through different peoples in different ways: the diversity of its manifestations only serving to deepen and enrich its unity. "Each culture should contribute to the progress of the others, not by the super-imposition upon them of its own special forms, organs, vehicles, or symbols, but by indirectly helping the growth from within, of these elements in them which it possesses itself in a more developed state than the rest, never seeking to obliterate their essential and distinctive features, or to destroy their autonomy, or to divert them from the course of evolution worked out by their past environments and experiences, operating upon their original race-consciousness."

The Swaraj is an appropriate cry for the new ideal which demands the freest and completest self-expression of the highest self not now of an individual only, but of the nation. The Swaraj is freedom not in the old negative sense of escape from reality, but in the new positive sense of the expression of the soul of the nation through all its activities, in a complete, unfettered way. Here an old honoured concept—so central in the Indian scheme of life—is brought back, and re-instated at the heart of the social theory and interpreted in a positive way.

The two ideals of nationality and Swaraj thus mingle

in one. The Hindu nationality—now the Indian nationality—is essentially a movement towards unity of all the distinctive cultures, without wiping out their special, differentiating characteristics. The realisation of this unity in diversity of the Indian ideal of unity in the diversity of Hindu, Muslim, Parsee, Sikh, Jain, and Christian ideals, is thus the indispensable condition for the attainment of Swaraj, a full and free expression of the sense of new nationality in all the departments of life. The ancient ideal of salvation demanded the identification of the individual with the universal; the new ideal of salvation also demands the identification of parts with the whole. The new nationality is the new born self or Swa; and Swaraj is the expression of that Swa or national self. The highest spiritual ideal thus becomes transformed into the highest social and political ideal.

The old patriotism was dazzled by the European ideals and passionately pleaded for their transplantation in this country. Its spiritual home was Europe, not India. Its great inspirers and prophets were men like Burke and Macaulay. Its highest poetry was the poetry of Shakespeare and Milton. The spell of Europe was upon it in those days.

But the new patriotism looks once more to the great past of the nation and derives its life and inspiration from it. It has a historic basis: the other had none. It lives upon a great tradition; the other merely copied the traditions of others. It has roots: it has continuity: it has solid background; the other was unreal, imaginary and abstract. The new cry is *Bande mataram* (Hail! mother!). The old cry was: Hail Britannia! Long live the Emperor! The new patriotism is concrete and racy of the soil. "Love of India now means a love for its rivers and mountains, for its paddy fields and its arid sandy plains, its towns and villages, however uncouth or insanitary these might be, a love for the flora and fauna of India, an affectionate regard for its natural beauties and even for its wild and ugly exuberance

of vegetation, a love for its swarthy populations, unshod and unclad, a love for the dirt-clothed village urchins, unshod and unclad; a love for its languages, its literatures, its philosophies, its religions, a love for the culture and civilisation—this is the characteristic of this new patriotism.”

17. *NATION-BUILDING. A. CONSTITUTIONAL
AGITATION.*

The ideal dictates to some extent the precise methods to be followed in achieving the ideal. The Liberals strove hard to bring about a better government of the Western type under the British leadership and with the British co-operation. Their main weapon in this fight is known as constitutional agitation. The process that the Moderates actually developed under this dignified name is called in plain language the process of begging. The policy of so-called constitutional agitation is nothing but a policy of mendicancy. The Moderates pray and petition, beg and cry: they sometimes fret and fume: but they cannot go beyond that. This type of agitation has been indeed an instrument of political training and has helped the diffusion of national sentiment among us. But it has not achieved any concrete results: and the few reactions of the Government to it have been a measure here and a measure there meant to lighten the work of the administration and to strengthen the foundations of the British supremacy in India.

The Moderates believed too much in the British heart, the British good sense, the British conscience, the British liberal traditions, the British pledges. There are strong tactical advantages in this policy. You can go on clamouring without giving any handle to the Government to stop you or punish you. Your safety, your career are not jeopardised. You can indulge in the luxury of patriotism without