SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

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PREFACE

Bipin Chandra Pal had been in the forefront of our struggle for Independence during the first decade of this century. that early phase of our national life he, along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai, gave a dynamic lead that the country needed, infusing a new spirit in our political consciousness. Generally, his name is associated with Tilak and Lajpat Rai and it is only a characteristic of our common parlance that he is recognised to the extent he fits in well with the customary idiom 'Lal-Bal-Pal'. But beyond the pale of such common belief Pal has his distinct identity. Like some of the political leaders of our past generation he had his own political predilections and beliefs which guided him all through his political activities and movements. It is this relatively unknown aspect, the basis of his ideological convictions, as against the conventional impressions about him, that needs to be explored and measured in contemporary Indian Politics. Much light has already been thrown in this direction on Tilak and Lajpat Rai. But till now Pal's seems to be a neglected dimension of our inheritance.

The initial difficulty in the study of Pal's political ideas is that no biography of him has yet been written and that most of his works have by now become almost extinct or rare. The innumerable writings that he wrote throughout his long life are still scattered over a large number of periodicals. A few of his writings and speeches which have recently been collected and published lack scientific and methodical editing and are not, therefore, very much reliable for research purpose.

In order to collect original material, if any, from the foreign quarters, I made some attempts. I wrote to the British Museum. London, to the Library of Congress, Washington, to such leading dailies as *The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, The Boston Herald, The Washington Post*, I assumed that some substantial material might come out of these sources, since Pal had been in England thrice and in America once. The British Museum could not supply me any material. The Library of Congress, in their letter of August 26, 1969, forwarded to me

photocopies of the entries of Pal's works appearing in their Main Catalogue, with this note: "We have received your enquiry of August 18. As the Library of Congress primarily serves Congress and other agencies of the Federal Government, it is unable to respond to the numerous requests for bibliographies for theses or other academic exercises." The photocopies of the entries sent by them did not come to any use to me, for I had already consulted those books from our local sources.

Of the dailies, while *The Chicago Tribune*, informed me that Pal's name makes no appearance in their "indexed Years available for checking", and *The New York Times* expressed their inability to provide me "the research assistance" sought for, the others remained unresponsive. My correspondence with the foreign sources thus virtually proved unproductive.

Also my efforts to consult the I.B. records on Pal went in vain. In my letter of April 2, 1969, I requested the West Bengal Government with this object citing precedents where such permissions were given. The Assistant Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, Home (Political) Department, in his letter No. 3214-P dated 16.5.69, however, informed me as follows: "With reference to your letter dated the 2nd April, 1969, to the Assistant Director of Archives, Government of West Bengal, seeking permission to consult certain records of the Intelligence Branch of this Government in connection with your research on subject of 'Social and Political Thoughts and Ideas of Late Bepin Chandra Pal', I am directed to say that Government regret their inability to accede to your request as these records have not been thrown open for research purposes." I appealed to the Government once again on June 18, 1969, to which no reply was received.

I have, however, tried my best to overcome these limitations and obstacles by making faithful use of all available material in preparing the present volume which grew out of my doctoral dissertation. With the passage of time, I felt it necessary to revise almost the whole of my scheme earlier presented in the doctoral project. Therefore, the present study is a different one both in approach and arrangement.

A few more words need be added in this connection. It is a common belief even today that except during the tumult-

ous period of 1905-1908, when he played a leading 'extremist' role, he did not leave any marked contribution to our national politics. It is also held by a section of our countrymen that after the Swadeshi days he took a retrograde turn, for he opposed vigorously Gandhian politics and Swarajya Party, lost popular following and during the last phase of his life took the help of European-owned papers to express himself. I do not subscribe to any such views. My reading of him reveals that a thinking mind as he did possess, he gave evidence more and more of political wisdom as he advanced in age and experience, frantically trying to shake off the irrational roots of our political life. seldom a political thinker enjoys mass-following, or becomes a successful politician and rarely a successful politician leaves substantial staff for political thought. I also feel that it is the organised campaign of the followers of Gandhi and Swarajya Party that considerably worked to imprint a misleading image of him in popular imagination. And nothing can be more regretable, if even today we, as free citizens of a free society, look to his later days' connection with European-owned Press with a pathological aversion without caring to see whether or not things appearing in those columns are really sound and logical.

My attempt in the present volume has been to bring intopurview the total man and to trace the working of his thinking from the late nineteenth century down almost to the day of his passing away on May 20, 1932. For this purpose, my study of Pal's social and political thoughts has for compelling reasons drawn occasionally in relevant biographical material available.

I owe a great deal to Professor S. K. Mukherjee, D. LITT., Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University, under whose supervision I carried on research for my doctoral thesis. Sj. Jnananjan Pal, who among the sons of Bipin Chandra Pal survives still, has been a perennial source of encouragement to me. He took the trouble of personally checking up Pal's writings in some periodicals and gave me complete access to his personal collections on Pal. Prof. David E. U. Baker, an Australian scholar, currently on the staff of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, was good enough to corroborate one of my vital points on Non-cooperation Movement. Sj. B B. Moonje, son of late Dr B. S. Moonje, kindly permitted me to use his father's diaries at

the National Library, Calcutta. My younger brother Prof. Nirmal Mookerjee provided me with some valuable references.

That my book is now seeing the light, is due to the initiative taken by my friend Dr G. P. Bhattacharjee, Reader, Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, who evinced keen interest in it. And the indefatigable Sj. Sushil Mukherjea of Minerva Associates (Publications) Pvt. Ltd., undertook the grave responsibility of publishing such a book in these days of overwhelming odds. To me Sj. Mukherjea is more than a publisher, for he corrected some of my mistakes, had the insight and guts to tell me when I was wrong and did not settle for anything less than what he felt was the best that I could do. The publication, admittedly, has been facilitated by the financial assistance given by Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi-1.

My esteemed colleague Dr Sukdev Bhowmik gave me much hope and encouragement when, on some occasions, I was despaired of the success of my labour. Sm. Srirupa Banerjee, with her youthful zeal, was always at my call to gladly do all the typing work however tedious those were. And lastly, as in my other spheres, here also my wife stood by me with unflinching tenacity giving me all sorts of help including copying from reference-books and journals and taking notes and dictations.

I got ungrudging co-operation from the authorities of National Library, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, British Indian Association, Naba Kumar Press, West Bengal Secretariat Library, State Archives, Calcutta. Similar co-operation I got also from the authorities of Prabartak Sangh, Chandernagore.

For all the help and encouragement I have received, I am extremely grateful. However, none of the individuals or institutions mentioned here can share in the faults and shortcomings of the book. They all had a hand in creating whatever virtues the book may contain, but for all its errors, it is I who must bear full responsibility.

Calcutta, November 15, 1974. Amalendu Prasad Mookerjee

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Introduction

THE MAN IN PERSPECTIVE

Mankind has in all ages attached itself to a few persons, whom Arnold J. Toynbee would call a 'creative minority',—persons who, either by the quality of the ideas that they embody or by the largeness of their perception are entitled to a position of supremacy. Such men are, generally, thinkers, visioneries and nation-builders. Bipin Chandra Pal, a man of many-sided personality, a "journalist, philosopher, statesman and orator" at the same time, was pre-eminently one of them. As Pal truly observed in the foreword to his autobiography: "The value of the life story of any individual consists, therefore, not in itself, however great or nobie that life may be, but only as a revelation, an explanation and interpretation of the hidden currents of social history and evolution that, entering into it, shapes and moulds it to its universal end."

Looking back at the days in which Pal began his life, i.e., the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we find a definite climb-down of the British policy in India from "the point of culmination of good intentions," as expressed through the Queen's Proclamation or the Government of India Act, 1858, to an attitude of conscious reticence.

In Bengal, the apathetic policy of the British bureaucracy was more glaring and piquant. To the peasantry it seemed to be a riddle that the British paramountcy dedicated to the principle of benevolence and justice should be so indifferent towards their sufferings under the tyranny of money-lenders and Zeminders. "Since 1875, the Land Revenue has probably taken a smaller share of the total agricultural produce, but the heavy assessments of the sixties played their part in the economic

^{1.} Sir Fredrick James, "Bipin Chandra Pal", in Vigil (Weekly), Cal., Vol. IX, No. 40, Nov. 8, 1958, p. 631.

^{2.} Memories of My Life and Times (1857-1884), Modern Book Agency, Cal., 1932.

^{3.} N. C. Kelker, The Case for Indian Home Rule, Poona, 1917, p. 71.

triumph of money-lender."4 In fact, the Famine Commission, 1880, reported that "one-third of the land-holding classes are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves."5 And as expected, the land-holding classes, in their turn, put the peasantry under exacting pressure. When the rural economy was thus shattered, "it was impossible to carry on the duties of a village Landlord without resort to little illegalities. Few tenants were found willing to pay unless subjected to gross abuse and more often even to threats of physical chastisement."8 All this resulted in a systematic turn-out of landless peasants. sizeable section of them, particularly from East Bengal, began to move in swelling numbers to the Assam tea gardens as emigrant labourers, reduced virtually to quasi-slaves. And "in 1879-80, the Government of Bengal appointed a Commission with the object of making recruiting more easy and supplying labour to the tea districts generally less expensive." Even then, the village life, by and large, remained immune from the tremors of unrest. "The general population was, on the whole, very quiet, inoffensive, respectful of each other's rights and honour, and rarely disturbed the public peace".8 Peace indeed was there, but it was an emasculating peace intended only to keep a nation in perpetual tutelage, a peace enforced by a Government characterised by misdirected efficiency, unbalanced progress, harmfully directed energy and soul-crushing organisation.

Though the mass-mind was in a state of quietude, educated Bengal, in keeping with the rest of India, could recognise the chain of events. In accordance with the policy enunciated in Sir John Wood's Education Despatch, 1854, the Government of Bengal had opened a number of Colleges for higher English education. These had been turning out a number of English-educated youngmen, capable in all respects for high Government Offices and legal professions. But such eminence of the

^{4.} Edward Thompson and G. T. Garat, Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1966, p. 488.

^{5.} Ibid, p. 487.

^{6.} Pal, Memories of My Life and Times, Vol. II, Yugajatri Prakashak Ltd., Cal., 1951, p. 5.

^{7.} New India (Weekly), Cal., Vol. I, No. 12, Nov. 11, 1901, p. 185. Himself as editor, Pal started this paper in 1901.

^{8.} Pal, Memories . . . (1857-1884), p. 145.

natives was an eyesore to the British bureaucracy. The termination in 1872 of Surendranath Banerjee's tenure in the Indian Civil Service on frivolous grounds, amply demonstrated the jealousy and colour-hatred of the white race. As he recollects: "My case excited very strong feeling in the Indian Community, and the general belief amongst my countrymen was that, if I were not an Indian, I would not have been put to all this trouble, and that the head and front of my offence was that I had entered the preserves of the Indian Civil Service, which so far had been jealously guarded against invasion by the children of the soil." Sir George Campbell, the then Governor of Bengal, in fact, bade good bye to the liberal principle of Wood and made determined moves to curb, cripple and abolish the system of higher English education.

While in the political and administrative aspect the spirit of reform was being sacrificed for the paramount interest of an alien sovereign, in the religious and social plane, the movement of revolt and reforms, started in earlier periods, began to lose much of its liberalism and institutional edge. The humanitarian social message of Shri Chaitanya, for example, was then "under a cloud. Brahminism had literally devoured the Vaishnavic cult and culture. People had little knowledge and less appreciation of the lofty social idealism and humanism of the message of Mahaprabhu."

Nevertheless, the message of freedom, humanity and social idealism, imbibed through contact with European thought and culture by a galaxy of thinkers of the Bengal Renaissance, continued to permeate the realm of thoughts and ideas. This new awakening made the educated people more acutely conscious of the injustice which the British rulers perpetrated.

Thus the last decades of nineteenth century bore all the signs of discontent and unrest. In 1895, Dadabhai Naoroji remarked: "Do not misunderstand me, there is immense gratitude in India to England. The present generation feels the benefit it has derived from English education. But succeeding generations will not feel that. However improved the condition in which they find themselves, they will demand more, and if they do not

^{9.} A Nation in Making, Oxford University Press, Cal., 1963, p. 27. 10. Pal. Memories (1857-1884), p. 244.

get it, they will rebel". This demand for more, portentous of a revolt even, was a thirst for liberation from all sorts of restraints and limitations, individually and collectively, imposed by any authoritarian or conventional system, be that religious, social or political. This was a demand for freedom and self-government, a demand of a resurgent generation. Bipin Chandra Pal belonged to this generation.

Born on Nov. 7, 1858, in a remote village of Sylhet district (now in Bangladesh) in a Vaishnavite family, Pal had his early education in a Missionary school in Sylhet town. His father, a man of considerable means with some land-holdings, though without English education, had the reputation of being a good Persian scholar. He was an orthodox Hindu, with an inclination, however, to weigh the scriptures on logic and reason. In personal life he followed the Vaishnavic tenets scrupulously and used to look upon his son not only as an earthly or family asset, but also as an instrument of his well-being on the other side of the grave. His mother, typical of that time, was without any education. But hers was a sacrificing soul, always attentive to the well-being of a large number of family members and relatives. Quite unostentatious, she was yet a strong disciplinarian in domestic affairs, and took particular care about the orderly manners of his son. Since the growth and development of every man is considerably regulated by parental influence, we may profitably hear from Pal himself in this regard: "The ideal of manhood which has always inspired and allured my mind throughout this long life, the core of which is to make way for others, keeping one-self in the background, which is based on the principle of restraints and graciousness-that ideal I did not learn from any book, but imbibed from the character and manners of my parents."12

Pal was never serious or successful in school or collegiate education. We learn from his autobiography that he passed the Entrance Examination in third division, but got admitted in the Presidency College, Calcutta, though not eligible on merit,

^{11.} R. P. Masani, Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1957, p. 120.

^{12.} English rendering of Pal, Matri Tarpan, Bangalakshmi (Bengali monthly), Jaistha, 1335 B.E., p. 541.

INTRODUCTION

through the reserved Sylhet quota of admissions. The same source reveals that he read more outside books than text-books and indulged in dreams of literary eminence during his teens and devoted most of the time in 'miscellaneous reading' both Bengali and English, all through his student life. Twice he sat for the First Examination of collegiate course, but each time he got plucked and that ended his career in the University.13 The insatiable thirst for knowledge which he had, could not possibly be satisfied by the little drops of University curricula. And this thirst could partially be quenched when he became the Librarian and Secretary of the Calcutta Public Library (now National Library). "The Librarian made good use, indeed, of the Lib rary. He devoured volume after volume, laid the foundation and even built the super-structure to some extent, of his wide culture."14 Sometimes he was engaged in coaching I.C.S. sto dents. He was also appointed by the Calcutta University is examine theses submitted by its brilliant products on subjects Literature, Philosophy and Economics in connection with P.R. and Ph.D. Examinations. 15 These were positive recognition his intellectual endowments.

The roots of his ideas, in fact, went back to the golden and of the past, and their branches reached out to touch the method plying problems of the time to which he belonged. He took total view of man and society. Therefore, his political view are all-embracing, all-comprehending. In this angle of visher which takes a total perspective of all things, past and present he had the example of Rammohun before him. For, "like Darwho summed up all the noblest and deepest elements of mediculture in Europe, and foreshadowed the great European remains ance, Rammohun also summed up in himself all the pure permanent elements of ancient Indian civilization, and not make foreshadowed but consciously sought to realise and reveal highest and fullest ideal of modern Indian life." It is a contraction of the past of t

^{13.} Sec Memories (1857-1884), pp. 178-179, 181, 205.

^{14.} The Indian Nation Builders, Part-I, Sixth Edition, Ganesh Madras, (Year and author's name not mentioned), p. 347.

^{15.} Sec Minutes of the Syndicate for the year 1924, Part-II). † ibid, Part-IV, p. 314; ibid, Part-V, (Index), p. 77.

^{16.} Pal, "Raja Rammohun Roy", New India, 1901, Vol. 1 Aug. 12, 1901, p. 12.

estimate of him that "like Rammohun Roy, of whom he was a follower, his conception of freedom was profound and all-sided—not merely political. He worked and wanted others to work for spiritual, social, political and economic freedom."¹⁷

The sense of freedom, which he developed since his early youth, was indeed his life-breath. In his zealous efforts to maintain independence of views and conviction he was prepared to accept every conceivable stake without thinking about consequences which, not infrequently, led him into dreadful miseries and deprivations. Here he is found to follow the footsteps of Vidyasagar, whom he considered only next to Rammohun in selfrespect and independent spirit. Recollecting the manner in which Vidyasagar resigned from his post in the Educational Department after a hitch with a British Official, Pal thus observed in an anniversary meeting: "I, for one, can take this yow for myself that if the Government were to strike at the root of Higher Education in the country, and leave no room for independent action or initiative in the matter of the education of our youths, I would choose poverty and penury for my boys, to sending them to any Government Institution."18

He was a rebel against whatever he deemed to be a hind-rance or injustice. "He quarrels with his father and becomes a Brahmo while still a youth, battles with adverse fate, starts a school in his rash enthusiasm and loses his patrimony, once again battles with fate, wanders for sometime as a recluse, boldly marries a widow—we need not go further—evidently no ordinary humdrum everyday-sort of man that!" 19

With such scholarly gifts and courageous scruples was blended a screne spirituality which, broadly speaking, stemmed from his rational understanding of the fundamentals of religion, ethics and philosophy. Precisely, however, he was moulded in this cast by Shivnath Sastri and Bijay Krishna Goswami, the former a new preceptor of Brahmoism and the latter an exponent of Vaishnavic humanism.²⁰ But of all persons, Aswini Kumar

^{17.} Notes: Bipin Chandra Pal, The Modern Review, Vol. LI, No. 6, June, 1932, p. 709.

^{18.} New India, Vol. I, No. 49, Aug. 7, 1902, p. 795.

^{19.} The Indian Nation Builders, Ganesh & Co., Madras, p. 349.

^{20.} See Ch. XV, Memories . . . (1857-1884); also Ch. XIII, Memories Vol. II.

Dutta was perhaps the only man who inspired him to hold on to transcendental realization.

Because of this spirituality, sometimes verging on mysticism even, Pal, for all his political activities, was basically a moral man. He felt so intensely the need to do right that he had to feel convinced he was doing right. He believed in doing good, in showing other people how to do good, and he assumed that ultimately people would do good. Politicians, oftentimes, preach morality because it is safe to do so, because they prove thereby that they are on the right side between Good and Evil, because they reach the largest common denominator among the audiences, not because they take their preachings too seriously. Not so was Pal. Like a preacher, he wanted and expected his sermons to serve as practical moral guides to his people. His sense of morality and truthfulness is comparable only to that of Shri Aurobindo Even a high ranking police official, during the heated political climate of Bengal in 1909, had to confess that "man like Bipin Pal and Aurobindo Ghose will never disclaim whatever they have done."21

The political outlook, therefore, that he developed, knew nonarrowness, refused to be dovecotted into the national limit either but was always eager to roam about the greater field of internationalism or universalism. That is why he could easily become a fellow-commoner to any religious group; was quite at he own in any place, either at home or abroad. In him Valentine Chirol, one of his trenchant critics, discovered "a man of great Intellectual force and high character" and one who "has not only received a Western education, but has travelled a great deal as Europe and in America, and is almost as much at home in Load don as in Calcutta." In him, again, The Marchester Guardian could find "an eloquent Bengal journalist and nationalist missionary, no stranger to English audiences."

^{21.} This is the remark made in 1909 by Sarnsul Alam, Deput Superintendent of Police who was subsequently shot dead on January 24, 1910, while leaving the High Court building. He said this having to Aurobindo personally and Aurobindo quotes this remark in the court of an interview with 'Sanjibani', a Bengali periodical. For full text Aurobindo's interview, as translated into English, see the Amrita Baratrika, May 15, 1909.

^{22.} Indian Unrest, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1910, p. 9

^{23.} Sept. 4, 1919.

It is not that in him a missionary turned nationalist or a nationalist turned missionary. Political thinking was an integral part of Pal's quest for truth and freedom. In him, politics was linked with Religion, with Philosophy, with Science, with all other disciplines. Various and different indeed were the thoughts that went into the making of his mind.

Thus was prepared "a soul ready to receive the currents," 24—the currents of India's awakening.



24. Dr Sundari Mohan Das, "Bipin Chandra Pal- His inner man", The Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEMS OF RELIGION, ETHICS AND PHILOSOPHY

THE BRAHMO MOVEMENT

The message of Brahmo Samaj, originated by Raja Rammohun and propagated by Debendranath Tagore and Keshall-Chandra Sen, was a message of intellectual freedom, social duties and moral obligations. It took its cue basically from the French Illumination and European rationalism and stood up against prevailing socio-religious evils bequeathed by popular religious teachings and practices since long.

The Brahmo movement, naturally attracted Pal as it did many enlightened men of his time. In the middle of 1876, he, with a small band of associates, organised a society of their own under the leadership of Pandit Shivnath Sastri. The principles and the pledge of the Society were drawn up by Shivnath himself. Pal and a few of his associates took the oath of initiation as members of the society sometime in autumn 1877 under the supervision of Shivnath. The Society combined religious and social idealism of the Brahmo Samaj with the political idealism of Surendranath Banerjee. It was uncompromising against current image-worship and easte-domination, zealous to activise individual conscience on ethical questions and also declared 'self-Govt, ordained by God' as its political object.'

The emergence of this society was a definite indication of

The emergence of this society was a definite indication of the smouldering schism in Brahmo Samaj which reached a new dimension when Keshub, in spite of stiff opposition from his fellow-members, gave his daughter in marriage to the minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar. This was contrary to the provision of special Civil Marriage Act III, 1872. The Act had been passed principally through the efforts of Keshub himself and its provisions could be availed of by all people who did not follow

^{1.} See Pal, Memories (1857-1884), pp. 311-317; also see Pat. Sattar Batsar (in Bengali), Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Cal. 6, 1962, pp. 222-225.

the Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, Moslem and other established religions. It fixed the minimum marriageable age for the bridegroom and bride at eighteen and fourteen years respectively. The age of Keshub's daughter was, however, only thirteen, while that of the Maharaja below sixteen.

Pal was already feeling sore at what he considered Keshub's authoritarian and undemocratic attitude. He joined the protest movement against Keshub on the marriage issue. At a meeting of the youthful students, held at 13, Cornwallis Street, he seconded the resolution and signed a letter of protest which was sent to Keshub. This was his first public association with Brahmo-Samaj, but ironically it was an occasion when he had to stand up against the very figure whom he considered to have "laid the foundation of the Swaraj movement by building up individual character upon the basis of freedom and purity."2 A protest meeting was also held at the Town Hall by the elder section of the protesters, including Shivnath Sastri, expressing no-confidence in the leadership of Keshub. The meeting of the clders disapproved the marriage "as being inconsistent with the high principles hitherto recognised and accepted by the Brahmo Samaj of India", but "without in any way impugning his (Keshub's) personal character."3 The resolution seconded and signed by Pal, however, emphasised the point that Keshub's conduct "would inevitably neutralize the effects of the law" (i.e. Act III, 1872) and that "such a step will seriously compromise the character as a leader of social reform."

All these protests and vituperations ultimately resulted in the establishment of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in May 1878, a separate body in the Brahmo movement, in opposition to Keshub's leadership. Shivnath Sastri became its leading spokesman and missionary and Pal joined it as a member. Obviously, he was attracted chiefly by its constitutional and democratic appeals, the genial personality of Shivnath being the initial prop, for he could not reasonably have any liking for the latter part of the inaugural resolution which stressed the progress and well-being

^{2.} See Pal's speech as reported in The Statesman, Nov. 20, 1924.

^{3.} See Proceedings of the meeting as in *The Hindoo Patriot*, Weekly, Cal. Vol. XXV, No. 9, March 4, 1878, p. 105.

^{4.} Pal, Memories . . . (1857-1884), p. 338.

of the Theistic cause and Theistic work in India. This part was avowedly sectarian and ran counter to Rammohun's idea of strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.

Pal threw himself mainly into the literary activities of the Samaj. The Brahmo movement, since the days of Debendranath. drew, on the Christian Protestant model, heavily upon European theology, particularly upon English and American Unitarians. Following Shivnath, Pal first fell under the spell of Theodore Parker and then became a convert to Emerson's teachings. The lore of Emerson, indeed, proved to be a permanent adjunct in guiding the course of his life.

But almost immediately after joining Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Pal had to roam about Orissa, Sylhet and Madras on occupational ventures. He was back to Calcutta by the close of 1882 and was soon dismayed to find that this new-Brahmoism was also showing signs of conservative tendencies with its too much emphasis upon spirituality and religiousness. It was found that even "Shivnath Sastri, after assuming the grave responsibility of this new Samaj, was gradually drifting away from the path of faithful adherence to his own convictions, which had been his characteristic in earlier times."

At this time Brahmo Public Opinion, the organ of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, changed its name to Bengal Public Opinion and Pal became its Assistant Editor and practically the chief writer. It is significant that a remark in this paper on the desecration of Hindu idol, Salagram, by an English judge led Surendranth to make some critical comment on the judge as a sequel to which he was thrown into two months' imprisonment on charge of contempt of court. Again, the same paper, on another occasion hailed Kristodas Pal for his speech in the Council against the Ilbert Bill* since in its view, Kristodas' "moderate but firm speech.

^{5.} See in this connection Pal, "Emerson", Pradip (Bengali month).) 4th Yr. 7th Issue, Ashad, 1308, B. E., pp. 240-247; also Pal, "Emerson" Bangadarshan, New Scries (Bengali monthly), 3rd Yr., 7th issue, Kartick, 1310, B.E., pp. 323-331.

^{6.} English rendering of Pal, Charit-Katha, (in Bengali), Bhattachara. & Sons, 65, College St., Cal., 1323 B.E. p. 194.

^{*}The Ilbert Bill sought to do away with racial discrimination in the matter of trial by jury.

re-echoed the sentiments of the whole nation" and expressed "what we, all of us have been talking in our drawing rooms and in our street walks." The basic policy adopted by the paper may be understood what Pal himself wrote: "This Bengal Public Opinion was the organ of the new Brahmo Samaj. It worked for the emancipation of the Indian manhood in all spheres. Politics was part of its religion. The part which Bengal Public Opinion played was not merely of a religious or theological order." Thus he was trying to be truthful to the principle of blending theology with politics and in his scheme he was not inclined to give exclusive preference to any particular belief or creed, but to men of all pursuasions, including the idolatrous.

GOSPEI. OF RAMKRISHNA—VIVEKANANDA AND BIJAYKRISHNA GOSWAMI

The broad and humanitarian vision, which was originally set into motion in him by Brahmo ideals, brought him in deep contact with the varied sects of Hindu religious faith. He could appreciate, unlike orthodox Brahmos, the unsophisticated humanism of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and the puissant preachings of Vivekananda. In his eagerness to prove the reciprocal relationship of different religious sects, he would discover the "meeting of Ramkrishna with Keshub as an important event in our modern religious and spiritual history.9 And though initially doubtful about Vivekananda's philosophical acumen, and later on attempting to prove his neo-vedantism as an effect of fundamental teachings of Brahmo Samaj, Pal could reach a definite conclusion that "while both Keshub and Pratap (i.e. Pratap Chandra Mazumdar) carried practically the message of new and spiritualised Christianity and presented the gospel of the Samaj practically in the terms familiar to Christian thought and piety, Vivekananda for the first time sought to revive Hinduism by freeing it from the fetters of caste and custom, on the one side, and on the other

^{7. &#}x27;Bengal Public Opinion' as quoted in the *Hindoo Patriot*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, January 21, 1884, p. 26.

^{8.} Pal, Experiences of a Veteran Journalist', The Bengalee, Aug. 24, 1924.

^{9.} Pal, Memories Vol. II, p. 138.

filiating it to the most advanced thoughts and activities of the modern world in regard to practical life."10

Side by side with Ramkrishna-Vivekananda's thoughts, Pal could find himself immersed in Vaishnavic philosophy, particularly in its cult of 'Bhakti' or piety and humanistic appeals. This made him a disciple of Bijaykrishna Goswami, a Vaishnava in the fold of Brahmos, and a contemporary of Ramkrishna. Bijaykrishna wanted to introduce the 'Bhakti-cult' and other humanitarian aspects of Vaishnavism into Brahmo movement, but was opposed by the die-hards.

Pal felt the necessity of inculcating the arid intellectulism of Brahmo faith with the spirit of 'Bhakti'. He thought that Theodore Parker would be of immense help in this direction. enmeshed as the Brahmo movement was in European ideals. Although Shivnath and others imbibed to some extent Parker's indefatigable independence and universal humanism, Pal was in great doubt as to whether they could grasp the fundamentals of his teachings and his gospel of piety. He, therefore, translated into Bengali Parker's sermons on picty and wrote in the preface to the translation: "The name of Parker is wellknown in Brahmo Samaj. Once Parker's works were very popular in the Brahmo circle. But it is doubtful, if the same feeling is still there. This is not due to any change of views or ideas of the Brahmo Samaj, but primarily because of the inexperience of the present day Brahmos in the thoughts and ideas of Parker."11 Along with Parker, he tried to preach the religion of love expounded in Vaishnavic scriptures. But his "exposition of Radha-Krishna-lila in the hall of Sadharan Brahmo Samai, although listened to with rapt attention of the vast majority of the audience, called for protest from an orthodox preacher."12

INMAN SPIRIT AND WESTERN MATTER

The more he faced orthodoxy, and the sectarian barrier, the

- 10. Pal, "Freedom Movement in Bengal: A Personal Narrative", Forward, (Congress & Winter Number), Cal., Dec. 26, 1926, p. 23.
- 11. Bhakti-Sadhan, (Sermons of the American savant Theodore Parker), Brahmo Mission 211, Cornwallis St., Cal., 1894. The quotation has been translated into English from Bengali.
- 12. Dr Sundari Mohan Das, "Bipin Chandra Pal-His Inner Man", Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.

more he transcended sect, creed or dogma, undertook exhaustive studies of Indian philosophy and comparative religion, as well as an empirical estimate of religious institutions and practice. It was at this stage that in Sept. 1898, Pal first went to England with a scholarship granted by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, to take a two-year course in theology at the Manchester College in Oxford. The College was run by the Unitarians, who did not accept Christ as a prophet, nor did they regard Bible as the only authority. They were monotheists in faith. This was the ground for affinity between them and the Brahmos.

Pal's intention, however, was to learn the essentials of Christian religion and philosophy and particularly, to grasp the significance of European thought which had constructed a scientific and authentic history of ancient Jewish religion and Christianity. But in England, it appeared to him as curious logic with which these Christians characterised their religion as reasonable and pure, and other religions as superstition and idolatry while they themselves maintained altars in the Church.¹³

He did enough of lecturing on Temperance and Unitarian doctrines, but he took every opportunity to expound the quintessence and speculations of 'Hindu mind'. At a meeting of the Historical Society of Oxford held at Mansfield College he was found to be on his legs in defence of the intrinsic values of the Vedas in reply to Dr Fairbairn's misrepresentation of Indian religion and philosophy. To Bishop Freemantle he would say that the Christian concept on Trinity would be found in more philosophical exactness in our Vaishnavic thought—in the terms Sat, Chit and Anandam. And again, at a gathering of the intellectuals at the Christ College, he marshalled all the force of his wisdom to speak on the dual ethics of forgiveness and punishment as understood in Hindu philosophy.14 The Brahmo movement itself he considered to be a phase in the evolution of Hindu "Theologically and spiritually the Brahmo Samai movement is connected with the earliest protestant movements in Hinduism, which commenced centuries before the Christian era

^{13.} See Pal's despatch in The Indian Mirror, Cal., Nov. 10, 1898.

^{14.} See Pal's account in 'Bilater Katha', *Prabartak*, Shraban to Aswin, 1329, B.E.; also *Memories* . . . Vol. II, pp. 214-72.

in the earliest speculations and teachings of the Upanishads and the Vedanta, of which it is the latest and the most modern phase; and as such it is necessarily a correction and development, adding to religion what it lacked in the past, namely, the ideal of a Kingdom of God on earth, with its social and humanitarian corollaries."¹⁵

From England Pal went to America in February 1900 at the invitation of the National Temperance Association, New York, on a three-month lecturing engagement. When Pal reached America, Vivekananda was also there on his historic mission. As Pal said: "Vivekananda was himself at this time in America, though 1 did not meet him, because he was living then far away from New York, which was my headquarters. But the intellectual and moral commotion which he had produced in that continent was unmistakable."16 As in England so also in America, Pal extensively lectured to crowded audience on Temperance, Religion and Indian Philosophy. His visit to these countries gave him an opportunity of searching study of Western religion and religious life in contradistinction to the Eastern. He became convinced of the need of a synthesis between Indian Spirit and Western Matter. "What the world, not India nor Europe, but the world wants now," he said, "is the union of the Indian spirit with this European body. And here again he veered round Emerson who said that the West "delighted in boundaries", and the East "loved infinity." 18

HINDUISM, A FEDERAL IDEA

Coming back to his country, Pal further delved into the examination and explanation of the Indian spirit. He formed a balanced and dispassionate judgment of every erced or practice, following Emersonian dictum that for every good there is

- 15. Pal, A Brief Account of the Brahmo Samaj, or the The Hindu Church of the Divine Unity. British & Foreign Unitarian Association, Essex Street, London, 1900, pp. 6-7.
 - 16. Memories . . . Vol. II, p. 277.
 - 17. Pal, "Westward Ho", The Indian Mirror, Nov. 3, 1898.
- 18. As quoted in Sherman Paul's Emerson's Angle of Vision, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952, p. 203.

a counterpoise of evil and that for every evil there is, whether manifest or unmanifest, some compensating good—a dictum which he frequently used in his writings and speeches.

Ritualism, which he earlier thought "absolutely anti-democratic"19 now appeared to him with a new meaning, "There can be no religion, strictly so called, though there may be any amount of philosophy and theology, without symbolism and rituals. The symbols must be natural, rational, and adequate; but there must be some in every true religion."20 The object of image worship was "to train the mind to see and seize the Unseen, in and through the seen", and thus it was "not idolatry at all but ideolatry."21 And in spite of his reservations from the philosophical standpoint, he became a sincere admirer of the Theosophical and Arya Samai movements in as much as both contributed much to the resurgence of our ethical and patriotic sentiments. As a philosophy, with a rational basis and justification and a system of discipline, he thought that "Vaishnava systems have much in them to commend our respect, and claim our allegiance."22

Out of profound regard for Vaishnavism, he prefaced his book *The Soul of India* with the words: "In presenting Shree Krishna as the Soul of India, I may be accused of sectarian prepossession. But Shree Krishna is presented here not as a sectarian ideal, but as the Principle and Personality in and through whom, as in the past so also in the present and even in the future, the great Indian Synthesis was, is being, and will be worked." He sought to rationalise and make clear this emotional warmth later on. Indian Society must have a distinctiveness and a historic evolution of its own on the basis of some eternal ideal. Having this eternal ideal of India in mind, he

^{19.} Pal, "Social and Religious letters", The Indian Mirror, Nov. 30, 1898.

^{20.} Pal, The New Spirit, Sinha, Sarvadhikari & Co., 3-2; College St., Cal., 1907, p. 14. This is a collection of essays written by Pal during 1901-1906 in New India and Bande Mataram.

^{21.} Pal, The Soul of India, Chowdhury, & Chowdhury, Cal., 1911, pp. 263, 270.

^{22.} Pal, "The Message of Vaishnavism", New India, Vol. I, No. 41; June 19, 1902, p. 678.

called Shree Krishna the soul of India.²³ That this Krishna symbolises the multiplicity of our human relations of love and affection and service was sought to be established by Pal in fuller detail in his posthumous publication 'Bengal Vaishnavism'. Krishna may be a superman, but not a supernatural being. In fact, the "Vaishnavic conception of heaven, which is called Brindabana, is the logic of the evolution of this world of Nature, man and society. In Brindabana all Nature stands in its perfected beauty. In Brindabana, humanity stands in all the perfections of its life and relations, the perfections towards which individual human and social groups have been striving from eternity to eternity."²⁴

The basic Brahmo ideal, nevertheless, remained in Pal as an acquisition, though he discarded the activities of Brahmo Samaj, its increasing backward steps to bigotism. He was disillusioned and shocked to see that as an institution and movement, Brahmo Samaj had drifted far away from its avowed principles and had lost vitality. And he was not faltering in the least to come out with scathing criticism of its activities and leadership.²⁵ But he was never swerving from his conviction that it was the Brahmo Samaj which had for the first time stood for the "supremacy of individual reason and conscience."²⁶ Francis Younghusband considered Pal as a successor of Keshub, and a most inspired one, a most earnest and eloquent preacher in the Brahmo Samaj, a man of "fine spiritual disposition as well as of high intellectual attainment."²⁷

The fact of the matter, however, is that Pal considered Brahmoism, Vaishnavism or any other sect in that category, as sheer manifestation of the 'Hindu mind'. It was by going into the deep of the basic tenets and philosophy of Hinduism that

^{23.} See Pal, "Shree Krishna", *Prabartak*, 8th year, 1st issue, Magh; 1329 B.E; p. 40.

^{24.} Pal, Bengal Vaishnavism, Modern Book Agency, Cal, 1933, pp. 16-17.

^{25.} See Pal, "Brahmo Samajer Katha" (A Note on Brahmo Samaj), *Narayana*, Bhadra 1325 B.E., pp. 713-732; Jaistha, 1326 B.E., pp. 13-20; and Sraban, 1326, B.E., pp. 191-198.

^{26.} Pal, Brahmo Samaj And The Battle of Swaraj in India, Brahmo Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis St., Cal., 1926, p. 16.

^{27.} Dawn in India, John Murray, Albemarle St., London, 1930, p. 227.

he evaluated its different sects and then passed over to Islam, Christianity and other religions to develop his idea of India's composite nationhood. Valentine Chirol said that Hinduism had always remained "singularly fluid" and that it "lends itself to the most divergent schools of thought, sometimes verging on pure theism and sometimes drifting into absolute atheism, but more often resolving themselves into universal pantheism."28 On this score, Pal would agree with Chirol. But he would like to make this point clearer by stating that this fluidity, this universality is due to the fact that "Hinduism is not like some of the great historical religions, an individual religion so to say, but it is a community or a family of religions, some in lower and earlier, some in higher and more advanced stages of growth."29 To be more explicit, Hinduism is not one religion like Christianity, Islam or Buddhism, but a federation of many cults and cultures. Thus he observes: "The Hindu Society is also, for the same reason, not a homogeneous unit but rather a highly developed organic whole which seeks to realise its essential unity not by denying but openly accepting and harmonising in the totality of its life, the endless diversities of its component organisms. Like the Hindu religion, Hindu society is also not a unit, but a federation of many units. The freedom and integrity of the parts inside the unity of the whole, is the very soul and essence of the federal idea. And in no religion or society that I know of, has this organic federal ideal been sought to be so fully realised as in the Hindu religion and the Hindu Society."30

This Hinduism never wanted to obstruct free-thinking by the shackles of any particular scripture. The Vedas, for example, incorporate Brahma-sutra or Uttarmimansha with Jnyana-Kanda. All these solutions have been stipulated with an eye to the fact that doubts and criticism are the means to arrive at a sound understanding of life and existence. Hindu Sastras, according to Pal, do not mean any particular scripture or creed, but signify a continual and ever-unfolding process of truth and

^{28.} India, Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1926, pp. 12-13.

^{29.} Pal, An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, published by S. C. Gupta, 9-2, Cornwallis St., Cal., 1908, p. 4.

^{30.} The Soul of India, pp. 66-67.

values. The mechanism which built up this plurality of purpose, appeared to Pal to be the scientific character of Hinduism.³¹

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE OF RELIGION

The truth of spiritual values can, in fact, be properly understood by means of a Philosophy and Science of Religion. But there is the danger of importing spurious elements in religion under the guise of science. Pal himself saw in England, how a cult of 'Christian Science', introduced by Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and a host of others, actually preached mesmerism, clairvoyance, palmistry and necromancy.³² Ridiculing such efforts, Pal attempted to examine the issue in a lengthy article "Science and Relion,"33 Science in its widest sense means systematic knowledge. Theology also means the systematised knowledge of God. As such, as a Science of God, Theology naturally includes a consideration of the sources from which our knowledge of God is derived. "The two sources of our knowledge of God are Man and Nature; Psychology and Physics, as dealing with these, must form an essential part of our investigation into truths about God." There must, then, be a Science of Religion, which should include Philosophy as well, in order to have for its background the ultimate generalisation of all human knowledge and experience. "This combination of Science and Philosophy is necessary in a right method of investigation of the religious phenomena, for the very simple reason that religion itself is both a Science and Philosophy."34

Such a religion should invariably be equipped with comparative and historic methods under the guidance of Law of Evolution—explaining mental or emotional evolution—and "must follow, in other words, the Dialectics of Reason." Pal spoke of the supreme authority of moral law and regarded moral distinctions as ultimately absolute. This moral law is eternal—a

^{31.} See Pal, The Soul of India, pp. 209-210.

^{32.} See Pal, "Social and Religious letters", The Indian Mirror, Dec. 18, 1898.

^{33.} See, New India, Vol. 1, No. 6, Sept. 16, 1901, p. 86; ibid Vol. 1, No. 7, Sept., 23, 1901, p. 103.

^{34.} Pal, An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, p. 23.

^{35.} Ibid., p. 29.

law which stands upon its own authority and not upon the authority of any person, not even on any divine person, for the idea of divinity is also derived from the law, being nothing but the idea of a complete fulfilment of the law in life and conduct, in the manners and customs, in the social and religious institutions. This is what Pal called 'legalism in ethics' and he found its trace both in Kant and Hegel and in Jaimini and Bhagavad Gita.³⁶

Both Plato and Hegel, however, saw the essence of reality, not in verifiable empirical phenomena, but in what they called Absolute idea. The function of Knowledge, in the conception of such philosophical absolutism, is to reflect passively objective reality, the thing in itself. Carried to the extreme, this absolutism may mean denial of our experience and the object of knowledge, totally determined in cognition and ultimately seeking to eradicate differing views. Pal seemed to have been conscious of this danger. He would particularly emphasise the Hegelian dictum—the self separates itself from itself to return to itself to be itself—and would conceive the Absolute as the entire process of consciousness. This entirety includes reality as well. But basing itself upon nature and experience, this absolutism urges that there are values above and beyond man. For, the "supreme essence of the world, is both transcendental and immanental, both of efficient cause and material cause."37 The fact that absolute values cannot be proved does not mean that they do not exist. There are many a thing in this world which are true and yet undemonstrable.

A down-to-earth approach in philosophy, without transcendental urge, has also its dangers and man must move in an upward direction if he is to attain a more elevated view of existence. Pal said: "This physical body, which evolves from what is called a primary cell in biology, must have for its Regulative Idea a perfect and eternally realised form of the body into which it ultimately develops. This 'form' is not a thing of flesh and blood. Flesh and blood merely organise the *idea*. Behind our physical body this *idea* can only be what is called a spiritual

^{36.} See Pal, "Legalism in Hindu Ethics", New India, Vol. I, No. 16, Dec. 9, 1901, p. 249.

^{37.} Pal, 'Ekti Stotra' (A hymn), Narayana, Chaitra, 1923 B.E., p. 331.

idea. Our physical bodies posit, therefore, at the back of their biological evolution an eternally realised *idea* or spiritual form."³⁸

RELIGION, ART AND WORLDLY MAN

Emile Durkheim's remark that 'the idea of society is the soul of religion', would reasonably remind us of Pal's statement that "religion is not an isolated phenomenon in man's life, so to say, apart from its other departments."39 That is why Pal wanted that the ethical values of religion should be realised in social life, in the every-day working experience of man. is no question of denial of human flesh, passions and instincts, for, "the spiritual do not stand apart from and independent of the material, the sacred does not live outside the secular."40 Our work-a-day life passes through inexhaustible streams of joys and sorrows, piety and fear or dread. In order that these experiences may not be merely fleeting memories, there must be some medium to transform and transfigure them as sources of enduring beauty and aesthetic joy. This medium is art, "What we lack in the actualities of our individual life and experience, the poet, the painter, the musician,—every true artist, secures for us, in the idealities of their divine creations, so that we may through their help, at least imaginatively realise these rarer and deeper notes of the human life and character, and vicariously gain, in some measure, those wider experiences, for which there may not be sufficient opportunity and scope in our limited lives."41

The religion that Pal conceived, finds its universal fruition by encompassing the wide and complex spectrum of state, society, art and literature, and by affording opportunity to each of these departments to realise its own effectiveness. Art fulfils only a part, while religion develops the whole of human nature, both, nevertheless, springing out of man's inner or spiritual requirements. With such a religion, art or literature cannot have any conflict. All the friction the latter might have is with popu-

^{38.} Bengali Vaishnavism, p. 128.

^{39.} Pal, An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, Ch. captioned, Fragment', p. 1.

^{40.} Pal, "The Stage and the National Life", New India, Vol. II, No. 25, Feb. 13, 1904, p. 358.

^{41.} Ibid.

lar religious faiths and practices. And in such an event, again, true religion acts as the regulative force to bring about a settlement. Art, thus, depends upon religion for ethical substance. Still another factor which Pal found common in religion and art, is the sense of realism which he preferred to term as 'imagination'. This imagination, according to him, is variedly expressed in scientific, religious or poetical works. A religious man, as much as an artist, needs this imagination to be true to his creed. 43

Pal attempted to construct an inseparable relationship between art and religion, for he believed that religion needs sufficient infusion of artistic qualities to have a correct estimate of man in worldly experiences. Because of this, he could never forget man-on-earth as the central concern, be that of metaphysics, theology or religious institutions. His transcendentalism, divinity or God does not rest on supernatural or other-worldly plane, but in worldly-affairs and in worldly man. As he said: "it is only and always in the terms of the Human that we can seek and find the Divine. All the regions of the world, and every experience of the religious and spiritual life, establishes the truth of it."

INTEGRAL HUMANISM

Much confusion has been created by some Indian scholars by placing Pal in line with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai in the matter of religious and philosophical beliefs, grouping them all as nationalists "influenced by Hindu revivalism of the period." Valentine Chirol could at least see that the religious and social standpoints of Pal and

^{42.} See Pal, 'Dharma-O-Art' (Religion and Art), *Narayana*, 2nd yr., 1st. Vol., 1st. issue. Agrahayana, 1322: B.E., p. 13. Also see Pal, 'Dharma Niti O Art' (Religion, Ethics and Art), *Narayana*, Aswin, 1322, B.E; pp. 1160-1187.

^{43.} See Pal, 'Sahitaye Bastutantrata' (Realism in literature), in Sahitya O Sadhana, Vol. I, published by Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Cal. 6, p. 118.

^{44.} Pal, 'Cult of Mother in Bengal', Forward (Puja Number), Sept. 26, 1927, p. 2.

^{45.} V. P. S. Raghuvanshi, *Indian Nationalist Movement And Thought*, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra, 1959, p. 113.

Aurobindo were in many respects different from those of Tilak.46

From the very beginning of his public life, Tilak had to experience a pathological hostility of the British which he sought to encounter by building up a mass patriotic sentiment. Much of his versatile wisdom had to be devoted to educate the populace along their own conventional lines, through the plastic ceremonials and rituals of their traditional religions. Necessarily, therefore, he had to concentrate his mastermind on the reinterpretation of Hindu scriptures (the Vedas and Gita), though in doing so, he basically differed from Dayananda Saraswati and other revivalists. Lala Rajpat Rai's religious doctrine, on the other hand, lacked a modern and catholic tenor, because of his predisposition to the schools of thought represented by the Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha.

There is, however, a wide area of agreement between Pal and Aurobindo on the importance of the earthly life and human endeavour, the scientific method of knowledge and on the need for an adjustment between mind and matter, all of which was to be understood in an evolutionary meaning. They, however, eventually depart from each other over the concept of evolution. Aurobindo, giving pre-eminence to the knowledge posited in the Vedas and the Upanishadas, conceived of a repetitive system of evolution, holding that "in reality, we are continually re-discovering the knowledge and repeating the achievement of the ages that have gone before us--receiving again out of the 'Inconscient' the light that it had drawn back into its secrecies and now releases once more for a new day and another march of the great jour-But despite the march, life and mind "would still be mystic and secret."48 Thus Aurobindo turns towards a mystical idealism, which is very difficult to fathom by rational scrutiny.

According to Pal, on the contrary, "the fundamental fact in evolution is that it allows and effects almost endless changes in an object or organism, without breaking up its continuity or destroying its unity. The law of Evolution cancels thus every conflict between change and permanence, between continuity and progress. Change and permanence are contradictions in formal

^{46.} See, Indian Unrest, p. 50.

^{47.} Sri Aurobindo, *Ideal & Progress, Essays*: Evolution, Arya Publishing House, 4-1, Raja Bagan Junction Road, Simla, Cal. 1922, pp. 28-29. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

and verbal logic. But Evolution cancels and reconciles these."49

As to medievalism, he was equally clear. As early as in 1902 he delivered a lecture on 'Medievalism, Indian and European' explaining the obscurantist character of medieval thoughts and expressing his regret that while in Europe they had got over it, in India, we were still, more or less, under its spell.⁵⁰ Later on, dealing with the specific question of Hindu revivalism he said: "The Hindu Revival, as its name implied, sought to revive Hindu faiths and ideals; and the faiths and ideals which it sought to revive, were not of the earliest Upanishadic times, nor even of the times of the Mahabharata, but practically of the later and decidedly medieval period, the period that followed the decline and final disappearance of Buddhism from the country and the rise of the new Hinduism dominated by the abstractions of Sankara-Vedantic thought, and by the ritualism and symbolism that rose along with it, out of the poetry and imagery of the Purans and by the revived rigidities of caste exclusiveness and the resuscitated domination of the Brahmins, which is an inevitable concomitant of all supernaturalism in religion."51 He was, however, satisfied to note that this Hindu revivalism, which sought to recreate peoples' faith in medieval Hinduism and thus tried to reestablish the social supremacy of the Brahmanical caste "had considerably been weakened under the influence of modern ideas and the condition of modern life."52

What, therefore, can fairly be said about Pal is that in the ultimate analysis, he differed from all the three—Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo in the matter of religion and philosophy. He abhorred revivalism and medievalism of any kind, had his faith in a law of evolution in which the old order would always change yielding place to the new through a process of synthesis.

Pal knew that men would ever challenge the old assumptions they felt to be restricting their advance. He felt this in his heart of hearts. "Freedom in the sense of revolt against re-

^{49. &#}x27;The Positive Value of Nationalism', in Nationality and Empire. Thacker-Spink & Co., Cal., 1916, p. 69.

^{50.} New India, Vol. II, No. 14, Dec. 4, 1902, p. 217.

^{51.} Mrs. Annie Besant: A psychological study, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1917, pp. 264-266.

^{52.} Ibid, p. 268.

straint was an inherited instinct in me." Nevertheless, freedom and social advance, to be fruitful, must be in keeping with the basic structure of our society, culture, social mores and values. Permanence must be reconciled with the transitory. Therefore, in his speculations on Hinduism or ethics he invoked symbols anew, generated new interpretations of scriptures, proposed new conceptions of truth and created new metaphysical projections of the sentiment of rationality. Pal believed that at the points of conflict and transition—whether men were mired in materialism or buoyant with spiritualism—the supreme need is to keep alive the sense of a living relationship with both levels of the universe, the need to become a whole man. His was, indeed, a religion and philosophy of integral humanism.



CHAPTER II

SOCIETY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

SPHERE AND LIMIT OF SOCIAL REFORMS

It was common on the part of our nationalist leaders of past generation including those belonging to the Indian National Congress, to considerably think and act for the cause of social reforms. Even before the birth of the Congress, Pal devoted himself to social reform activities. His field was not restricted to Calcutta. It spread over to Cuttack in early 1879, to his native town Sylhet in 1880 and to Madras in 1881, where he happened to stay on account of his teaching engagement. And to stimulate reform activities with the help of refreshing ideas he came out with a Bengali monthly, named Alochana, in 1884.1 In its first issue it declared: "Social and moral questions are intimately related to religion. This relation is more manifest in the Hindumajority and religious-oriented India. Alochana will, therefore, discuss moral and social questions also. But since the object of discussion is to see a particular issue from different angles, the basic principle of the journal would be defeated if it becomes an organ of any particular faith. Alochana would be open to all writers of scholarly scruples belonging to any class of religious belief. It wants to discuss, contemplates to learn; it does not pretend to impose upon anybody."2 In the second year of its publication it enlarged its scope bringing under its purview "poli-

^{1.} The journal was published from 2.10/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Regarding this journal Pal himself writes: "When Bankim Chandra started his *Prachar* and Akshay Chandra his *Navajeevana*, a few youngmen of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj started a small monthly, the *Alochana*. Though not formally its editor, I was practically called upon to share the bulk of the work and responsibility of the editorial chair.

. . . *Alochana* did not live long. But it did help, as long as it lived, to keep the flag of progressive thought and rational life flying. See *Memories* . . . (1857-1884), pp. 430-431.

^{2.} English rendering from Alochana, Part-1, 1st issue, Bhadra, 1291, B.E; p. 3.

tics, literature, history, science—any subject, which is beneficial to mankind."

But the libertarian in Pal at this time was largely under Western influence. He could, therefore, observe, rather sophistically; "The new can only be born by destroying the old. The remnants of old crop should be burnt and its ashes mixed with the earth; then only can grow the sapling of the new. For, is it possible that the dry, dead and arid hay of the old crop would stand erect and in its midst would the seedlings of the new grow?", Thus observing, he undertakes an examination of the course of events as it happened in Europe. He quotes Mill's 'Logic', cites Alexis de Tocquiville's utterance that every religion is to be found in juxtaposition to a political opinion, and finds support in Sidgwick to say that politics has immense influence in moulding the character of social beings. He goes beyond Europe and looks into Russia through an account given by a traveller in a book named 'The Russians of to-day' and notes with regret that want of political liberties, particularly, lack of freedom of press and publications, have hindered the intellectual development of Russian people. All this enables him to reach his final judgment that religion, philosophy, social ethics and politics are all interdependent and go hand in hand, that a balanced standard of assimilation of all these factors is, what is called social reform. Those who seek to be styled as religious or social reformers and yet hate or fear politics, have never studied the dynamics of social structure. One must consecrete oneself, if one wants real reforms, to the task of simultaneous reforms of those prime social wings. Any one-sided effort in this regard would only result in infructuous labour.5 Western leanings apart, what is worth consideration here is that Pal endeavoured to broaden the sphere of the social reform movement at a time when reformers, generally speaking, were allergic to political questions.

That does not mean that he would smugly agree to belittle

^{3.} Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 11th & 12th, Asar and Sravan, 1292, B.E., pp. 329-330. Translated into English from Bengali.

^{4.} Nava Jivan (New Life), ibid, Part-I, 1st Issue, Bhadra, B.E., pp. 25-26. Translated into English from Bengali.

^{5.} See, Pal, Samaj-Sakti (Social Force), Alochana, Vol. II; 1st. issue, 1292, B.E., pp. 4-15.

social problems on political considerations. That is why on an occasion he thought it necessary to contradict a man like Kashinath Trimback Telang, who "giving too exclusive attention to political at the expense of social reform",6 had once argued that because England had social evils, and yet had produced a politically advanced system, India could expect to do like-wise. Pal raised his protest in a lecture delivered on March 18, 1889.7 His argument was that the social ills in the two countries were different, they were rather more menacing in some respects in our country. The concept of modern democracy and parliamentary politics is a natural growth in England. For its successful working, it requires a citizenry built upon progressive ideas and culture with capacities to discharge satisfactorily the duties that citizenship entails. It was no use denying that we were short of that requirement. He said: "politics, like religions, let us never forget, always grow, but are not given. The leaders of the French Revolution wanted to give a polity to France, and we all know, how direful have been the results of that mad attempt. Republicanism in America has grown, and how glorious has been its success!"8 Therefore, a system of growth "must form the basis of all political reform, as they are admittedly the basis of all religious and social reform; and the duty of the political reformer is, therefore, necessarily to help the growth of reformed and rational ideas not only in politics, but in social and religious matters also." This growth means a slow, but steady, development of our nation along evolutionary channels allowing time to settle down all the nobler ideas of the West in its body-polity, and when this growing up takes a discernible shape, it becomes a separate and distinctive entity, an entity of the nation itselfan achievement of her own. However wounded might be our national pride in the face of the higher political system of England, we cannot introduce it or reach similar standard overnight.

^{6. &#}x27;Must social reform precede political reform?' in Selected Writings & Speeches of K. T. Telang, Gaud Saraswat Brahmin Mitra Mandal, Bombay, 1916, p. 298. This is a speech delivered by Telang at a social conference in Bombay, in 1886.

^{7.} The lecture, entitled "The Basis of Political Reform" was later published by K. C. Dutt, 271, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

^{8.} Ibid., pp. 5-6.

^{9.} Ibid, pp. 9-10.

Here also, Pal seems to have tilted his scale in favour of English society, which was perhaps inevitable, as the lecture was to some extent an exercise in rebuttal. Nevertheless, it is also clear that he stresses the desirability of our growing up according to our own light and learning.

It stands to reason that "any movement of social reform postulates two things: that the society under consideration has reached neither its best state, so that no improvement is possible, nor its worst state, so that there is no hope of anything better."10 Indeed, it is the character of the society to aspire for the best and to guard itself against sliding to the worst. The former is indicative of steps towards the future getting itself involved with, and never isolated from, the chains of reaction which has a tendency to retraction if allowed to go to an extreme. Society should strike a balance of these two opposing tendencies to grasp its growth-potentialities. Pal made an attempt in this direction in a lecture entitled "The present social Reaction, what does it mean,"11 delivered on Dec. 5, 1889, under the presidentship of Sir Henry Cotton. Here he condemned those who, dazzled by the new light of the West, "sadly overdid their part. They saw no good in anything belonging to their own country, and sought to transplant English institutions bodily into the Indian soil."12 Their crude deeds naturally gave rise to a violent reaction in the opposite directon. But for their unwise steps, Pal went on to say, this reaction which "generated a veneration for the past without which . . . no fallen people could even hope to recover and advance,"13 would have taken its normal flow ushering in true patriotism. For this paradoxical situation, he thus made the zealous reformers primarily responsible. At the same time, he minced no words in ridiculing the reactionaries, for however respectful he might be to the past, he refused to make a fetish of it. No doubt, in his eagerness to banish many of our social ills—alcoholism, casteism, women's backwardness, illiteracy and the like-he looked to the West sometimes, searched for im-

^{10.} Maganlal A. Buch, Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism. Baroda, 1938, p. 104.

^{11.} Published in a booklet form by K. C. Dutt, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

^{12.} Ibid, p. 5.

^{13.} Ibid.

proved remedies of foreign source, so that we may have a take-off in political affairs. But it was unthinkable for him either to break his chord with national settings or to undermine his country's image before the eyes of others. His wide knowledge of Western thought and extensive tours in England and America only made him maturer and pensive, stabilised his patriotism, made him more determined to uplift his own country. We may quote what he himself said: "There was a time when the Bengalis going over to England used to develop a disregard, if not hatred, towards their own country. Just as a man in love loses his sense and forgets his domestic attraction, similarly, those England-returned fellows, in their love of England, became forgetful of their own country. But as I saw the health, vigour, beauty and prosperity of England and America, my feeling for my native land became more intensive. It was this feeling which made me to plunge into the Swadeshi movement when I came back from the continent."14

With the deepening of patriotic feeling and strengthening of the political cause of the country in his mind, there also took place a transformation of his notion about the reformers and reform activities. It occurred to him that the reformer "applying the uncontested canons of imported European enlightenment to the examination of the surface values of Indian life and institutions, sees signs of almost universal degradation and decadence about him." The reactionary on the other hand is "setting up for the Indian scriptures the same claims to infallibility and absolutism" that a credal system like Christianity popularly claims for the Bible and is also trying "to revive the relaxing rigidities of the Indian Caste system in the spirit of the class domination of Europe." Thus, the "reformer becomes Europeanised by his love, the reactionary by his hatred of European ideals and institutions." Pal considered this growing tendency

^{14.} Sonar Bangla (Golden Bengal), Sonar Bangla, New Series, Bengali monthly, Cal. Edited by Bipin Chandra Pal and Dr Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Agrahayana, 1332 B.E; p. 1. Translated into English from Bengali.

^{15.} Pal, The Soul of India, p. 72.

^{16.} Ibid, p. 74.

^{17.} Ibid, p. 75.

^{18.} Ibid, p. 76.

to cast our society in European mould of more ominous consequence than our prevailing social ills, most of which were remnants of crumbling institutions. He came to a realisation, akin to that of Graham Wallas, that it is the growing, and not the decaying forces of society, which create disquieting problems.

Also a kind of humanitarian liberalism that he gradually breathed, anchored his faith in the eternal goodness of man, in man's capacity to reform, re-adjust and reconcile. He achieved tranquility with the conviction that nothing in this world is an unmixed evil or an unmixed good, that neither imposition nor coercion, but a rational understanding of the social conditions, a persuasive technique, should be the guideline to reform man and society. "Wherever the priest or the monarch, the politician or the social reformer, has thrust upon the people any measure out of his own sweet will or interest, without understanding the inner character or natural tendency of the society, he has only subdued the human qualities of the people under the deadweight of some extraneous force."19. This conviction, naturally, bred in him an antipathy towards the reformer's role, which, before long, found an expression in his words: "The world is neither a creation of the reformers, nor is it a practice-ground for them. I am, therefore, no longer inclined to suppose the people bad in a feat of doing good to the world."20 And perfection of man, which is the aim of social reform, cannot be attempted either by the ardent theists or atheists who have a tendency to divorce men from their living-reality, and sense-perspectives. He, therefore, uttered a note of warning: "Social reconstruction must work upon the conviction of the reality of the world matter and sense about us, which includes the world of men and women, which is the essential ground and setting of our social life and relations. No philosophy of life which does not accept this world as real, can find us a basis for our social work."21

As a matter of fact, in our greater national life, social re-

^{19.} English rendering of Pal, 'Jabardastir Lekha Padha' (Coercive Education), Bangadarshan, New Series, Bengali Monthly, Cal., Chaitra, 1318, B.E., p. 726.

^{20.} English rendering of 'Naturey Puraney' (Of the old and new), Narayana, Agrahayana, 1321, B.E., p. 7.

^{21.} Indian Nationalism and Social Reconstruction, Standard Bearer, Weekly, Vol. 3, No. 37, May 22, 1923, p. 586.

form as a movement had already begun to lose much of its edge during the close of the last century. The National Social Conference which had been meeting since 1887 alongside Congress sessions, and in which Pal always evinced keen interest, had begun to languish. At the Social Conference of 1895, the following message from the Congress President-elect was read to the meeting: "The raison d'etre for excluding social questions from our deliberations is that if we were to take up such questions, it might lead to serious differences, ultimately culminating in a schism, and it is a matter of the first importance to prevent a split."22 But the real cause was our growing agitation for political rights which far out-weighed and, therefore, overshadowed social questions. At the beginning of the present century, specially after the Bengal partition of 1905, almost all our national figures dedicated themselves to politics along with an indifference to if not positive neglect of social problems.

Inevitably, Pal also whole-heartedly joined the hectic political movement to liberate our country from the foreign yoke, to leave his mark on our national life as a preceptor of new nationalism and as a pioneer of modern political ideas. But it would not be correct to say that he did, thereby, ever minimise the importance of social issues, although, undeniably, his views about the reformers and means of reform underwent a perceptible change. The vow which he had taken in his early days was, in his own words, "to devote myself to the spiritual and religious regeneration of myself and my country as well as to secure the uplift of our people intellectually, morally, socially and politically, aiming at the development of the highest ideal of Freedom, personal, social and political."23 In fact, as Charles H. Heimsath observes. Pal's "sensitivity to the intellectual and social currents of his day was unmatched among Bengalis writing in English"24 and that "throughout Pal's prolific outpouring of

^{22.} See, Lovett, History of the Indian Nationalist Movement, Murray, Albemarle St., London, 1921, p. 44. The president-elect was Surendranath Banerjee and the session was held at Poona.

^{23.} Memories . . . (1857-1884), p. 371.

^{24.} Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1964, p. 267.

prose the urgent need for a rebirth of India's social life was always an important theme."25

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT AND PROHIBITION

Ever since Cornwallis' time the British had been collecting revenue on various narcotic goods through Abkari or Excise regulations. This gave incentive to the opening of liquor shops in large numbers in cities and the countryside and provided a booster to wine-addiction. The drink habit was more common among the upper strata and among the lower rung of our society including the working class and tribal people. This adversely affected our morality in an alarming proportion. And just as in India, so also in England and America, the scourge of drink was a problem causing serious concern among thinking sections of the people. Thus was started the Temperance Movement in England and America, a battle against alcoholism and its associated vices, by the middle of the last century. Almost immediately, the movement found a place in our country as well.

In 1870's the problem reached such a magnitude that a "temperance movement for the protection of the young was a real necessity at that time." It was, in Pal's language, "the curse of young Bengal of that generation." The Brahma Samaj also had to open a temperance section to instil into the minds of the rising generation a definite aversion to the drink habit. Pal gave his heart and soul to the battle against drink, for, great danger, as he noticed, lay in the fact that the "educated Bengalees of those times were, as a class, living a very free life of undisciplined appetites and unrestrained passions. The drink habit...got its strangle-hold on the finest flowers of our University." 28

In January, 1882, when the Bengal Excise Act was passed bringing under its net date-palm, our public opinion was much agitated, a reflection of which is available in an editorial comment of a Bengali weekly published from a far flung sub-divisional

^{25.} Ibid, p. 326.

^{26.} Surendranath Banerjee, A Nation in Making, pp. 6-7.

^{27.} Memories . . . (1857-1884), p. 170.

^{28.} Ibid, p. 309.

town. It wrote: "On the fourth Saturday of last January, an evil planet did cast its glance on date-palm. On that day the Excise Bill has been passed in the Bengal Legislative Council and it has caught hold of date-palm also. The British administration has far surpassed the uncanny Gods in its misdeeds of which we hear in our tantric literature. Rai Bahadur Kristo Das Pal protested against the measure. But how could it be effective when the Sahibs have got their majority in the Council?"²⁹ Pal, however, viewed the hazardous effects of Excise regulations in a global context and observed: "It is well-known to everybody that the Excise Act has vitiated immeasurably the morality of our people. A great deal of harm is also being done in England where such legislation has been enacted. The Russian Excise Laws, on the other hand, are making their people alcoholic, as if, by force."³⁰

A few years later Mr W. S. Caine, the noted British liberal politician and the prime figure in British Temperance movement, came to India and got acquainted with Pal. Caine was eager to intensity a united movement against drinks both in England and India and in Pal he found a capable co-worker. He availed of Pal's valuable service here and in England when Pal first visited that country in 1898 on a scholarship. It was through Caine that Pal received an invitation from National Temperance Association, New York, to visit America. In England, as well as in America, Pal moved from place to place, lectured vigorously

^{29.} English rendering from Paridarshak, Sylhet, Part III, 14th issue, Magh 30, 1289 B.E. (i.e. Feb. 11, 1882), p. I. Pal writes: "a new Bengalee weekly was started in Sylhet about the middle of 1880, and I was invited to be its editor. The name of our new Bengalee weekly was 'Paridarshak'. Like the 'Bharat-Mihir' of Mymensingh, the 'Paridarshak' of Sylhet also almost from its birth commanded public attention and soon became one of the most powerful exponents of educated public opinion not only of the district of Sylhet but more or less of the whole province of Bengal . . . It was my first independent charge of journalism, and my subsequent career in this line has been very largely indebted to this first opportunity that my Sylhet friends found me." See, Memories (1857-84), pp. 373-74. Pal went to Sylhet in January, 1880 and came back to Calcutta by the end of July 1880. It is not clear if he was in editorial charge of the weekly during 1882-83.

^{30. &#}x27;Samaj-Sakti' (Social Force), Alochana, Vol. II, 1st issue, 1292 B.E. p. 13. Translated into English from Bengali.

on temperance in addition to his other work. In Calcutta, including its suburbs, Pal and Caine led a joint campaign against drink.³¹

Pal was not, however, satisfied to gauge the problem purely from the ethical or moral stand-point. He wanted to understand it scientifically in his later days. So he said: "The fact of the matter really is that this question of temperance has hitherto been almost entirely dominated by abstract ethical principles and a superficial view of physiology and pathology. Little or no attempt has yet been made to seriously approach this problem from the stand-point of modern psychology which is organically bound up with physiology. Our physiological structure and constitution control our morals far oftener and more powerfully than people generally think it to be the case. The drink problem is, therefore, more a psychological and medical problem than a simple moral problem. So...whenever and wherever any attempt has been made to cure the drink habit in any people some kind of substitute has had to be found for strong drinks to wean people away from them."32

From the political point of view also Pal did not consider it expedient to rush to forcible prohibition; he rather preferred to rely upon public consciousness about its dangers. He was against forcible measures because "freedom is much too sacred a thing to be sacrificed even for promoting a virtue." And thus he concluded: "Fear is the rule of life of the lower animal Kingdom, that knows no moral law. Fear breeds universally hypocrisy and deceit. Legal prohibition must tempt the individual craving for strong drinks or drugs to a thousand subterfuges which must inevitably hurt his higher moral nature and cripple his manhood. Though I have all my life been a teetotaller practically and an ardent advocate of temperance and even total abstinence on moral and spiritual grounds, on the self-same moral

^{31.} The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. VII, No. 19, Jan. 10, 1897, p. 147.

^{32. &#}x27;The Drink Habit in India: The Prohibition Problem,' under column 'what India thinks', in *The Englishman* (Cal. Daily), Oct. 13, 1921. Pal was weekly-columnist of two columns in Englishman in 1921 viz. 'What India thinks', and 'Topics of the Day' under the pseudonames, An Indian' and 'A Bengalee' respectively.

^{33.} Pal, Cry of Religion in Danger, The Englishman, Sept. 7, 1925.

and spiritual ground, I find it impossible to support the demand for absolute prohibition which can only be tried by penalising the use of strong drinks by any one who may not be able to fight down the hankering for it."31

The banishment of drinks became one of the chief planks of our nationalist movement and when Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause of prohibition, he only stepped on a track long before trodden by Pal. After Independence, legislation has also been enacted in some of the States banning drinks, in pursuance of the 'Directive principles of State policy' as provided in Art. 47 of the Constitution. But how far such legal measures have been successful to achieve the object, is still a moot question.

CASTEISM AND UNTOUCHABILITY

Caste-distinctions, a nefarious social system, were not so rigid in Bengal, as they were in other provinces, when Pal took up the problem as a challenge to modern life. But Hinduism as a whole and other provinces in India, particularly the South, were still under the sickening grip of this system. Pal tried to understand its cause and effect as a social scientist. He took up the South as a case-study to find out the cause of conversion from Hinduism to Christianity and attempted "sociologically to have the details of the castes from which these converts are drawn. The Malabar Brahmins are much too conservative, and too selfcentred, to make good fields for missionary operations. The Nambudri hardly comes out of his village, and is the most inaccessible of all Hindus. The Nayars of Malabar rank next in the social scale to the Brahmin. And they do not offer, we think, much tempting ground for missionary work. The converts come mostly from the lower and the oppressed castes of the Malabar Hindus. And the outrageous caste restriction of the province is mainly responsible for these defections from Hinduism."35 Thus, to save the society from a preposterous future "all that is needed is a relaxation of the outrageous caste

^{34.} Pal, The plea for Prohibition: Morality under Compulsion, The Englishman, June 9, 1927.

^{35.} Pal, The Religious Returns of the last Census, New India, Vol. I, No. 39, May 19, 1902, P. 617.

restriction. The don't touchism of modern Hinduism is its weakest point. It is this which renders it so helpless against the attacks of Christianity with its gospel of social emancipation.³⁶

It is to be noted that Pal wants 'relaxation' of caste-restrictions and not abolition of the various castes, and that he is eager to forestall the 'attacks of Christianity' though it is a superior liberating force in social aspect. These are actually, the two basic postulates which he subsequently developed in his assessment of the caste-sytem.

The Brahmins, the Khatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras, are the four castes. The first three castes who alone belonged to the Aryan Communion, represent the three great functions of the social organism, viz. the intellectual and the spiritual, the administrative and the military and the economic and the industrial. The Sudra did not originally belong to the Aryan Communion. It appeared later on and had the status of domestic or agricultural labour. But distinctions based upon social functions have a tendency to breed pride in those who are called upon to discharge the superior functions, and envy in those who have to fill the lower places. Actually, the caste-system ultimately degenerate on these lines and took on as a hereditary stance. But in ancient times, to neutralise this unwholesome state, a kind of law of stages or asramas, known as Varnasramadharma. was joined to the caste-system, prescribing four types of successive disciplines in life, viz. Brahmacharya, Garhastha, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa. This kept the varna or the caste in a healthy trim in those times. Such is Pal's view of the origin and development of the caste-system as expressed in one of the chapters of his book The Soul of India 37 - a point to which Annie Besant alluded with real understanding. She said, "... there is one idea that I am borrowing from Babu Bipin Chandra Pal of a most valuable character, which I had worked out to some extent for myself, but which he has put better" and she thought Pal's interpretation "a most luminous idea, showing how the training of the Ashramas kept the caste in its right place."88

^{36.} Ibid.

^{37.} See, Ch. 'Barnasramadharma or the caste-and- order-law', pp. 105-115.

^{38.} Wake up India, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras 1913, pp. 288-289.

But this caste-system "has not been dropped down from heaven all on a sudden. It did not have its articulate and pervasive form at the very inception of our social life. Neither has it been built up by some selfish or designing people. With the passage of time, it has gradually arisen out of our society's own needs, to play its game as an adjunct to our social development. There is nothing super-natural or necromancy in it."89 The lesson that we get from this past chapter of our history is that in every age, the thinking section of the people works out some arrangement, an arrangement of adjustment and reconciliation, for a viable existence of social life. But society evolves in a direction confronting new stresses and strains, not divorcing itself from but carrying with it, some legacy of the past. In Pal's Emersonian epithet, "social consciousness goes back to pick up some neglected truth, or forgotten ideal or it simply goes, so to say, one step backward just to recover breath and gather lost speed and again move not one but three steps That really is the universal law of spiral motion. which regulates social progress."40 There is, therefore, no question of getting back a past social order, however splendid it might have been once, be it Varnasramite-caste-system or anything else. Casteism in its present form is surely a divisive force. First, this divisiveness should be arrested by relaxing caste-restrictions and allowing the society a spiral motion to become receptive to inter-caste homogeneity. The ground thus prepared, would then hasten up the ultimate passing away of the caste-system and different castes. Pal wants us to hold such a view in view of that "with our false pride of caste we are stabbing Hinduism at its source"41 or that "caste is a vice which affects India, all India and-in its extreme development-nothing

^{39.} English rendering of Pal, Jati O Varnavederkatha. (On caste and caste distinctions, *Narayana*, 2nd Yr. Vol. 2, 6th issue, Kartick, 1323 B.E., p. 1229.

^{40.} Speech at Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, New India, Vol. II, No. 15, Dec. 11, 1902, p. 234.

^{41.} C. R. Das, *About Bengal*, (Presidential address, Bengal Provincial Conference, 1917), published by Lalit Mohan Sen, 148, Russa Road South, Cal. p. 30.

but India."42 Otherwise, ours would be a naive protestation leading nowhere near a right solution of the problem.

Pal also finds that in ancient times, there also arose in each type of caste some structure of classes and class-distinctions. As all the members of a particular type of caste were consigned to a particular type of function or occupation, there cropped up among the members a conflict of interests, which is a "natural manifestation of trade-competition and secret-deals among the people of same trades."43 In addition to its hereditary side, caste has thus also an economic side, a character of economic classes. It is in this sphere that Pal sees danger when a section of our people seeks to revive Varnasrama. They, in that case, would actually strengthen a benumbed organ of the caste-system which, without loosening in the least the social disabilities concomitant of it would only take a new turn, an economical and political complexion, endangering the very foundation of our society. "Truly speaking, in our praise of Varnasrama, we are trying to establish the European class-distinction or class-war in our society. In this way lies, not the preservation of Hindu culture and civilisation, but its extinction."41 He is eager to do away with caste-conflicts but no less eager is he to avert class-conflicts as well, which might be a transformed shape of the caste-system itself. Thus, his objection is against intrusion of both Christianity and Christian civilisation, in so far as our caste-affairs are concerned. Christianity, Pal believes, proselytises our lower castes, while Christian civilization attempts perpetuate our caste-basedclasses by introducing into it its economically-grown system of class-distinctions.

Pal then trics to point out the fundamental differences between caste-distinctions and class-distinctions: "It is true that in Europe, there is no such caste-distinction as we have in our Hindu society; but they have an acute type of class-distinction.

^{42.} William Archer, India and the Future, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1917, p. 44.

^{43.} English rendering of Pal, Jati O Varnaveder Katha (On Caste and Caste distinctions), *Narayana*, 2nd Yr. Vol. 2, 6th issue, Kartick, 1323, B.E., p. 1234.

^{44.} Sakali Δ-Chey Ki-chui Nai (Everything is there, only in Nothingness), Narayana, 2nd Yr. Vol. 2, 5th issue, Aswin 1323 B.E., p. 1165. Translated into English from Bengali.

It is never my intention to perpetuate the caste either in the name of ancient scriptures or modern science, or by quoting Manu, or by blending Mendel-Weisman and Manu in the same vein. But what I like to say emphatically is that the casteless England does not have been a fraction of the social sympathy and social interrelations which we have in our caste-ridden country. In Europe, an underling can find an entry into the upper strata on the strength of money. But in India a non-Brahmin could not become a Brahmin by money ... It would be useful to remember this fundamental difference in discussing the class-distinctions of England and caste-distinctions of India."445

It might be asked how far such a comparison of caste and class distinctions stands modern scrutiny. Modern surveys show that with the impact of Western industrialism and modernisation, various services "in administration of commercial houses were thrown open in large numbers to men of all castes; and people flocked to them when their traditional, hereditary occupations no longer sufficed. Thus Brahmins became engineers or physicians. Sudras became school masters or tradesmen and so on."46 Such precision to probe the permutation and combination of the castes by virtue of economical and industrial transition is not adequately visible in Pal's approach. He preferred to say that the "British Law and Administration placed the Brahmin and the Pariah upon terms of complete civic equality."47 But the elements of truth which we can today reasonably pick up from him become clear when we see that in modern democracy, caste has really assumed a character of a complex-ramification as is evidenced in casteoriented votings, Khastriya-Brahmin leadership clashes, apart from the unseemly caste-considerations in various economic measures. The extent of its divisive influence is made clear in a very recent report which reveals that even some M.L.As. of socialist faith repudiated their leader, because he was a Brahmin and "they

^{45.} Buddhimaner Karma (Work of the Wise), *Narayana*, 3rd. Yr. Vol. 3, combined 5th & 6th issue, Aswin & Kartick, 1323 B.E., pp. 829-830. Translated into English from Bengali.

^{46.} Nirmal Kumar Bose, Problems of National Integration, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1967, p. 3.

^{47.} Indian Social Reforms: The War against Purdah, The Englishman July 5, 1928.

wanted the leadership to go only to a backward Harijan, Adivasi or a Muslim."48

MARRIAGE, WIDOWHOOD AND WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

Two very prominent questions, which were agitating the public mind in 1880's were child-marriage and enforced widowhood. In 1884 Behram Malabari, the famous Parsi social reformer, appeared before the public with his *Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood*, vehemently criticising the systems and suggesting penal measures for their abolition. "But a vigorous opposition was set in motion, and the reactionaries disregarded the details of the proposals, concentrating on personal attacks on Malabari and his supporters and raising the cry of religion." Even the proclaimed reformers became lukewarm to his proposals.

Pal was one of the few who extended hearty support to Malabari, though not agreeing with him fully on the methods which he suggested. "Properly speaking", Pal said, "it should be considered as a case of child-marriage where the youngman and the girl are below twenty-two and sixteen years respectively."56 And he wrote: "Malabari is a Parsi. His own society does not suffer from these evils. Though not directly connected with the issues, he has come forward with all sincerity to remove our own disabilities of which we ourselves are strangely nonchalant. Is it not disgraceful for us? Malabari deserves to be congratulated for the noble work he has taken in his hands. Although all his suggested methods do not seem wise and practicable, the great stir that his writing has created throughout Hindu India is likely to yield some benefit."51 Pal could not agree with Malabari's methods for, he believed and had always believed that "the best way to remove social evils is to mobilise public opinion."52

Public opinion, so to speak, was not only unsympathetic,

^{48.} The Statesman, Cal. June 13, 1970, Col. 6-7, p. 7. News Item.

^{49.} S. Natarajan, A Century of Social Reform in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay-Cal., 1959, p. 69.

^{50.} Bangalir Balya Krira O Tahar Bisamoy Phal (Childish Game of the Bengalees and its evil effects), *Alochana*, Part I, 4th issue, Agrahayana, 1291 B.E., p. 121. Translated into English from Bengali.

^{51.} Ibid., 5th issue, Poush 1291 B.E., p. 135.

^{52.} Ibid.

but hostile to such reform movements. Even those who considered themselves "no advocates of child-marriage" did spare no pains to ridicule the younger groups engaged in such activities and were against "the advanced ideas of the modern civilised world regarding the age of marriage."

Pal was a valiant fighter against child-marriage and enforced widowhood, which were the offshoots of caste-system. Evils apart, he looked upon the problem from the standpoint of rights and justice. Over the question of widow-marriage he picked a bone even with a veteran like Akshay Chandra Sarkar, Editor, Navajeevana, creating a good deal of furore. Akshay Chandra was assiduously opposed to widow-marriage. Pal took up his challenge and brilliantly reasoned out the case for the suffering widows. He was prepared to accept widowhood in cases where a woman had voluntarily agreed to lead a life of widowhood. "The woman who is deeply upset by her husband's death, who becomes almost self-delusive out of profound grief and prefers austerity to lull her sorrows and miseries, such a woman knows what is called serene love; her's had been a spiritual-marriage indeed."54 Such a life, as had been of Queen Victoria's is a "great example of sacred Brahmacharya for every country."55 But his question was: how many widows of such exceptional nature would we find in our society? Generally, widows want to lead a common life natural to every woman. They must have their way, they must be allowed to get themselves married. In his activities in this respect, Pal risked his own life and endangered the safety of his entire family when an infuriated mob besieged his house to take away a young widow who had been under his care and protection for the purpose of remarriage. But he stood like a rock and carried the day.56 He himself set a good example when he married the niece of Surendranath, a widow, "and by this act struck at the old-time custom of forbidding widows to re-marry."57

^{53.} The Hindoo Patriot, Vol. XXXI, No. 24, June 16, 1884, p. 283.

^{54.} English rendering of Pal, Akshay Babu O Bidhaba Bibaha (Akshay Babu and Widow-marriage), *Alochana*, Vol. I, 10th issue, Jaistha, 1292 B.E., p. 323.

^{55.} English rendering of Pal, Rajnee Mata Victoria (Queen Mother Victoria), 211 Cornwallis St., Calcutta, year not mentioned, p. 171.

^{56.} See, Memories (1857-1884), pp. 446-448.

^{57.} Saint Nihal Singh, 'Bipin Chandra Pal, Boycotter', the Review

In 1891, the Age of Consent Act was passed forbidding the consummation of marriage before the wife has reached the age of twelve. When it was being discussed in the Viceroy's Executive Council, a storm of indignation was raised against it by the orthodox Hindus. Pal was naturally drawn, with all the reformer's zeal, into the agitation on the side of the supporters of the Bill. And here also he had to brave a very rough weather. He received anonymous letters threatening his life and one day a revolver shot was actually fired at him, though he escaped unhurt. This bespeaks the virulence with which he did his campaign and of the wrath that he generated in the conservative circles.

Decades later, the issue again came before the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924, with a proposal to raise the minimum marriageable age for girls to fourteen. Pal was appointed a member of the Select Committee. It was rather amusing to him that a subject of which he himself had been a perspicacious exponent since his youth was again brought before the Assembly with some insignificant variation after a long lapse of time and that it was even then facing opposition. Participating in the debate he said: "When we had the Age of Consent Bill in 1891, we had the same trouble. 'Don't raise it, don't raise it. It will bring trouble. Religion is in danger, society is in danger'. And those who supported the measure came in for a good deal not only of unpopularity, but something more serious than unpopularity. I remember those days. But the heavens did not fall when the Age of Consent Bill of 1891, was passed into law . . . I support this measure, Sir, on grounds of practical utility. It will remove the divergence between practice and opinion. That will be a distinct moral gain. Then it will remove the psychological difficulties for the improvement of the race in regard to this matter."59

of Review, edited by W. T. Stead. Vol. XXXIX, Jan.-June 1909, London, p. 16. This was Pal's second marriage. His first marriage took place in Bombay in 1881, tht bride being a Bengalee widow and that was the first Brahmo marriage in Bombay. His first wife died in 1890 and within a year and a half he married again.

^{58.} See, Memories Vol. II, pp. 114-118.

^{59.} See, Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 20, Official Report, Delhi, Govt. Central Press, 1924, p. 1053.

Associated with child-marriage and enforced widowhood was the vice of polygamy which drew Pal's considerable attention. Polygamy had been in existence among the backward classes of our people since long. But what appeared highly offensive to Pal, was that the upper class Hindus, who were expected to have a modicum of taste and culture with their higher education, should induige in this practice. Hindu religion, he held, sanctions 'bigamy' only under certain conditions, the chief among which is sterility. But that has nothing to do with the polygamous practice of the educated which, by every norm, was a game of vulgar instinct causing serious damage to our womanfolk. In a feat of annoyance he would, therefore, even recommend to our University authorities the forfeiture of degrees of the graduates and under-graduates, the so-called educated, whenever they would be found guilty of this vice.

All the problems concerning women, however, can be satisfactorily solved by women themselves, by assertion of their own rights. Therefore, they need to be made educated and enlightened. Pal could realise that owing to the peculiar social conditions of our country, it would be long before there could be any marked development in our girls' schools system. But he was happy to see the signs of resurgence, watched the efforts of nonofficial organisations like Tipperah Hita Sadhini Sabha and praised their excellent work.61 In a meeting held in connection with women's franchise in 1921, he observed: "Every section of the society, men or women, rich or poor, has a right to that education which helps to develop human qualities. And it is for the successful realisation of these human qualities that women must be conferred with all the rights that a political system offers."62 While Pal was in England for the second time, he himself saw the spectacular 'Women Suffragist' movement of 1909 demanding women's right to vote. Therefore this meeting that he addressed, was a sign of encouragement for him. Sup-

^{60.} Pal, Social Reform, *New India*, Vol. I, No. 37, May 5, 1902 p. 383.

^{61.} New India, Vol. I, No. 5, Sept. 9, 1901, pp. 68-69.

^{62.} English rendering of Pal, Bange Narir Nirvachanadhikar (Women franchise in Bengal), published by the author from Calcutta, 1921, p. 12. The publication contains proceedings of the women's meetings in Calcutta and the mufassil districts of Bengal on the agitation about women franchise, with an address by Pal.

porting the proposal for enfranchisement of women he concluded: "One of the pledges of my prime youth was that I would fight relentlessly for the social and political rights of our womenfolk. Therefore, the proposal does not sound new to me. What was my conviction in my youth, I repeat that today in advanced age, and thus I support the proposal." Over the years, he could see with considerable delight that "Hindu ladies go about as freely riding on trams or buses almost as their English or American sisters" and that the Indian women were determined "no longer to submit to any social or domestic injustice out of regard for scriptural injunctions or social traditions."

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Modern India is pre-eminently a product of Western education. But towards the latter part of the nineteenth century the British bureaucracy modified their policy of higher education. This gave rise to a reaction in the opposite direction in our national life, a tendency to undermine English education. Standing, as if, between two poles, and yearning at the same time to synthesize the ancient spiritual treasures of the Hindus, the higher elements of Muslim culture and intellectual ideals of modern European civilization, Pal observed: "That the ideal set up by the Despatch of 1854 has not been realised may be frankly admitted. But that does not justify the hostile attitude towards liberal English education, of the Government on the one side, and of our own reactionary countrymen on the other. The present system of education is bad, but the cure for bad education is not no-education, but good-education. The fundamental defects of our present system of education are two, namely (i) that it is not national, and (ii) that it is not a rational system."66 is not national because our Universities are being controlled by the foreigners. And it is not rational either, because it is not

^{63.} Ibid., pp. 12-13.

^{64.} Pal, Indian Social Reforms: The War Against Purdah, The Englishman, July 5, 1928.

^{65.} Social Progress in Bengal: Women's work and organisation, The Englishman, February 7, 1929.

^{66.} National Spirit, New India, Vol. I, No. I, August 12, 1901 p. 10.

"adapted to the requirements of the history and heredity; the traditions, and peculiarities of our national temperament." Similar views were also held by Brojendra Nath Seal, the encyclopedian talent of Bengal. 188

An educational system which would be a harmonious blend of modernity and tradition, was exactly what Pal stood for. This was a theme which remained ingrained in his mind and found repeated expression whether moving with gushing wind of patriotism or in the whirlpool of political activities, he never failed to declare that "in the system of education that we propose to start in the country, liberal and scientific culture (italics added) will be combined with technical education"69 and that "whatever else might be done in other countries, in India, it will be suicidal to set up wholly techniques independently of and apart from liberal and scientific training."70 This liberal, scientific and technical education invariably implies our need of retaining connection with Western education. Whether in starting a National School at Sylhet or by getting himself associated with the National Council of Education at Jadavpur in Calcutta, Pal always retained his stand on the central theme.

Almost simultaneously with Pal, Tilak came out with his ideas on national education. In his scheme, religious education received first and foremost place, lightening of the load of foreign languages received second priority and the third and fourth items were respectively industrial education and education in politics.⁷¹ This shows that Tilak also was not lacking in the modern spirit and that there was substantial agreement between him and Pal on reforms in our educational system. However, on points of emphasis and allocation of priorities, a difference is noticeable between them. Again, while Tilak favoured introduction of 'religion' in our curricula, Pal never conceived of any such thing,

^{67.} Ibid.

^{68.} See Seal, Note on University Reform, New India, Vol. I, No. 33, April 7, 1902, p. 521.

^{69.} Pal, Madras-Speeches, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1907, p. 164.

^{70,} Ibid.

^{71.} See, National Education (speech delivered in 1908 at Barsi), in Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Edited by R. R. Srivastava, The National Book Depot, Fyzabad, 1917, pp. 39-42.

but spoke of 'tradition or heredity', Both were, however, equally eager to rekindle our national consciousness.

This was again the reason which impelled Pal to go a step further and to draw a pointed distinction between 'literacy' and 'education'. Education means wisdom enabling formation of character for one's work in life. On this criterion, our people may be illiterate, but they are not uneducated, as they do possess a working knowledge of life, imbibed through their own culture and tradition, with a positive sense of values. On his second visit to England which commenced in September 1908, Pal stayed for about four years. During this period he intimately mixed with the common British people and was thus in a position to compare our masses with those of England. His comparative study in fact, confirmed him in his belief in the educated character of our masses. He said: "I have intensively moved among the English working classes during these three years, and have closely watched the good and bad, the strength and weakness of their character. I have never seen that in wisdom they are superior to our masses to understand social, political, economical or religious matters. 72 Our people have a particular culturaleducational orientation. We should bear this in mind when we prepare our programme for a drive for literacy or mass-education. This was what Pal wanted.

That education should work as a cementing force in racefusion and national integration, Pal visualised in the distant past of 1898. For this purpose, he even suggested reform of the then Civil Service Commission, in which he said: "Sanskrit must be a compulsory subject of examination," along with vernaculars and Hindusthani, since "Hindusthani is the lingua franca of India."

Towards the close of his life he again stood for Sanskrit when there was a proposal to remove it as a compulsory subject from the Matriculation course of Calcutta University. He was sad to note the intellectual deterioration of our youth which he

^{72.} English rendering of Siskha, A-siskha O Ku-siskha (Education, illiteracy and ill-education), *Bangadurshan*, 11th Yr., 11th issue, Falgoon 1318 B.E. p. 631.

^{73.} Pal, Westward Ho!, The Indian Mirror, Nov. 3, 1898.

^{74.} Ibid.

sought to trace to a "very large extent to the craze for specialisation of our studies at the expense of what was known at one time as a general liberal education."

He realised the importance of specialisation for our growing social needs. But he was eager to maintain our spiritual and intellectual health. Moreover, if we were to build a new history of Bengal and India, on the basis of fresh archaeological and historical materials, we need go to the portals of Sanskrit. in our approach to Sanskrit we must remember the need "for modern interpretation of our ancient thoughts and through which alone can the intellectual and spiritual life of our people be brought into line with the most advanced modern thoughts and speculations."76 Science and Sanskrit were equally important to him. Says he in a mood of reminiscence: "When I look upon my personal culture, however humble it be, I am filled with endless gratitude for the elementary training that I had in Sanskrit and Science in my under-graduate days. not, indeed, I cannot desire that my grandsons should be deprived of this help."77



^{75.} Pal, Modern Bengalce Culture, The Englishman, June 8, 1931.

^{76.} Ibid.

^{77.} Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE PHASE OF POLITICAL AWAKENING (1885—1900)

A RADICAL AND A DEMOCRAT

The early period of Pal's political thoughts, like that of many others, represents an unmistakable belief in the efficacy of British rule. In the second session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1886, where he was a delegate from Sylhet, and which was his first debut in the Congress, he could not support the resolution seeking extension of trial by jury on the ground that such a trial would run the risk of serious miscarriage of justice. On principle, he was not against it. But he thought that our society was not yet ready to undergo such an experiment and that if it was thrust upon us, court sentences would likely to be based upon verdicts of ignorant and obsequious jurors to the impairment of judicial cause. Still moving under the light of European enlightenment and enjoying ungrudging co-operation of the English in social reforms, he was naturally eager to retain the dispensation of justice in the hands of the Europeans till the civil service was reformed with adequate representation of Indians. He considered qualitative and quantitative increase of the Indians in the Civil service a pre-requisite for the introduction of trial by jury in the judicial system.1

He was inclined to take up those questions in regard to which we had to some extent a lead from the Government themselves, leading us to hope that they were willing to receive our views. In seconding the resolution for the repeal of the Arms Act, 1878, in the Third Session of the Congress at Madras in 1887, he strongly condemned the policy enunciated in the Act under which no native could possess or carry arms without licence. He condemned the policy but at the same time believed that the Government were "prepared to take us into their confidence and would like to place matters on a more satisfactory

^{1.} The Report of the Second Indian National Congress, 1886, p. 88.

footing."² Faith in the rulers apart, which was rather a naivete of the political leaders of the time, what distinguished Pal from others was that he ventured to diagnose an issue from a new angle of vision, with a courage of conviction of his own not to be normally found among the men of public importance.

He introduced something even newer, when speaking on the Arms Act he candidly declared: "I am loyal to the British Government, because I love self-government; I am loyal to the British Government, because I love this Congress...I am a Radical and a Democrat. But strange to say, my radicalism and my democracy have both combined to make me a sincere well-wisher of the British Government."3 The declaration, so to say, is an axiom of double truths. words 'radical' The and 'democrat' are to be particularly noted. Our loyalty or allegiance to particular persons or orders or institutions is always in truth and in essence, only an outer and concrete expression of our allegiance to our own ideas. Pal is loyal to the British Government, because it stands as a concrete and objective symbol, as a necessary instrument for the realisation of his highest civic and social ideal. If the Government falls off from that ideal, the fault would not be his. Radicalism and democracy, must be matters for bi-partite or reciprocal understanding between the ruler and the ruled, if such ideals are really to be sustained. The two words are not consequential, but conditionprecedent to the word 'loyalty', since a government, duly constituted, is supposed to rest on radical and democratic principles. If the government does not square with such principles, the very ground on which Pal's loyalty thrives, collapses. Not that in that event he would go anti-democratic, but he would reserve the right to seek suitable means for the pursuit of his ideals.

The radical and democratic ideals must at the same time be based on analytical and scientific foundations. This propensity for rationalism occasionally made him a lone dissentient; still it found repeated expression. In the Bengal Provincial Conference of 1891 a resolution was moved asking the Government to honour the contract that they made with the Zemindars at the time of Permanent Settlement for the maintenance of the em-

^{2.} Report of the Third Indian National Congress, 1887, p. 120.

^{3.} Ibid. p. 149.

bankments which would save the Zemindars from disaster as well as would protect agricultural interests.⁴ Pal opposed the resolution and stated: "From 1793 to 1891 is a long stretch, and the conditions of the country have changed, and scientific opinion also has changed with regard to this question... We shall not be doing our duty... with a resolution of this kind based absolutely on sentimental grounds." He urged a study of the large mass of literature on the subject in the Government library, suggested scrutiny of the reports written by experts, and placed an amendment that "the consideration of this question be postponed to the next conference and that in the meantime professional opinion be taken on the subject."

*BETWEEN THE ROCK OF SEDITION AND SHOALS OF COWARDICE'

The Congress of the cighties was, however, more engrossed with the question of reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. The fifth session of the Congress presided over by Mr W. Wedderburn suggested a scheme in which the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils were to consist respectively of members not less than one half of whom were to be elected, not more than one fourth to sit ex-officio, and the rest to be nominated by the Government. Two more points of principle were embodied in the scheme, viz., (i) that all elections were to be by ballot, and (ii) that for the protection of minorities, wherever Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians or Parsees were in a minority, they would be entitled to have at least as many members on the Provincial Council as they were entitled to by their numerical strength.

Pal supported the scheme which in some sense appeared to him even more perfect than the system of Parliamentary representation in England, though he was yet to visit that land of

^{4.} Report of the Proceedings of The Bengal Provincial Conference in Calcutta, 1891, printed by Jadunath Scal, Hare Press, 46, Bechu Chatterjee St., Cal., 1892, pp. 78-81.

^{5.} Ibid. p. 83.

^{6.} Ibid. p 84.

^{7.} Report of the Fifth Indian National Congress, 1889, pp. (xi), (xii) & (XI.i).

representative institutions. As he said, "I speak subject to correction, but I scrutinised the rolls of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland, and I found, it seemed to me, that more than one fourth of the general population were unrepresented, and there is absolutely nothing in the British Constitution that provides for representation and protection of the interests of this large and influential minority. But we have done so in our scheme."8 While Lala Lajpat Rai considered the scheme as a wary step to guard "not only the real interests, but even the possible prejudices of our Mohamedan brethren" and Surendranath thought it "the token, the symbol, and the herald of the new epoch,"10 Pal availed of the opportunity to emphasise the point that we were equal, if not superior, in formulating the niceties of constitutional politics. Obviously, this he did to voice the spirit of self-respect and self-assertion of a subjugated race. The immediate incentive to this confident protestation was evidently the Viceroy Lord Dufferin's parting speech in which he sarcastically remarked that in asking for the introduction of representative government in the country, the Congress was wanting to ride in the chariot of sun.11

Pal was increasingly feeling sore about such misdemeanours of the Government, particularly about their differential treatment between the British people and the Indian. In seconding the resolution demanding the repeal of the Inland Immigration Act of 1893 in the Congress session of 1896, he raised his powerful voice in the words: "... Public feeling in Assam and Bengal, has been very strong on this subject for many years past. . . . The labour population of Assam contains a little over 24 per cent of labourers imported from the Central Provinces and the Ganjam District of Madras, and their lot is in no way superior to the lot of the labourers imported from Burdwan or Behar. Now, Sir, the evils of the administration of the British Government of India have an epidemic character like the Bubonic plague of Bombay. If there is an evil in Bengal, rest assured, that evil will work from Bengal to Bombay, to Madras, to Sindh...

^{8.} Ibid., p. (XV).

^{9.} Ibid.

^{10.} Ibid., p. (xvii).

^{11.} See, Pal, Memories . . . Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

It is necessary, if for no other considerations, at any rate out of regard for the freedom that is the birth-right of every British subject, and out of regard for the fair name of England, that this obnoxious Act should be absolutely repealed."12

The period beyond doubt provided ample irritants to our growing political hopes and aspirations and these could hardly fail to operate upon the national sensitiveness. Nevertheless, with their judicious scruples, liberal culture and an enlarged understanding of the conditions of practical politics, our leaders exercised exemplary moderation in adopting resolutions and chalking out programmes of action.

Speaking at the thirteenth session of the Congress at Amraoti in 1897, Pal explained the situation in metaphoric style: "Feelings were high in every quarter and each one of us wanted to speak out those high feelings in this Congress which, if we had spoken, we might have relieved ourselves, but which would have imposed a heavy weight upon this great national movement; ... we have steered clear of the rock of sedition on the one hand and shoals and quicksands of cowardice on the other. We have proved that we are not seditious. But if we are loyal, we have proved that we are loyal not to persons but to principles. We are loyal to the British Constitution, to the great Government of India, upon whose existence and permanence depends the fruition of our hopes and aspirations."13 The philosophy behind this loyalty was a belief that England and India were, at any rate, associated in a community of moral and material interests and that the alliance of the two could not be impaired or interrupted without incalculable injury to both nations. And the surest guarantee to realise this political object was considered to be the proverbial golden means, neither to exhibit the imbalance of turbulance, nor to give any scope for cravenness, but to sedulously create the pressure of enlightened opinions both in India and abroad.

VISIT TO ENGLAND AND U.S.A.

In keeping with the prevailing tradition, a galaxy of our leaders happened to be in England to propagate our political

^{12.} Report of the Twelfth Indian National Congress, 1896, p. 168.

^{13.} Report of the Thirteenth Indian National Congress, 1897, p. 105.

cause. "In June 1893, Dadabhai Naoroji was elected a member of the House of Commons and soon afterwards he succeeded in inducing the House of Commons to adopt a resolution in favour of holding simultaneous examination in England and India for the Indian Civil Service." The Congress also set up an agency of its own, the British Committee, for political propaganda in England. Mr Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr William Digby, Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Dutt were some of the members of the Committee. In 1898, Ananda Mohan Bose went to England and in the same year in the month of October, Pal also reached England for the first time to do some political work. Surendranath was the key figure to detail him to this task. 15

Though Pal was pre-occupied with his ethical course at the New Manchester College, Oxford, and with theological and temperance lecture-tours, the political work that he managed to undertake at different places, throws sure light on his patriotic zeal and searching vision and on the tremendous response that he elicited from the British public. In England, he noticed a frightful amount of evil, but more important was that "an equally noble fight is constantly going on to overcome it."16 The English, like us, had philanthropic organisations to combat poverty. But there, unlike India, the whole problem was basically the concern of the Government and not of private charity, for the poverty problem was approached there not so much from philanthropist's point of view, as from that of the political economist. He, therefore, had time to rivet his attention to the discussion that the experts held at the school of Economics "on this very question, namely the relation between political economy

^{14.} Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Recollections and Reflections (An autobiography), Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1946, p. 277.

^{15.} See, Pal, Memories . . . Vol. II, p. 268. Pal was indeed immensely indebted to Surendranath for his political growth. Recollecting his memories he writes: "In those days Surendranath was the idol of serious-minded young Bengal. The generation to which I belong owes a debt, immense of endless gratitude to him. He made us whatever of any worth we have been able to become in life. And we, his youthful followers, also made him what he became, the leader of an awakened people." See, 'To My Readers', The Bengalee, June 17, 1924. Pal was editor-in-chief of The Bengalee from 17-6-24 to 13-5-25.

^{16.} Pal's despatch in The Indian Mirror, Dec. 16, 1898.

and Philanthropy." He realised that without a free political society the problem of poverty could not be fruitfully solved. This he took pain to elucidate when he stood on political platforms addressing crowded gatherings.

Mr W. S. Caine, who was then acting as the London correspondent of Amrita Bazar Patrika, sent some despatches giving accounts of Pal's London meetings. In one of such reports he concluded:

"I wish India would send us a dozen men like Mr Pal whose eloquence and sound commonsense is just what is wanted to commend the Congress movement to the British people." 18

Pal wanted to convince public opinion in England that by spreading suzerain authority over India, Great Britain had shouldered a great historical responsibility. That responsibility was to help India to be self-reliant, to be skilful in constitutional government. They could not leave India alone until they had made substantial contribution in building up such a political edifice. Over the pertinent question as to whether or not England should retire from India, an interesting debate took place at Manchester New College, Oxford, under the presidency of Dr Drummond, the principal of the college, in which Pal participated. Mr Woods, a senior student, moved that since India under the Congress leadership had become fairly educated and competent enough to manage their own affairs more efficiently than the English, England should arrange to come out of India speedily. Pal, however, opposed the motion on the aforesaid grounds of Great Britain's historical responsibility and a rational interpretation of his stand was offered by Reverend Charles Travers, who said that "Pal had been rousing the English public to a sense of their sacred responsibilities to India."19

In a country of free press and free institutions, Pal considered recourse to the press as one of the wisest means to rouse British public opinion. Therefore, shortly after his arrival at London, he wrote two lengthy letters to the *Manchester Guardian*. The first letter dealt with the misdemeanour of British bureaucracy in India and the atmosphere of a growing sense of

^{17.} Ibid., Dec. 17, 1898.

^{18.} Amrita Bazar Patrika, February 15, 1899.

^{19.} Editorial comment, Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 1, 1899.

wrong among the Indians against British rule. The second letter, which followed in quick succession, was a further elaboration of the points contained in the first letter and it attempted to portray a grim picture of Indian poverty and the habitual insolence of Englishmen in India.²⁰

The disclosures in the letters created considerable sensation among the enlightened circles in England. The Anglo-Indians residing there became particularly restive. One of them, signing himself as G. W. H., wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* from Oriental Club, Hanover Square, trying to defend his countrymen from Pal's charges. But his letter was quickly followed by another letter written by one Fred Reynolds who fully admitted the charges brought by Pal and deplored the conduct of his countrymen in India.²¹

Pal wrote the letters at a time when Lord Curzon was going to take up the reins of Viceroyalty in India. The underlying meaning of the letters was that the gulf between the masses and the politically-minded educated people in the country "was gradually dwindling away and the strength of the masses was gaining in intensity. The question now was, who would capture this newly grown mass-power and use it to their advantage? The Government or the leading intelligentsia of the country? This created a little sensation and Lord Curzon, it seemed, took note of it. He began to try to satisfy the general masses of the country and that section among the educated public which was helping the British administration directly or indirectly,"22 But the more the Curzonian administration tried to capture the mass-mind, the more intensified became the efforts of our political leadership to carry the masses with them. Thus Pal's letters purported to signal also an inevitable confrontation between an alien bureaucracy and an indigenous intelligentsia. In this sense the letters may be considered to have "presaged the policy which the new Nationalist Party formulated and tried to carry out during the exciting years of the beginning of the present century."23

From England Pal reached U.S.A. in February 1900 at the

^{20.} For the full text of the letters see The Indian Mirror, Dec. 6 and 14, 1899 as reproduced from The Manchester Guardian.

^{21.} The Indian Mirror, Dec. 14, 1898.

^{22.} Pal, Political Evolution in Bengal, The Bengalee, Nov. 15, 1924.

^{23.} Pal, Memories Vol. II, p. 271.

invitation of National Temperance Association and stayed there for four months. In America also he did some political preachings alongside his appointed jobs, though not to the extent he did in England.

In that land of Republicanism also his searching observation did not fail to pick up both the darker and brighter sides of the society. He had the experience of witnessing the besetting prejudice against colour, himself a victim of harassment on an occasion, and sometimes had even to give a retort to silence the buffoonery "of the intellectual aristocrats of the city." But what struck him more was the brighter side of American life. Washington appeared to him "as beautifully symbolic of the spirit of freedom of her people" and he found the Americans "more receptive to new ideas than the conservative Englishmen and English women."

This capacity to consider a matter dispassionately, to give vent to his own conviction without any buoyancy or cajolery, remained in him undiminished even when he met the highest dignitary in America, President Mckinley, and told him both about the qualities and wrongs of American society.²⁷

Pal always maintained a national pride both in his utterances and attire during his continental visit. Neither in England nor in America did he use European dress, necktie and bowler or top hat, but went about in his coat and 'choga' and a turban of yellow silk. But all through his whirlwind tour, whether in Liberal Great Britain or in Republican America, he had a feeling of subjugation, a realisation that makes all the difference between a society in political bondage and a society in political freedom. Thus, on his way to England, he saw at Paris what patriotism really was. Even the cabman was proud of his people and his city and pointed out to him, with evident self-glorification, the national monuments. This was a real, genuine, living sentiment, he thought and asked to himself if such senti-

^{24.} Pal, 'The Drink Habit in India: The Prohibition Problem', The Englishman, Oct. 13, 1921.

^{25.} Pal, Nationality and Empire, p. 188.

^{26.} Memories Vol. II, p. 294.

^{27.} Pal, Note on Republican President Mckinley, New India, Vol. I, No. 6, Sept. 16, 1901, p. 85.

^{28.} Memories... Vol. II. pp. 285-286.

ment would ever be a reality in India.²⁹ But it was in New York that the pledge of emancipating the country from foreign yoke was freshly evoked in his mind by the comments of an austere-looking American gentleman which Pal himself acknowledged as the greatest acquisition of his American tour.³⁰

Thus a man already much moulded by the "works of John Stuart Mill, Joseph Mazzini, Gavan Duffy and others" returned to India by the middle of 1900 with a burning sense of patriotism, with a sacred resolve to win national freedom for the motherland.



^{29.} See Pal's despatch in The Indian Mirror, Nov. 3, 1898.

^{30.} See Pal, Markiney Chharimas (Four Months in America), pp 9-13: 'Indian Feeling towards America', New India, Vol. I, No. 8, Sept 30, 1901, p. 119.

^{31.} Pal, 'Political thought in Bengal' The Statesman, Aug. 6, 1924

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (1901—1910)

NEW INDIA AND NEW SPIRIT

The inspiration for freedom arises universally from a sense of bondage. The phase of our awakening for political rights came "really not because our sense of bondage had become intolerable, but because our minds had been nurtured on modern ideals of democracy by our study of English and European history, and our imaginations had been fired with the visions of an India that shall be in all matters as free, as great and as respect-compelling in the modern world as England is. This early phase of our political freedom movement had therefore no real claims to the title of a National Movement, though it was undoubtedly the forerunner of the new Nationalist upheaval in the country."

The sense of bondage was heightened by Curzon's disbelief of Indian opinion, by his attitude of obstinate preference for autocratic efficiency to the utter disregard of Indian talents and last, by his policy of Partition of Bengal in July 1905. The partition caused a realisation in educated minds that public opinion or consent of the governed has no place in a country under foreign yoke. "We felt", Surendranath observed, "that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked." It is true that a particular measure or event does not make a political movement, but it gives the opportunity for one when people are ready for a change. This is exactly what the partition did. The people joined the anti-partition movement in the way, "the masses do always and all the world over, as an opening for their accumulated and hitherto pent-up sense of wrong against the alien administration set up over them."

- 1. Pal, 'Nationalism as a Freedom Movement', Standard Bearer, Vol. 2, No. 46, July 17, 1922, pp. 541-42.
 - 2. A Nation in Making, p. 173.
- 3. Pal, Analogies with Partition Situation, The Englishman, Dec. 8, 1927.

The accumulation of grievances under foreign rule was due not only to the feeling that we were being politically discriminated against, but because of the graver reality that as a nation we had been reduced to a state of emasculation socially, culturally and economically. The country, therefore, needed a political movement of wider magnitude to get itself on to the virile tooting of nationhood. The movement should not merely be political; it should be a nationalist movement in the widest sense of the term. Its aim should be to rejuvenate the culture and civilisation of India to enable her to take her legitimate place in the progressive life of humanity. With such a conviction, Pal, on return from America, started his weekly-magazine New India in August 1901. He dedicated the magazine to 'God, Humanity and Fatherland'.

From the very beginning he was inclined to breathe "the deepest veneration for the spiritual, moral and intellectual achievements of Indian civilisation" as well as to reach out "to all that is noblest and loveliest in Western culture." He was also conscious that "without a sound economic basis, there can be no moral and intellectual uplifting."5 Thus, a fallen race was to be re-built on an imaginative and constructive line of action definitely an onerous task. With this end in view, he prescribed self-help and self-sacrifice and he could see that the time was "coming faster than we had thought, when Indian patriotism will be put to this test." But the greatest hindrance to realization of all this was that we had no rights on the strength of which we could form a citizenry, though we had some privileges of equality before law under a benevolent despotism. Therefore, before long, Pal contemplated "a state which is based upon the free will of the people,"7 which really forms the very essence of citizenship. The idea implied is nothing else but the political freedom of Indian people stripped of alien control. Thus, before

^{4.} Pal, National Spirit, New India, Vol. I, No. I, Aug. 12, 1901, p. 10.

Pal, Self-help, Self-reliance, New India, Vol. I, No. 17, Dec. 16, 1901, p. 269.

^{6.} Pal, The Test of Patriotism, in *The New Spirit*, Sinha-Sarvadhi-kary & Co., Cal., 1907, p. 209-10. The article was written on 17-7-1902.

^{7.} English Imperialism and Indian Citizenship, New India, Vol. III, No. 22, Feb. 4, 1904, p. 341.

the new nationalist movement reached its peak consequent upon the partition, Pal had already the vision of a new India, free and prosperous in all respects—socially, politically, economically and culturally.

After the partition, Pal felt the necessity of an English daily to carry the new message that he and men of his thinking had been formulating. A widespread and a courageous programme of propaganda to mobilise the educated public in favour of the new creed, which did not believe in generosity in politics, but had its faith in the co-operative endeavours of the people themselves, was the call of the hour. Pal, therefore, started 'The Bande Mataram' in August, 1906, in addition to his 'New India', and the two papers steadily took their places as the guiding force of the new nationalist movement.

The early years of the twenties were, in fact, marked by the advent of a new spirit of nationalism in Asia which drew considerable sustenance from Russo-Japanese war of 1905, as C. F. Andrews significantly observed,

Though evidently, he had not till then gone through the New India or Bande Mataram which, properly speaking, were the vehicles of opinion of the emerging generation, he noticed the dominant role of Bengal in spreading the Swadeshi movement in India, which, according to him, was the topical expression of the new Asian spirit. "From one point of view", he further said, "the Renaissance in Europe is the nearest parallel to what is now taking place in Asia."

Earlier than the observation of Andrews, Pal could guess the new spirit demanding a re-construction of the life and thought of modern India which called for the combined efforts of "poets, composers, novelists, men of action, organisers and system-builders." ¹⁰

This new spirit is not the old spirit of the Congress. It refuses to accept the position of servitude and subordination for

- 8. The old files of *The Bande Mataram* are available at Prabartak Sangh, Chandernagore. The first issue of the paper came out on August 7, 1906, and Pal was its editor-in-chief until about the end of October 1906. After Pal, Shri Aurobindo conducted the paper.
- 9. New Spirit in Asia, as reproduced in *The Indian Daily News*, Cal., Nov. 15, 1907.
- 10. Pal, The New Patriotism, in The New Spirit, p. 201. The article was written on 8.4.1905.

an indefinite period. Furthermore, it is a demand for "the abdication of the right of England to determine the policy of the Indian Government, the relinquishment of the right of the present foreign despotism 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."

He made it perfectly clear that he desired to make India autonomous, absolutely free of the British control.

It would be more correct to say that Pal wanted the new movement to represent the forces of real democracy and the forces of labour. The question of leadership naturally was there. But the primary need was to mobilise the workers and labourers. The logic of the situation itself would create the leaders. When our public movements are duly organised and our political ideas and ideals become well-defined and properly differentiated, then only will it be time for us, to set up our leaders, till then we must have workers and labourers in the country's cause, but no leaders, except those who belong to the aristocracy of the intellect or of the spirit, and whose leadership has not, therefore, to be acclaimed by show of hands."

Surendranath, it seems, held a limited view of this new spirit, keeping it attached to the political plane only, and he was not perhaps quite clear about its origin. In the Calcutta Congress of 1906 he thus observed: "Our rulers must recognise the new spirit born, it may be, of the huge number of the partition, vibrating through our hearts, up-lifting us to a higher plane of political effort." Political contingency apart, Pal had always the belief that it was a phase of growth and historic evolution of the New Indian Nation, consisting of the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and all other religious sects. 15

Such was Pal's inward feeling about the new nationalist

- 11. Pal, The New Spirit, in the book The New Spirit, p. 237. The article was written on 1.10.1906.
 - 12. Pal, The Shell and the Seed, Bande Mataram, Sept. 17, 1906.
 - 13. Pal, The Cry of Leadership, Bande Mataram, Oct. 1, 1906.
- 14. Report of the Twenty-second Indian National Congress, 1906, p. 74.
- 15. Composite patriotism, in *The New Spirit*, pp. 217-218. The article was written on 27.5.1905.

movement and new spirit in Indian context. He wanted to build up a philosophy of the movement, for, according to him," every human movement, essentially a movement of thought has, whether consciously or unconsciously, some philosophy of life behind it."16 And the whole movement he wanted to canalize through thought-currents that were "silently transforming the ideals and activities of the Indian people, giving a new meaning to modern Indian life and its varied contents, religious, social, civic and economic."17 Thoroughly enmeshed in the earlier religious and social reform movements, and always holding a deeper sense of history and civilisation, it was but natural for Pal to trace the origin of the nationalist movement, pivotted on the partition, to the variety of factors which had come into operation earlier. That was why he reiterated in subsequent days that "even before the partition, a new spirit had commenced to quicken our public thoughts and sentiments."18

Thus, the broader and all-pervasive idea that Pal maintained had a connotation of more than singular purpose. Through the nationalist movement he wanted to accelerate a great awakening, a new enlightenment in every branch of our national life. His was indeed value-oriented politics, which was never to be placid, nor to compromise on grounds of any immediate consideration. Rightly speaking, he may be legitimately called the champion of the Renaissance-spirit in Indian context of which C. F. Andrews wrote. He plunged into political movements, preached the new gospel of Swadeshi, Boycott and Swaraj and came into forefront to lead the nation. He worked in union with others so long he found such a bond congenial to his own ideals. But he stepped aside the moment he scriously differed with them, and went alone to proclaim his own conviction with a total indifference to so-called popularity or following.

SELF-HELP AND SELF-RELIANCE: SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

Within a week of the publication of Bande Mataram Pal

- 16. Preface to The New Spirit.
- 17. Ibid.

^{18.} Freedom Movement in Bengal, Forward, Dec. 26, 1926. For identical views also see Anil Scal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge University Press, London. 1968 pp. 22-23.

wrote an article in it named 'New Manchester on the Hugli'19 which, in fact, was a warning to the representatives of the British trade and commerce in India that the time was coming when the boycott, would be applied in addition to imported British goods, to all British capitalist enterprises in the country. The new spirit demanded new methods of agitation—the old order must change yielding place to the new. "Our method", Pal further declared, "is passive resistance, which means an organised determination to refuse to render any voluntary and honorary service to the government."20 This method was to foster an absolute mental aloofness from the foreign government-for which purpose two things were to be done. "First, the creation in the public mind, of a strong sense of aversion to all official connection; and second, the opening of such ways and means in our own industrial, commercial, educational, and social life. as will find to the people almost everything that they now go to the government for." The second aspect meant a concerted drive to increase our own indigenous production. "Thus Swadeshi or the encouragement of indigenous products by buying these in preference to foreign products even at a sacrifice, became an organic counter part of this new boycott campaign."22

When the Calcutta Congress of 1906 took up Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Self-Government or Swaraj as its planks, it simply enshrined in an organisational statute the principles for which the Bengali leadership, particularly Pal, had been relentlessly working. In seconding the resolution on boycott in the Congress session, Pal, urging dismissal of the word 'hatred' from the arena of Indian politics, declared: "... this thing (i.e. boycott) may proceed from point to point, from city to city, until the whole of India is ablaze, not with the fire that ruins and kills, but the fire that brings plenty, patriotism, and

^{19.} Bande Mataram, Aug. 12, 1906; as quoted in, Pal, Recollections of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *The Bengalee*, Aug. 5, 1924. The particular issue of Bande Mataram is not available.

^{20.} The Sinful desire, Bande Mataram, Sept. 18, 1906.

^{21.} Pal, Love, Logic and Politics, The Bande Mataram, Oct. 6. 1906.

^{22.} Pal, Recollections of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, The Bengalee, Aug. 8, 1924.

progress."23 "His speech may fairly be regarded as the speech of the session. The whole house cheered him loudly and the moderates were so terrified that Madan Mohan, Gokhale and others hastened to dissociate themselves from the views expressed by him."24

A careful study of Pal's idea of boycott or passive resistance would show that there was, in fact, nothing in it that should have perplexed anybody. He expected a boycotter to be guided by the highest social and moral obligations, whose supreme concern should always be to protect or advance social well-being. Pal himself came forward to set an example in this regard in 1907, when he refused to give evidence or take the oath in the court in a case of prosecution of Shri Aurobindo, as the editor of Bande Mataram. The charge against Shri Aurobindo was that he translated in his paper some Bengali articles which were allegedly seditious. Pal thought that a case of this kind was inimical to social well-being, unhelpful for the preservation of peace and order and impaired the very authority of legislation. which is, for all intent, a moral authority. If, on the contrary, he were convinced that the prosecution would further the aforesaid cause, he would have definitely deposed in the court, whatever might have been the consequences to Shri Aurobindo or to himself. His was a conscientious objection. And the six months' simple imprisonment that he suffered on charge of contempt of court was the price of his fidelity to what he believed to be true and good.25 Sandhya, a Bengali daily of the time, could not understand the real meaning of Pal's stand, but characterized it as merely a bold defiance of the 'Feringhis', though it rightly called him "a genuine priest of the boycott."26

In conceiving the doctrine of passive resistance, Pal, in fact, did never deny the law-maintaining authority of the Government.

Report of the Twenty-second Indian National Congress, 1906,
 85.

^{24.} D. S. Khaparde's *English Diaries* as quoted in his Marathi Biography written by his son B. G. Khaparde, Prasad Prakasan, Poona. 1962, p. 267.

^{25.} For details, See Pal, My Prison Experiences, Liberty, Cal., June 4, 1932.

^{26.} Report on Native papers in Bengal, week-ending Aug. 31, 1907, Confd. No. 35 of 1907, p. 873.

Though his doctrine advocated a spirit of non-co-operation with the government for the attainment of legitimate political rights, it was, nevertheless, peaceful and non-violent in character and was intended to operate within the bounds of law. Through a number of writings in *Bande Mataram* during May-August, 1908, he attempted to bring home this ethics of passive resistance.

Through passive resistance²⁷ Pal sought to organise the moral and spiritual forces of the people in order to bring the pressure of the popular will to bear upon the administration of the country, and thereby, to gradually work out a popular constitution within the government. It was no doubt a confrontation between the people and the government, but a confrontation between a civic people and a civic government. The two sides were supposed to remain within the respective provinces of their lawful rights. The conditions of passive resistance are that the Government resisted by the lawful determination of the people to suffer and make sacrifices for the furtherance of what they conceive to be the public good, shall itself scrupulously obey its own laws, and shall not, even in the exercise of autocratic authority, transgress those primary rights of the people upon which all governments are based and from which all state constitutions derive their fundamental functions, but which no government and no constitution ever creates."28 This is the doctrine for which Aurobindo considered Pal 'the prophet and first preacher of passive resistance' and which, in subsequent days, Mahatma Gandhi took up in Indian politics and fashioned his own concept of Satyagraha and non-cooperation.

Again, in order that the people may go unhindered in their Swadeshi enterprises—economic, industrial and educational—he wanted the Government to adopt a policy of laissez faire. Not in the least thereby he did contemplate a free hand to the capi-

^{27.} See, for example, 'Boycott Not Antipathy, Isolation Not Hatred', Bande Mataram, May 7, 1908; 'The Government, the Press and the People', Bande Mataram, June 24, 1908; 'The Boycott', Bande Mataram, Aug. 4, 1908.

^{28.} Pal Indian Nationalism: Ideals and Methods, Swaraj (English fortnightly), London, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1st March, 1909, pp. 1-2. While in England as a political exile for about four years since the middle of September, 1908, Pal edited this paper. It was being published by Hind Nationalist Agency, 140 Sinclair Road, West Kensington, London.

talists to exploit and to make profit, for, much earlier than many of the leaders, he pointedly asked the Congress to combine the forces of labour as against the capitalists.²⁹ By laissez faire he only meant that the collective indigenous potentialities of the nation should be allowed to grow uninterrupted by the Government, so that a self-sufficient economic structure of the society might be brought into existence. It should be "a policy that would confine the activities of the government to the protection of peace and order in the country, to leave the people to grow, to organise their own forces, provided they did not do anything that was unlawful or infringed the primary rights of the Government."³⁰

The limitations of such a movement are obvious. polity, people cannot be expected to withhold or withdraw their claims upon the government for the deliverance of their economic needs or to provide their varied amenities. And it is surely too much to expect of popular passions to hold on to moral and peaceful passive resistance against organised injustice. But, as Pal himself reasonably summed up during the closing years of his life: "The problem before us then was a pre-eminently psychological problem. People then were completely under the hypnotic spell which the British had cast over them. They looked up to Government for everything that they wanted. There was no initiative, no self-confidence, no national consciousness in The problem then was how to change this soul-killing them. mentality, to break this fatal hypnotic spell. Our new Nationalism proclaimed, therefore, the gospel of absolute self-reliance, and self-help."31

SELF-GOVERNMENT OR SWARAJ

These politico-psychological difficulties had a bearing on the selection of the President of the Congress session in Calcutta in 1906. Grave misgiving prevailed over the question whether Tilak or Dadabhai Naoraji should be the President. It was not unexpected of Pal to like see Tilak presiding over the sessions for

^{29.} Report of The Seventh Indian National Congress, 1901, p. 168.

^{30.} Pal's speech at Edinburgh, The Times, London, Feb. 15, 1909.

^{31.} Congress-Swarajist Politics, The Englishman, Dec. 30, 1926.

it was Tilak with whom he had identity of views and who in subsequent days discovered in Pal a kindred soul. But he never objected to Dadabhai Naoroji being selected for the presidentship, for he always held Naoroji in the highest esteem. To say that Pal even threatened Dadabhai "with unpleasant consequences in case he accepted the presidentship,"32 is a height of absurdity. For, Pal was never used to adopt undemocratic devices to combat his political opponents. Secondly, he did not have any personal acquaintance with Tilak till the middle of 1906, though the two were thinking similarly on political methods for years. The position of Dadabhai in the episode is thus recorded by Pal himself: "Dadabhai, though in full intellectual sympathy with the propaganda of the New party, was rather anxious about what the authorities might do to fight this openly defiant policy. About the middle of the year he wrote to me to say that while he fully agreed with our views, he felt it would be wise to keep on the old cover of what we called mendicancy, because if we went in for a propaganda of pure and powerful self-help and self-reliance and condemned the older methods of prayers and petitions, he was afraid that the Government might find some excuse or other to put it down by force. Knowing his private opinions we had no reason to fear any open opposition from Dadabhai."38 The Times, London, which missed no occasion to use its venomous pen against Pal in those days, also records in its issue of November 13, 1906, that: "Pal was not opposed to Mr. Naoroji's election to the presidency."

As far back as September, 1905, Pal wrote in his paper New India under the heading 'Home Rule for India', supporting Shyamaji Krishnavarma's ideas of India's political freedom on Irish-model, completely free from British control.³⁴ From the theoretical standpoint, this idea of political freedom was manifestly different from that of Dadabhai Naoroji who had earlier in 1904 pleaded for "self-government like that of the colonies

^{32.} T. R. Deogirikar, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Publications Division, Govt. of India, 1964, p. 117.

^{33.} Recollections of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, The Bengalee, Aug. 8, 1924.

^{34.} Shyamaji Krishnavarma's letter to *The Times*, London. March 10. 1909.

under British paramountcy."³⁵ The other leaders of the old school including Gokhale, Pheroze Shah Mehta and Surendranath rallied round this idea of Dadabhai and stuck to it as their political object.

Therefore, when Dadabhai in the Calcutta Congress of 1906 declared that "self-government or Swaraj like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies"36 was his aim, Pal, a persistent believer in Free India, came forward to cast the die in his own mould. Instance may be cited from his Madras speeches, which are the most representative expression of his thought during the period. In those speeches, among other things, he made persistent attempts to explain his idea of the political aspect of Swaraj. He argued against the self-government of Colonial type, as it was then existing, on three grounds. Firstly, England would not treat equally with a non-white country like India as it would do with Australia, Canada and other white colonies. Second, surplus populations were being sent from England to the colonies, which were for their mutual economic interest and exploitations and for strengthening the white race suzerainty over the distant parts of the globe. India cannot be a party to such system. Third, detrimentally for India's interest, England would demand the control of the purse of the nation. Colonial self-government under British paramountcy might be a theoretically perfect ideal making for universal brotherhood, but the millennium for that had not yet arrived. Therefore, it was not a practical proposition. Nor was self-government within the Empire upto nationalist aspirations as it would mean British overlordship in India regulating and conducting the heart and nerve of our political life. only rational interpretation of Dadabhai's utterance, according to Pal, was therefore, a free Indian state like that of a free United Kingdom. A Free India, could become an ally of Britain, but not a partner in Empire.37

Besides the exciting vehemence of his speeches, it was actually his idea of Swaraj, virtually designing a sovereign independent

^{35.} As in R. P. Masani's Dadabhai Naoroji—The Grand Old Man of India, p. 139.

^{36.} The Report of the twenty-second Indian National Congress, 1906, p. 21.

^{37.} Pal, Madras-speeches, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1907, pp. 41-43, 47, 54.

India, which raised uneasiness in the old school of our leaders and an alarmist outcry among the British bureaucracy. The Times, London, was so much concerned that it devoted a two-column editorial comment, undertaking almost a point by point scanning of Pal's Madras speeches. It saw in Pal the most serious challenge to the British position in India since he was "the ablest and most influential of the chiefs" of the new nationalist movement and pointed out that his activities called for "the grave consideration of thoughtful Englishmen." 38

SWARAJ: ENIGMA OF 'MODERATION' AND 'MADNESS'

The irony of the situation was that neither the thoughtful Englishmen, nor our older political leaders did care to go deep into the purport of the concept of Swaraj introduced by Pal in our political realm. Pal and his school of thought could only provoke uncharitable remarks from both these quarters.

The British bureaucracy went a step further. From 1906 to 1909, they made a determined bid to crush the new nationalist movement, dubbing it as seditious or extremist design and perpetrated all sorts of brutal repression.⁸⁹

Until his departure for England, however, Pal continued to hold aloft his fundamental principles even in the face of all these obstacles. Reaching London in Sept. 1909 he again reminded his countrymen of the evils of secret activities, stressing the need of promulgating "the fundamental principles calmly and in a restrained language, in order to keep man in the domain of truth, in the domain of religion and in the domain of manliness." He expressed his desire, the trends of the time not being upto his liking, to remain aloof, as far as possible, from the muddy water of current politics, and the politics that he wanted to associate himself with was to be "based on philosophy and science." Nevertheless, he was prompted to write a very lengthy letter to the Manchester Guardian as a sharp reaction to Mr Gokhale's re-

^{38.} June 3, 1907.

^{39.} Keir Hardie, India, Impressions and Suggestions, Home Rule for India League Office, London, 1917, pp. 115-16.

^{40.} Pal's letter to Nayak, a Bengali daily. See Report on Native papers in Bengal, Confd. No. 10, January-March, 1907, p. 272.

^{41.} Ibid.

ported Poona speech in which he condemned the new nationalist's talk of independence as 'madness'. Part of the letter states:

"The school with which I am connected has refused to subscribe to this creed (i.e. colonial self-Govt.), not because colonial self-government is not substantially the same as national autonomy, but because it is an absolutely false ideal so far as India is concerned... There is that impassable colour line between the British and the India. It is for this reason that the colonial ideal is a false ideal in India. Otherwise, it is substantially the same as national independence... Mr Gokhale also must know it all; but yet he and his friends talk of colonial self-government. It only shows that the thought of independence, whether it is sane or insane, has taken such strong hold of the articulate populations in India that even those who consider it mere madness have to make room for it in their own programme and propaganda, though under a different name. The madness Sir, is not all on our side...."

The most significant point here, despite some polemical points, is that on principle, Pal has no objection to colonial selfgovernment. If some of its defects, notably the feature of whiterace bias could be blotted out to a reasonable extent and India was treated as an equal partner in the British Empire, he would find no objection to accept it as equivalent to his idea of Swarai or Independence. It is interesting that a British correspondent could make a rational diagnosis of Pal's theme unlike our convenient interpretation of the same. "Mr Pal has strongly repudiated the colonial ideal", he wrote in Manchester Guardian, "not because it was undesirable, but because, as every sane and thoughtful Britisher knows, it is absolutely unreal and impracticable with regard to India. But I chanced, while reading Mr Pal's Madras speehes, to fall upon the following sentences that show how little difference there is--if there be any at all-between an approved loyalist . . . , and a reputed like Mr Pal. Anglo-India never had the patience to study Mr Pal carefully and in justice to him this significant pronouncement of his should be widely circulated: 'The growth of an empire,

^{42.} From the text of the letter as reproduced in *Karmayogin* (English weekly), edited by Shri Aurobindo, Vol. I, No. 11, 19th Bhadra. 1316, pp. 11-12.

always, everywhere help the growth of national unions, and under the proper ideal of empire, nations grow more rapidly than they are able to grow within the isolated Kingdoms and some principalities. I am, Sir, an Imperialist, an Imperialist of Imperialists, but it must be an empire of a right sort. It must be an empire where all the component parts shall enjoy equal liberty and equal freedom!"43 What Pal was interested in were the political freedom and liberties of the Indian people. The Supreme consideration was, how best to secure this object, be that colonial self-government, Independence or an equal-partnership with the British Empire. Thus, in so far as Pal is concerned, it seems that the difference between the so-called moderates and extremists was substantially one of chaff and not of kernel.

PAL AND HIS COMPATRIOTS

The herculean tours throughout the length and breadth of the country and the hectic political activities that Pal undertook during 1906-1908 to carry his message to the people have almost become a part of legend.44 Equally common knowledge has become the power of his oratory which was sweeping before the multitude absorbing for the elite and cautiously logical during learned talks.45 He extolled mythological stories, eulogized historical events and characters and commended ritualistic celebrations to wake up the mass-mind and to give momentum to the movement. All this, in the other direction, inevitably provided some stimulation for the hate-campaign against the aliens, and provided not inconsiderable impetus to anarchist activities. This outward and ephemeral aspect of the political climate, naturally gave a deceptive appearance to the movement and men like Charles Elliot, the then Lt. Governor of Bengal, getting unnerved, thought of the whole movement as "it is all Bipin Pal and blood

^{43.} Sept. 9, 1911. Also see, Madras-Speeches, p. 146.

^{44.} For a detailed itinerary in this respect see Prof. Haridas Mukherjee's Bipin Chandra Pal and India's Battle for Swaraj, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Cal., 1958, pp. 46, 70-77.

^{45.} See Sri Aurobindo, On Nationalism, Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1965, pp. 114-115; also see, Srinivasa Sastri, My Master Gokhale, Model Publications, Madras, 1946, p. 58.

and thunder."46 Eliiot's remark, however, evoked a sharp reproach from no less a man than Rabindranath Tagore. Writing in 1908, Tagore observed: "He (Elliot) has suggested that the press should be crushed, that Surendranath and Bipin Pal should be apprehended. Is not this utterance itself a reason at least to make one's blood boil when one thinks that such a man, who could unabashedly suggest such steps to quell a country, had once been our Governor?"⁴⁷ During those days Surendranath and Pal fought shoulder to shoulder for a certain period on the partition issue. Except in this limited sphere, they were at poles asunder ideologically. Surendranath could not subscribe to the political doctrine held by Pal and it is reported that on one occasion he was even "inveighing against extravagances of Bepin Pal" in presence of Viceroy Minto, while Minto himself was contemplating Pal's deportation.⁴⁹

But, as The Daily News, London, wrote: "The power and significance of the popular awakening in India being so little understood, it is not at all surprising that in England, as in Anglo-India, the oddest misconceptions should exist in regard to the character, the work, and the aims of the men who have led to are leading the movement ... Mr Banerjee has many co-adjute: in Bengal-and a few rivals. In his way an equally typical c bodiment of current Bengali sentiment is Babu Bepin Chandra Par the 'Extremist' orator... In his present character he was brough out by the new Swaraj movement that is, the demand for Hot Rule, pure and simple; and nothing is more amusing to his quaintances than the terror exercised by his name over 'Times' and other English papers, to which he appears as a second magogue of incalculable resources and the centre of a malign conspiracy against the British dominion. In actual fact, Base Babu was at Oxford, with a scholarship admitting him to M chester New College. He has travelled and lectured in Amorand since his return to India has mingled political agitation

^{46.} As quoted in India (Weekly), London, Dec. 27, 1907.

^{47.} Samasya (The Problem), Bangadarshan, New Scries, 8th 3rd issue, Asar, 1315, B.E., p. 156. Translated into English from 2 gali.

^{49.} Ibid., p. 147.

the editing of newspapers and the calmer occupation of a Theistic-preacher."50

It is this aspect of Pal, the thinker, a mingled product of various disciplines, which is particularly relevant in weighing his contribution to the movement, the contribution that he made in collaboration with his compatriots with whom he had a great, though not exclusive, identity of views. Annie Besant, giving an outline of the genesis of the collective efforts, writes: "Aurobindo Ghosh began through articles to the Bombay Weekly India Prakash (1893) . . . to suggest ... the way out of the bind alley into which the Congress had Bepin Chandra Pal through his tongue and pen preached the ideal that Great Britain had no right to expect any loyalty from India beyond bare obedience to law-throwing out a challenge to the then leaders of the Congress in the columns of his weekly New India. The Kesari of Poona, the Maratha language weekly of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Sandhya, the Bengali language daily of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya in Calcutta, became the exponents of the new criticism of Congress policy and methods. Lala Lajpat Rai in the Puniab, remade by the Arva Samai, pioneered an identical revolt against this futile politics. In Bengal, an almost recluse scholar, Brojendra Nath Seal, a fellow student of Swami Vivekananda, became the source and fountain-head of the deep intellectual stir that proclaimed the advent of this school in polities and economics."51 It transpires that Pal acknowledged his indebtedness to Brojendra Nath Scal who, he averred, inspired himself. Brahmabandhab and Shri Aurobindo in the enunciation of their new nationalist philosophy.52

The movement, apparently was a product in which Bengali talents played a predominating role. But the man behind the movement was yet to be recognised. The Historians' History of the World, a magnum opus, giving little space to Indian politics, could trace out the singular efforts of a particular individual in

^{50.} Nov. 28, 1907, as quoted in *India* (Weekly), London, Dec. 6, 1907.

^{51.} As in the Calcutta Municipal Gazette, edited by Amal Home, Twenty-Third Anniversary and Independence Commemoration Number. 1947, pp. 23-24.

^{52.} See, Dr. S. C. Roy, The Story of My Times, The Bengal journals Ltd., Cal., 1934, p. 74.

the field. "The chief purveyor of seditious ideas", it wrote, "was Babu Chundra Pal, a Bengali of considerable education, much ability, and of very great eloquence whose speeches displayed in unmistakable language the aims of 'Gospel of the New Movement' in India. He promulgated the doctrine of Swaraj or political independence and he was inclined to belittle the extensively supported ideal known as Swadeshi, which aimed at securing economical autonomy and the encouragement of native manufactures." Chief Purveyor he was, not in the sense the History wants to mean, but of both Swadeshi and Swaraj.

PATRIOTIC GRIMNESS AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The charge of sedition against Pal arose out of the fact that a force believing in physical violence and revolution came into the picture taking full advantage of the very movement which he had been spearheading. According to this school the "nationalist movement is politically revolutionary because in so far as the masses of the population are concerned, nationalism is the expression of the objective urge... for social progress." Hans Kohn, while placing Pal in the forefront of India's awakening and Indian nationalism, erred in finding no difference between the revolutionaries and nationalists and thus designated Pal as one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in India.55

Pal had been consistently against violence of any kind. A letter of him, written in 1907, is reproduced:

"To

The Editor of the 'Englishman',

Sir.

With reference to your remarks upon the report of my speech at the Sakti-Utsaba published in *Bande Mataram* allow me to say that report is absolutely and almost maliciously distorted; it

- 53. Vol. XXI, edited by Henry Smith Williams, published by London Times, 1908, p. 668. Like in this book, Pal has been named as 'Chundra Pal' or 'Chunder Pal', in many foreign publications.
- 54. M. N. Roy, Presidential Address: United Province Youth Conference, Sitapur, 1937, Independent India, (Weekly), Bombay, Vol. I, No. 9, May 30, 1937, p. 3.
- 55. See A History of Nationalism in the East, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1929, p. 379.

contains views and statements that I do not hold and did not make.

I was among those who started the Bande Mataram and I conducted the paper for the first three months, but my connection with it ceased definitely from the beginning of November last.

Whatever be the worth of my opinions, I have never cared to express them with mental and other reservations, and there is one thing that I have always strongly deprecated and that is resort to physical force in the great political conflict into which we have been thrown. My view has always been that it is a moral conflict, and in this conflict the irresponsible authority of the state must be met and opposed by the lawful and deathless determination of the people. I never suggested anything in the address at the Sakti-Utsab which could be construed into incitement to violence of any kind, as will appear from a correct report of my speech which appeared in this week's 'New India'.

I do not mind the attack that you have made on me for the last issue of New India; for so far as those writings are concerned, though British law and British courts may convict me of any offence, I know I shall stand freely vindicated before the bar of history and humanity. But to take advantage of an obviously distorted if not malicious report of a speech of mine, and thus to hit me below the belt is not fair. But perhaps you will say everything is fair in love and war-even in journalistic war.

Yours etc.

141/2, Russa Road South, Bepin Chandra Pal."56 Calcutta, May 30.

Pal was neither a seditionist, nor an extremist. "When some people became bolder than the rest, they were designated The use of this word by Indians themselves is very accurate indication of the fear at the back of their minds. mism is an ugly word and is associated with the loss of balance of judgment."57 Moreover, the nomenclatures, moderates and extremists, "were not our own. It was given by The Times of India. Those who wanted national autonomy were called Extremists. Those who were satisfied with the old slogan of self-government

^{56.} The Englishman, June 1, 1907.

^{57.} Nagendranath Gupta, Indian Nationalism, Hind Kitabs, Bombay, 1946, p. 60.

within the empire were called Moderates." Nevertheless, it must be admitted that a distinctive sect, having their faith in violence and usurpation, did arise in the movement. But with that sect Pal had nothing to do. "And if violence did come in the wake of Nationalist Movement seventeen years ago", Pal reiterated in later days, "it was not a part of the Nationalist programme. It came in spite of the declared nationalist policy of non-violence or passive resistance. The responsibility for it must be accepted by the repressive policy of the government, that drove some impatient spirits to revolutionary ways. But the appearance of this revolutionary propaganda did not drive the nationalist leaders either to abandon their ideal or suspend their methods." 59

Srinivasa Sastri, the veteran liberal leader, and never a supporter of Pal's doctrine, wrote: "Grimness is one of the elements that our patriotism needs now, and I believe Mr Pal's lectures are calculated to develop that quality." Sastri's remarks may be read with reference to what Shri Aurobindo said in the course of a speech in Bombay in 1907: "There is only one force, and for that force I am not necessary. Neither myself nor another, nor Bepin Chandra Pal, nor all those workers who have gone to prison. Let them be thrown away as so much waste substance, the country will not suffer."

Pal also spoke similarly adding a personal note. After his release from the Buxur jail, questioned by a representative of *The Statesman*, he said: "People call me an Extremist, but I call myself a sociologist, and anything I may do in future in a public sense will have sociology as its basis... One noticeable feature about the demonstration made in my honour, today, cannot have escaped the thoughtful observer. The cry of *Bande Mataram* you have heard is no idle shibboleth. It means that

^{58.} Pal, Freedom Movement in India, The Bengalee, Feb. 8, 1925.

^{59.} Passing Politics, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 5, Sept. 12, 1922, pp. 79-80.

^{60.} Letters of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Edited by T. N. Jagadison, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 13. The letter was written on May 20, 1907, to Krishnaswami Aiyar.

^{61.} As quoted in Motilal Roy's Satabarser Bangla (Bengal through hundred years), Prabartak Publishers, Cal. 1969, p. 92.

the spirit of nationality has become a potent factor and a vital force in the political life of this country."62

CONFLUENCE OF ANTITHESIS AND SYNTHESIS

A mighty force of national consciousness was indeed created by the movement that was ripe to contend Western hegemony. But the rivalry was basically a moral one, a confrontation between two civilisations—the Indian and the Western. The conflict was inevitable for the creation and development of a healthy patriotic sentiment in the community. It was a clash between 'self' and 'not self,'

"India could never be conscious of her self if she had not been thrown openly into this conflict with the foreigner; and the strength of the national consciousness that it will quicken, will be determined by the strength and keenness of this conflict."63

Limited in object, the conflict was to be a passing phase, and not a perpetual one, for, the end was contemplated to be neither a catastrophe, nor the expropriation of one and the survival of the other. The demand for complete Independence was the "dogma of an antithesis, the bitter cry of an indignant protest. Antithesis and protests are necessary moments in all evolutionary processes". These were a necessary adage to quicken and sharpen the struggle for political freedom. But all this was required to work up "a reasonable synthesis, such as will reconcile the fundamental demands of Indian Nationalism with the maintenance of the British connection."

The idea thus propounded by Pal, steeped in an idealistic and philosophical screnity, had, however, an air of unreality. A subjugated nation carrying on a political movement to shake off the foreign yoke, cannot be expected to be catholic enough to merge themselves, even at any distant stage, with those people who ruled over them with an air of might and supremacy. From the view point of practical politics, therefore, Pal was somewhat

^{62.} The Statesman, March 11, 1908.

^{63.} Medieval Abstractions and Modern Problems in India, The Bande Mataram, May 27, 1908.

^{64.} See Pal, 'National Independence, or Imperial Federation?' in Nationality and Empire, p. 158. The article was written in March, 1914.

^{65.} See Pal, 'Lord Morley's Reforms' in Nationality and Empire, p. 226. The article was written in April, 1914.

hyperbolic and may be considered to have carried on a fruitless venture in the direction of a fusion of the two unequals. Perhaps in the course of broadening of his thought, he entangled himself in the customary incongruity between the ideal and the real.

But even though it lacked practicability to some extent, we can ill afford to miss the central idea which Pal sought to establish, the idea of synthesis, through the movement in which he participated. Critics, by and large, naturally, failed to grasp this idea and they included Valentine Chirol, the reputed writer of Indian Unrest. Chirol's criticism merits greater attention, as his was undoubtedly the first attempt to understand Pal's views with an exceptional sense of objectivity, though marred by occasional bias which was peculiar to a man professing Tory politics. The Indian Unrest was the outcome of his visit to India as a correspondent of London Times. When it was being serialised in the Times, Pal was in London. He wrote a letter to the paper in which he pointed out some of the mistakes in it. Vindicating his personal role and emphasising that this 'unrest' in fact, was the manifestation of a movement which came into Indian National life as an inevitable phase of historic evolution. To think of it as the handiwork of any individual or individuals was a great error. 66

Chirol rectified some of his mistakes before publishing his writings in the form of a book. He could categorise Pal as one of the "advanced politicians", was able to comprehend "the merciless logic with which he analyses the inevitable result of Swaraj", could notice that "very few 'moderate' politicians have had the courage openly to repudiate his programme, though many of them realise its dangers, whilst the 'extremists' want a much shorter cut to the same goal." Nor could he discover anything seditious in Pal: "However incompatible with the maintenance of British rule may be the propositions setforth by Mr Bepin Ch Pal, they contain no incitement to violence, no virulent diatribes against Englishmen." But he could not go deeper. This led Pal to remark, rather in grief, that his idea of Independence "was read by many, including Sir Valentine Chirol, who devotes one

^{66.} The Times, Aug. 8, 1910.

^{67.} Indian Unrest, pp. 14-15.

^{68.} Ibid.

whole chapter of his book on *Indian Unrest*, to the consideration of my Madras speeches, as urging the absolute severance of the British connection as a necessary condition of the realisation of the Nationalist Ideal in India." Almost a decade after, Chirol could, however, adopt a different, a much more liberal outlook, and could bring himself into the same line with Pal when he remarked that what was involved in the struggle was the clash of two civilisations. But he was doubtful if one side would ultimately yield to the other. Here again he got himself into a welter, for, the question, as thrashed out by Pal long ago, was not of yielding, but of reconciliation and synthesis.

QUINTESSENCE OF THE MOVEMENT

Tagore wanted that the patriotic movement, enthusiastically manifested as a result of the partition, should inspire a new enlightenment in our latent ethical values. He could not say whether the movement as a whole would ever reach that perfection. But he said: "If only one or two of our leaders instead of considering this movement merely as a stir of the educated section, could vision its inner ethical fire,--the fire that destroys all untruth at the very inner depth, dispels all the miseries, and brightens up all our treasures and qualities like a glowing sun-then such a realization and mission would surely crown them with great success foiling all temporal quandaries."71 Surely, Pal more than any one else, was pre-eminently suited to being called such a leader, for he used to be always guided by a lively sense of human values. And more than anybody else he endeavoured to place the movement in a greater and nobler orbit, purging it of all possible trivialities and ephemeral diversions. To him "the vision of new nationalism in Bengal was the vision of that Universal Humanity wherein all the conflicts and competitions of narrow national life must find their ultimate rest and reconciliation."72

^{69.} Introduction Chapter, Nationality and Empire, p. (viii).

^{70.} See Chirol, India—Old and New, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1921, p. 14.

^{71.} English rendering of Desh-hit (Country's Welfare), Bangadarsan, 8th year, 6th issue, Aswin, 1315 B.E., p. 340.

^{72.} Pal, Current Bengal Politics, The Englishman, April 10, 1928.

Therefore, a generalisation like that the "Hindu ideology into which Pal. Ghosh and other leaders clothed nationalism in the new phase, could not appeal to the politically conscious Muslim middle classes,"78 is distinctly wide of the mark and sounds incredibly cynical. As already explained, the movement of Pal's imagination was not to be militant. Now was it to be a movement of Hindu chauvinism or revivalistic obscurantism. speaking, every nationalist movement is bound to have a spirit of revivalism with this self-reliant belief that the nations by themselves are made. This "revival, however, does not mean a return to a stage of evolution that has already been passed, or the resumption of dead or decadent forms of national thought or instruments and agencies of national life. No nation can go back to its past, not even the Indian nation; nor can it by any magic or mantram bodily bring back its past and set it up in the midst of the living currents of the present. What revival does, is only to work up the present problems, whether of Literature or Art or Society or Politics, with a view to helping lost ideals of culture to be incorporated in new forms and institutions in harmony with the new and changed conditions of life of the modern men."74

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^{75.} A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1954, p. 351.

^{74.} Pal, Calcutta and The Cultural Evolution of Modern India, The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Vol. IX, No. 6, Dec. 22, 1928, p. 298.

CHAPTER V

IN THE REALM OF QUEST

A VOICE OF LIBERALISM, MODERATION AND RATIONALITY

The end of 1910 saw the new nationalists disarrayed and desolate. Before the movement could be given a countrywide mass-basis, all its leading figures were either imprisoned or sent into exile. Lajpat Rai was deported in May, 1907. Tilak was sentenced in July 1908 to six years' hard labour at the Mandalay jail. Pal himself had to go into political exile in England in Sept. 1908. Shri Aurobindo, never an active political leader, after a brief period as political preacher on being released from the Alipore bomb case, went into permanent seclusion at Pondicherry on March 31, 1910. As a movement, Swadeshism or what is popularly known as extremism, was initially handicapped for want of a systematic and collective leadership.

Also there were positively divergent views in the leadership itself, under the cover of a unity of purpose. While Pal openly stood for complete political independence severed from British control, Tilak, in an interview with Nevinson, spoke differently: "Certainly, there is a very small party which talks about abolishing the British rule at once and completely. That does not concern us; it is much too far in the future." Lajpat Rai, on the other hand, was hesitant to fully align himself with the new nationalists during the Calcutta Congress of 1906. Pal recollects: "Lala Laipat Rai upon whom we had counted very largely to join us and identify himself with the leadership of this new movement which was aspiring to assume an All-India character and secure an All-India Organisation of course within the Congress, however, somehow or other did not fall in with this plan and excused himself from accepting our hospitality. He said, he could not leave the Punjab delegates. This is, how, though we

^{1.} As quoted in Henry W. Nevinson's The New Spirit in India, Harper & Bros., London, 1908, p. 72.

were anxious to combine the Nationalists of the different provinces into one organised party that while keeping within the Congress would strive to have its policy and principles openly accepted by that national organisation, ultimately we had only a combination of Bengal and Maharashtra."

Again, Pal was avowedly against anarchism or revolutionary political activities as a means to achieve the end. But a sizeable section of the leadership, apart from the rank and file, did not consider such activities undesirable since they regarded the anarchists as their powerful ally. Pal himself sadly noticed that some of his friends were not willing to lose their support by open condemnation of their methods,3 As has already been stated, Pal had his own ideological conviction which he wanted to carry through the movement and which he was not prepared to sacrifice for the sake of methodological convenience. To him, ideology and method stood inseparable. And one of his ideological substrata was his belief in British civility and British democratic spirit with which, in fact, he sought a reasonable reconciliation of Indian nationalism. "We must understand", wrote Pal in Shri Aurobindo's Karmayogin in 1909, "that there is such a thing as British conscience . . . An appeal to this real conscience will not give us what we are striving for as ultimate goal, namely, self-government or Swaraj. But it will make, if anything can, the pursuit of our policy and programme of peaceful and lawful self-reliant activities easier and immensely improve the possibilities of peace-

- 2. Recollections of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, The Bengalce, Aug. 12, 1924.
 - 3. See Pal, My Prison Experiences, Liberty, June 3, 1932.

That Pal had a great abhorence of anarchist and revolutionary politics, is also manifest from his activities in England during 1908-1911. In a letter to 'Times', March 11, 1909, he clearly dissociated himself from Shyamaji Krishnavarma when Krishnavarma changed himself from an 'ardent nationalist' to an 'extremist-terrorist' openly proclaiming 'political assasination'. He also condemned Madanlal Dhingra's murder of Lt. Col. Sir W. H. Curzon Wyllie and Dr Lalcaca in a public meeting in London, over which Surendranath Banerjee presided, (Proceedings of the meeting in Times, July 5, 1909). Still more, in an unusually lengthy letter to Times, July 12, 1909, in reply to the latter's frequent insensible attacks upon him, he criticised every type of violent politics and sought to establish his liberal and humanist political philosophy.

ful progress towards popular freedom in India." Karmayogin, however, could not support such views of Pal and commented: ".... Bepin Babu relies on the enlightened self-interest of the British people and to a certain extent on their civilized conscience. We think we may as well leave the civilised conscience out of the reckoning for the present. The civilized conscience is a remarkably queer and capricious quantity, on which, frankly, we place no reliance whatever."

Bureaucratic repressions also considerably damped down popular enthusiasm and the introduction of Morley-Minto reforms created some confusion as well as some expectation among the educated Indians. All this had a demoralising effect upon the movement. Worried at the situation Pal observed: "Action and reaction, excitement and exhaustion are recuperative processes. What we call demoralisation is only another name for moral exhaustion....Demoralisation is a confession of failure. Confession of failure implies recognition of facts hitherto ignored or underrated. Demoralisation means the curing of conceit, and the dispelling of illusions. All these are the compensations of demoralisation. We do not regret this demoralisation. We are thankful for it. In evolution, there is no confession of failure which is not at the same time an assurance of final success." The statement, despite a philosophical undertone, could not negative Pal's grave concern over the turn of the movement towards a course which he did not expect or approve. सन्यामेव जयने

Thus Swadeshism as a movement contained in itself elements of disintegration. Except Pal and a few others, the leaders of the movement in general seldom evinced a spirit of cogitation and a deep sense of political philosophy which could have given it a broader perspective and a longer period of life. It is partially true to say that the movement, as a whole, had "less an ideology than a technique. Its most conspicuous form was an All-India coalition of dissidents, who having been out-manoeuvred in their own provinces, tried to reverse at the top the defeats they had suffered in the localities. Their organisation was another skin-deep

^{4.} The Situation II, Karmayogin, Vol. I, No. 15, 16th Aswin, 1316 B. E., pp. 7-8.

^{5.} Karmayogin, Vol. I, No. 16, 23rd Aswin, 1316 B.E., p. 3.

^{6.} The Situation in India, Swaraj, Vol. I, No. 1, 1st. March, 1909, p. 7.

affair. After Tilak was transported to Mandalay, it fell to pieces."7 But a more reasonable explanation was offered by Pal in subsequent days in the context of Gandhian non-co-operation movement. "The Swadeshi movement failed", he went on to say, "because among other reasons, it could not awaken the general consciousness as it should have done; the non-co-operation movement has not achieved that success which it was expected to do, because here also, the movement could not fully identify itself with the soul of the masses, and all other similar movements are also destined to have to that extent the same fate, to which extent they will fail to strike the main chord of the instrument. At the beginning of every movement there has been an upheaval and an excitement, but the first excitement having gone down as an effect of outside pressure or of an internal depression, the movement has practically collapsed or is left to smoulder in its last cinders ''8

Such a blatant confession of the failure of the movement by a man who himself had been one of its leading figures, speaks more of a kind of rectitude and less of a realization of actualities. The fact of the matter, however, is that the Swadeshi movement, notwithstanding its drawbacks and limitations, awoke the nation from stupor and laid the foundation of a national consciousness which accelerated subsequent political movements in different situations and changed circumstances. This is the positive contribution of Swadeshism to Indian politics, which must not be under-estimated.

The anti-partition agitation which was the immediate stimulus for Swadeshi movement, ceased with the annulment of partition in December, 1911. "The Congress of 1911 witnessed a complete change in the political atmosphere of the country. The king personally appeared on the scene, modified the partition of Bengal and sounded the watch-word of hope and contentment throughout the country. The long-deferred policy of conciliation was at last substituted for the policy of repression which had been tried for seven years and found wanting." In this political

^{7.} Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, p. 347.

^{8.} Papers on Village Reconstruction, Sl. No. 1, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 27, March 6, 1923, p. 424.

^{9.} Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Indian National Evolution, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1915, pp. 126-27.

climate Pal had returned to India in Oct. 1911. During his stay in England, he had the privilege to observe the currents of world-politics at almost their very centre in Europe. All this strengthened his international outlook still more, and emboldened him further to think of national issues in terms of international situations. He became more concerned with the judicious exposition of political objectives and ideas than with any organised political movement.

Truly speaking, except in the Swadeshi movement, Pal was not found to have taken a prominent role as a leader in practical politics. He miserably fell short of the necessary resources which make for a successful politician. He did not have the necessary finance, as most of his compatriots had, to build up a party machinery of his own liking. Even the bare needs of his family he had to meet through the meagre income that he carned through writings. His was indeed a "long pilgrimage of poverty which ended only with the last hour and moment of his life."11 Nor was his connection with the Congress continuous and permanent; it was rather sporadic and irregular, though meteoric in splendour. Above all, he lacked organising capability and was not temperamentally amenable to party caucus or party discipline. The statement that he was "a great Extremist for many years, but in the last half a dozen years of his life parted company with Extremism and Congress"12 needs be readjusted to the fact that, a born rebel, he was misfit in the straight-jacket of any party-code. doubt he was again found in the Congress sessions during 1916-20 as a dominant and masterful figure. Also once again his stentorian voice echoed and re-echoed in the Home Rule movement started by Annie Besant and Tilak independently. And for three years, from 1924, he represented Calcutta in the Central Legislative Assembly and "achieved remarkable success by his power of debate."13 But in all this, he stood as an example by himself and not as the spokesman of any paticular political party.

It is curious to note that Pal was rather caustic in his notion

^{10.} Pal, Nationality and Empire, Introduction Chapter, p. (x).

^{11.} Prof. J. L. Banerjee, 'A Born Rebel', The Statesman, May 21, 1932.

^{12.} C. Y. Chintamani, Indian Politics since the Mutiny, Andhra University Press, Waltair, 1937, p. 88.

^{13.} Comment in The Statesman, May 21, 1932.

about the politicians. Even at the height of nationalist agitation, he preferred statesmanship to mere political skill. As he said: "Mere politics is ... narrow; but true statesmanship is broad. Mere politics is often times unscrupulous and regardless of moral considerations in the pursuit of its lower ends; but real statesmanship having its eye on the abiding interests of the community, the race, or on the universal interests of humanity, and recognising the identity of man's permanent well-being in every plane and department of his life with the ideal of the highest good, the true ideal of ethics,—is always scrupulously watchful of the moral issues involved in every political or social struggle."14 When he went to England in 1919 for the third time as a member of Congress delegation in connection with constitutional reforms, he wrote in a letter as follows: "This time I have gained plenty of experiences... I have had to see to what lower level is placed our intellectual standard, our angle of vision and our ethical sense. I had to learn all these sorrowful lessons."15 And he was very much grieved to see that politics brings tragic estrangement even in social and personal relations. Speaking about his association with C. R. Das, when the latter died prematurely, he thus recollects: ".... Political disputes, unlike religious differences, create a serious cleavage in the friendly and personal relations of man. During the last five years, this sort of dispute had its play between myself and Chittaranjan. He did not come to me, nor did I approach him."16

An aversion to political activities occasionally sparked in Pal till the closing days of his life. It is somewhat paradoxical that a man undertaking political activism and seeking a political career should be so much enamoured of considerations of morality, intellect, friendly relations and statesmanship at the cost, and perhaps to the neglect even, of shrewdness, tactical manoeuvre or diplomatic devices which are the convenient norms in common

^{14.} Before the Bar of History, Bande Mataram, June 30, 1908.

^{15.} English rendering of *Pal's letter* dated Aug. 26, 1919, written in Bengali, to one of his relatives. Consulted from the personal collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.

^{16.} English rendering of his statement in Chittaranjan Katha (About Chittaranjan), *Bharatbarsa*, Bengali monthly, Part II, 2nd issue, 4th year, Agrahayana, 1332 B.E., p. 216.

politics and in a politician's career. Seldom is such a man successful in the political field. Nor was Pal.

The problem was that there was always a disquieting conflict in Pal between political activism and political thinking. Returning from England he started *Hindu Review*, a periodical, for the preservation of Indian culture and civilisation, promotion of world cultures, reconstruction of the British Empire in which India and Egypt could be equal co-partners of Great Britain and for the advancement of Universal Federation. This work demanded sound scholarship, combined with a chastened but powerful historic imagination and a supremely synthetic intellect."¹⁷

What then emerges from all this is that more than a political leader, Pal occupied a position of thought-leader in the realm of Indian politics. A dynamic intellectuality in our national life is exactly what he wanted. Going through history and the history of revolution thoroughly he observed even during the heat of Swadeshi days: "A record of the great Rebellion would mean but little to us....if we had not the writings of the Puritan Divines, and the products of the immortal genius of Milton, to illumine and interpret that tumultuous page of the history of England. The story of the French Revolution would simply impress upon our minds the hideous excesses of it,--if we had not the works of Voltaire and Rousseau and the general thought-record of the French Illumination . . . The thought-life of a people is their real life. The history of their thought is their true history."18 a month before his death he made a remark to the same effect. "The problem is," he reminded his countrymen for the last occasion, "how to save our ancient people from going back to their old soul-killing medievalism. It is really an intellectual problem. What is needed first and foremost of all is to revive the habit of clear and free thinking in our intellectual classes."19 This is a problem which perhaps troubled him more than anything else, for, he was sentient enough to realise the crucial fact that in any talk of "progress in the political field or the economic sphere, it must not be forgotten that no advance can be achieved if one's

^{17.} Hindu Review, Vol. I, January 1913, p. 3.

^{18.} An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, Ch. 'Fragment', p. 6.

^{19.} Current Comments, *Hindu*, an Anglo-Vernacular Weekly, Cal., Vol. 7, No. 1, April 16, 1932, p. 4.

intellectual being is permeated by servility and dependence."²⁰ In fact, whatever might have been his outward character as an activist or propagandist, his was a voice of liberalism, moderation and rationality. That was why, true to his words, he always sought to demarcate between good and evil, ignoring immediate loss or gain and always maintained a flair for bigger political problems and higher political ideas.

MONGOLIAN EXPANSIONISM

His exposition of the problem of Mongolian expansionism is an instance in this regard. A keen observer of world-situation, he wanted the British, early in 1908, to make India free and selfreliant, so that she might be powerful enough to put up a resistance to the combined invasion of its territory by China and Japan. If this was not done at the right time, Europe itself was likely to be overwhelmed subsequently by the expansive designs of Mongolian races.21 That the Chinese attempted to spread its suzerainty over Tibet and India with a startling rapidity during the first decade of the century, was amply brought out by Francis Younghusband in his article 'British action and its results.'22 China's belligerency was quickened at the instance of Japan which, defeating Russia in 1905, was rising as a mighty Asiatic power with slogans like, 'Japan for Japanese' or 'Asia for Asiatics.' Although there were rivalries between China and Japan, natural for two aspirants for suzerain control, efforts were also there for a mutual understanding.

Taking the situation into consideration, Pal, in a speech observed: "Quarrels occasionally break out between China and Japan. Shortsighted people imagine from this that they have no unity between them. As a matter of fact, China and Japan feign strife in order to delude the outside world. Japan has awoke, and China is awaking. If the 50 crores, which make up the population of these two countries, were to come into India, and India's 30 crores were to continue with them, the whole of Europe

^{20.} R. P. Paranjpye, The Crux of Indian Problems, Watts & Co. London, 1931, p. 112.

^{21.} See Navasakti, April 2, 1908, as quoted in Confidential Report on Native papers in Bengal, No. 15 of 1908, pp. 679-700.

^{22.} See The Times, London, Aug. 3, 1910.

will be conquered by them; whereas, if India had established her own self-government, then when the 50 crores of China and Japan advance, the 30 crores of India will confront them and obstruct their passage, and Europe will be saved."²³

The unity of purpose between China and Japan lay in the fact that both were being guided by a Pan-Mongolian sentiment. Pal thought that China and Japan, boisterous of military might, and animated by an identical ethical-racial sense of differentiation, which is called Mongolianism, would harbour a design to expand themselves beyond their own territories endangering the security and integrity of India. The fact that the three countries belonged to the same continent did not make for commonness, nor did provide any levelling process which would weld them into a realisation of being 'Asiatics'. "Can we say", he would ask, "that India and China are one in the sense in which Germany and England, for instance, are one? There are linguistic differences-there are economic conflicts and political feuds between the two people. But culturally Germany and England are one ... We cannot say the same thing of India and China or India and Japan. There have been interchanges between all these countries in the past; but India has an individuality of its own, which is different from the individuality of China and Japan or any other country which you include in the term Eastern."24

The danger from China and Japan was one of his firm convictions and he lost no chance to mention this as long as he lived. He drew a picture of the scourage of their possible invasions and thus wrote: "Japan, if ever it should be to her interest, the moment she is in conflict with the British Empire, will take advantage of the unprotected condition of your sea-board and you will be at the mercy of the first Japanese squadron that will visit your hospitable shores... Japan is not likely to come alone. It is likely that she will come with China. China is the only country in the world that has got a population equal to and greater than the population of India. China is the only country in the world which can billet ten Chinese soldiers in every important

^{23.} See Sanjivani, April 2, 1908, as quoted in Confidential Report on Native Papers in Bengal, No. 15 of 1908, p. 701.

^{24.} Union of the East and West, The Bengalee, Oct. 22, 1924. This is a talk given by Pal in Calcutta, before an enlightened gathering.

village in India and hold you down by sheer physical brute force."29

After the First World War militant Japan proceeded on the lines of careful calculation. Since 1921, following the Washington Conference,* she was found to be endeavouring to patch up her differences with China lauding the Conference as "a turning point in Sino-Japanese relations."28 Pal's prophecy regarding the danger of Mongolian expansionism has been proved by later history to be correct, though, of course, in a slightly different way. Japan and China did not combine but separately their expansionism became a menace to India in different periods. We see that just on the eve of the Second World War, Japan took it for granted that the Indians look on Japan as the leader in Asia and wanted "to make quite sure that Russia herself did not supplant England in India." The manner in which Japan wanted to assert her own control over India during the Second World War is a living memory for free Indians even today. More sordid were the Chinese machinations in attacking Indian territory in 1962. Before launching the attack, the Govt. of China started airing a grievance that the Sino-Indian boundary-lines delineated on Indian maps are "not based on any international treaty" and "what is more, are not based on tradition and custom."28 China also claimed that "the areas now disputed by the two sides have always belonged to China, not to India, with a considerable part of them remaining up to now under the effective control of the Chinese Government." In spite of her political transformation, China, like Japan, carried on a legacy of the past, her custom and tradition, which was destined to culminate in territorial ag-

^{25.} Pal, Responsible Government, Banerjee-Das & Co. Cal. 1917, p. 120.

^{*}Summoned on American initiative to discuss naval disarmament and the question of Far East.

^{26.} Y. Takenobu, *The Japan Year Book*, 1927, The Japan Year Book office, Haramachi Sanchome, Ushigone, Tokyo, 1927, p. 139, 144.

^{27.} Lt. Comdr. Tota Ishimaru, Japan must fight Britain, Hurst & Blackett Ltd., London, 1936, p. 232.

^{28.} Notes, Memoranda and letters exchanged between the Government of India and China, Nov. 1959-March. 1960, White Paper No. III. Govt. of India, 1960, p. 66.

^{29.} Ibid., March, 1960-Nov. 1960, White Paper No. IV, Govt. of India, 1960, p. 15.

grandisement and of which racialism was distinctly a vital factor. This has been how, what Pal called Mongolian expansionism, became a reality on Indian soil, and only the future can tell whether India is yet completely free from China's expansionist machinations.

PAN-ISLAMISM: A MENACE TO INDIAN NATIONALISM

Another danger about which Pal repeatedly warned his countrymen was the rise and growth of Pan Islamism in Indian Politics. There is no doubt that "between Jamal al-din al-Afghani who first conceived the idea of an utopian Central-Asian and North West Indian Muslim state in the 1880s, and Igbal, who, under al-Afghani's influence, worked out a political philosophy for it in 1930, the feeling of territorial separation was gradually, though not quite coherently, taking shape in the minds of the Indian Muslims."30 Pal found two aspects of this Pan-Islamic movement, one cultural and the other political. He was prepared to welcome Pan-Islamism if it were led by "the symbols and sacraments familiar to higher Islamic thought and culture,"31 which would enable the Indian Muslims to have a universal and rational way of life. This, he thought, was rather necessary for building up the composite Indian nation-hood. But the unhappy signs were that a section of Muslim leadership, instead of fostering brotherhood and fraternal unity, was determined to inject a sense of separateness into the Muslim masses by mixing up religious and cultural aspects of Islam with Indian politics. This political Pan-Islamism, which was "evidently represented by Mr Zafar Ali Khan and Syed Amir Ali and the Muslim League,"32 he thought to be a menace to Indian nationalism

When after the First World War, the Turkish Ottoman Empire was dismembered and the Khilafat movement was started by the Indian Muslim leadership for the restoration of the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Muslimdom, the Pan-Islamic spirit in Indian politics gained fresh momentum. Even then Pal suppor-

^{30.} Aziz Ahmed, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Calendon Press, Oxford, 1964, pp. 274-75.

^{31.} Pal, Pan-Islamic, in Nationality and Empire, p. 372. The article was written in May, 1913.

^{32.} Ibid., p. 390.

ted the Khilafat movement, for he considered that dismemberment of Turkey by the victorious powers was for their "self-aggrandisement, and not for the liberation of subject-peoples." Turkey, he demanded, must have the right of self-determination so that it could evolve as a modern state while preserving the great and abiding values of Islamic culture. This is what he wanted the Khilafat leadership in India to understand from the Turkish imbroglio. He could realise the upsurge of Muslim religious sentiment in India for the Turkish Khilafat. Therefore he strived hard to give the movement a rational and cultural turn so that it might not develop fanaticism and eventually take a wrong course.

But his pious expectation did not materialise. Rather the evils which were to his mind foreboded by the movement came to be a reality. The alliance between Mahatma Gandhi and Ali Brothers became really a case of diamond cut diamond. Gandhi included Khilafat as one of the props of his non-co-operation movement as he wanted to utilise it in his political battle against the British, while the Khilafat leaders exploited his influence to enlist the support of the Hindu-masses in their communal demonstrations. A quaint religiosity thus found its foothold in Indian politics. By their deeds and utterances, the Khilafat leadership showed that they had no interest in Indian nationalism. They, in fact, furthered idea of an omnipotent Pan-Islamic Federation and even thought of revival of a Moslem hegemony in India, On April 9, 1920, addressing a huge public meeting at Allahabad, in which Maulana Wilayat Hossain took the chair. Pal clearly declared: "I can honestly assure friends and foes alike that my interest in the Khilafat question is based upon broadest considerations of fundamental principles of politics."34 Again. at the joint Hindu-Muslim Khilafat Conference held at Allahabad in June of the same year, he warned about the dangers of the fanatical religiosity of the Khilafat movement.35

Disaster, however, was not long in coming. The Moplah rising in Malabar against the Hindus in 1921 gave positive indi-

^{33.} The World Situation and Ourselves, Banerjee-Das & Co., Cal., 1919, p. 10.

^{34.} For the full text of Pal's speech, see Musalman, weekly, Cal., Vol. XIV, No. 16, April 16, 1920. p. 2.

^{35.} Pal, Hindu-Muslim Conflict: Its Origin and Implications. the Englishman, May, 12, 1927.

cation that other parts of India might fall similar victims to fana-"The revival of the old Muslim outlook was signalised by the renewed activity of the Muslim League in 1924 and a series of Communal riots after 1923."36 In all this Pal saw the rapid inroads of Pan-Islamism and extra-territorial mentality in Indian political life. He implored the thinking section of the Indian Muslims to undertake a "Process of re-explanation, reinterpretation and re-adjustment" of their views, if Islam was "to count as a modern world-force, and make its contribution to the common life and thought of our age."37 He wanted that the Muslim leadership "must definitely abandon their old slogan that they are Muslims first and Indians next, but must frankly and cordially agree to consider themselves in all secular matters that they are Indians first and Muslims next. Upon this alone could there be any real settlement of the question of Hindu-Muslim unity."38 He forewarned that unless we were able to settle this matter in time, a stage would be coming soon when the very basis of Indian statehood would be in serious jeopardy,

Pointedly Pal raised his voice: "The problem of Swaraj must for the present be set aside, and all our quarrels with those in authority over us just now must be adjourned, until this immediate menace has been fought and conquered. This is what the Hindu-Muslim situation calls for, particularly, in Bengal." As things were allowed to drift, there emerged Hindu communalism as a counterblast to Muslim communalism, and Pal could foresee that India would be virtually turned into two combatant groups of people, the Hindus and the Muslims, each group "favouring even universal anarchy in the blind hope that out of this communal anarchy will inevitably emerge a Moslem or a Hindu Raj..."40 The mischievous role of the Britishers in the game also did not escape his notice, for Pan-Islamic sentiment was "deliberately ex-

^{36.} R. C. Mazumdar, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, p. 271.

^{37.} Pal, Territorial Vs. Extra-territorial Patriotism, editorial in, *The Bengalec*, Feb. 3, 1925.

^{38.} Pal, Pan-Islamism, The Bengalee, Feb. 8, 1925.

^{39.} India's Communal Canker, The Englishman, July 20, 1926.

^{40.} Pal, Lesson of Bakr-id: Maintenance of Law and Order, The Englishman, June 16, 1927.

ploited by the British rulers of India to the prejudice of the Hindu population of this continent."41

But neither during its advent, nor throughout the subsequent period when Pan-Islamism really posed a serious threat, was there any positive alertness in our national movement to thwart its invidious design. Pal, no longer a mass leader, could not naturally influence the people who were being passionately moved by the exclusive cause of liberation from foreign voke. Decades afterwards, Indian leadership could win Independence only after appeasing territorial separatism and accepting partition of the country on the basis of religion. Gandhi, in his later days, admitted the folly of supporting this spirit of Muslim separatism, which he called a policy of appeasement on the part of the Congress.⁴² He had once even said that partition could be effected only over his dead body.48 Jawaharlal Nehru, looking at the unholy mess of communal riots and bloodshed prevailing in different parts of India during 1946-1947, was consumed with a sense of hopelessness and thought that Indian Independence had come just a little too fast, before the problem of communalism had been solved.44 But all this sounded like confessions of some helpless souls if indeed it meant anything seriously at all.

IMPERIAL, FEDERATION; A FRAMEWORK FOR FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP

Dangers from China and Japan were brewing up. Pan-Islamism was adopting a menacing posture. The First World War only proved that "marvellous as has been the progress made by some races of mankind in the path of civilisation, still more stupendous are the changes made in the mode of warfare during the centuries and the ages that have rolled by since Abel was struck down by Cain and brother's blood was shed by a bro-

^{41.} Pal, King Amanullah and Britain: Indo-Islamic Situation, Forward, May 27, 1928.

^{42.} See Nirmal Kumar Bose, My Days with Gandhi, Indian Associted Publishing Co. Ltd., 1953, pp. 102-103.

^{43.} See Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1959, pp. 186-87.

^{44.} See Leonard Mosley, The Last Days of the British Raj, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, pp. 113, 285-86.

ther."45 All this made Pal more thoughtful and gave him a fresh ground to stimulate an essential element of his thinking,—the concept of Imperial Federation.

The idea, however, had been with him since long past. Writing in 1901, he subscribed to Mill's views that the work of colonization involves the future and permanent interests of civilisation, that it far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economic consideration and he wanted to exhort that Imperialism, in contradistinction to its evils, has also the grains of being transformed into a force of liberalism and progress. Again, in an article titled 'India and the Empire', written in 1902, the expressed similar views. He found that Great Britain was already moving towards a truly Imperial Federation in respect of white colonial countries, though she was wilfully reticent whenever the question of colonial India being incorporated in the Federation arose. The difficulty with Great Britain was that in respect of India she was still being guided by the negative aspect of Imperialism,—by a policy of domination and exploitation.

It may be noted that Pal expressed such views within a very short time after his first tour of England and America. In both these countries a section of liberal statesmen had been advocating the concept of 'imperial federation' as a just and practicable political goal.⁴⁸ It is quite likely that ever watchful as he was of world-thought-currents, he was considerably influenced by these ideas, though the magnitude of such influence is not easily discernible, for, he left no clue in this regard in his writings.

That even during the tumult of the Swadeshi movement he was not detached from this idea, has been shown in an earlier chapter.⁴⁹ But it cannot be denied that he did not sufficiently emphasise, the theme during those days. Offering an explanation in this regard he says: "The time was not ripe for it. To proclaim this ideal in 1905 or 1908 would have been suicidal for the Nationalist cause. Those were years of protest and self-assertion.

^{45.} Pal, The Evolution of War, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Aug. 23, 1915. Pal wrote in 'Patrika' for many years.

^{46.} See New India, Oct. 14, 1901, p. 152.

^{47.} See New India, Vol. 1, No. 45, July 3, 1902, pp. 710-11.

^{48.} See R. G. Adams, Political Ideas of the American Revolution, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York. 1958, p. 44.

^{49.} See Ch. V.

That protest and self-assertion was absolutely needed, (i) to awaken a new self-consciousness in the people, and (ii) to bring home to the British rulers of the country the supreme need of working up a reasonable reconciliation with the Nationalist Ideal. The general course of present-day world-politics also had not then commenced to reveal all their fearful possibilities—a revelation that has brought home to us also the supreme need of this reconciliation in our own interest as well.⁵⁰ The explanation, no doubt, stands on good reasons, but it does not answer the question as to how it could be worthy of a man like him, who cared so much for individual conviction, to refrain from asserting boldly his own belief during the period that he mentions. The answer surely lies in the fact that the overriding considerations of political activism during the period somewhat incapacitated him to touch upon this doctrine to the degree as he ought to have dene.

Freed, as he was during his stay in England in 1908-11, from direct involvement in political activities, he could witness how Great Britain recognised South Africa as a equal co-partner of the British Empire. He was present at the house of Mr W. T. Stead, where Botha, Stein, Smut and other Boer leaders were arguing their case for self-government. Though defeated in the Boer War by the British, those leaders came to England, spoke as the masters of the situation in their own country and dictated their terms to the British Cabinet. The liberal government of Great Britain had to concede their demand. Almost immediately afterwards, Australia and New Zealand were also given political status similar to that of South Africa. In addition to these events which he himself saw taking shape, he availed of an opportunity to refurbish his idea of Imperial Federation by participation in a conference in London on 'Dependent Nationalities and Subject Races', where he had some valuable exchange of views on the subject with Professor J. A. Hobson,⁵¹ In an interview with Mr W. T. Stead before his departure from England for India in 1911, he said: "I am more deeply impressed than ever I was with the immense influence which might be wielded in the future his-

^{50.} See, Introduction to 'Nationality and Empire', p. (x).

^{51.} See Pal, Responsible Government, pp. 3-5; also Pal, Nationality and Empire, pp. 3-5.

tory of the world by Britain and India acting together. Such co-partnership must be, of course, based upon a recognition of the right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner and not as a dependent in the Empire." Stead gave special stress on this point and commented: "... Mr Pal's views as to the desirability, in the interest of humanity, of the close working partnership between Britain and India are well worthy of the consideration of the statesman and philosopher, regardless of nationality." ¹⁵³

Coming back to India he devoted much time to assessing the significance of the doctrine. He saw that Hinduism was not merely a 'federal idea', but it went further, so much so that "India furnishes a model of that Universal Federation, the Federation of the World,"54 which humanity was aspiring for. He considered the European word 'independence' a negative term. "The corresponding term in our language is not Anadheenata, which would be a literal rendering of the English word independence but Swadheenata which is a positive concept."55 The idea of freedom contained in Indian culture bespeaks a more philosophical insight. "Where Europe talked of independence, India talked of self-dependence. Where Europe talked of freedom, meaning absence of restraint. India preached self-restraint. the moment we realise this great inheritance of modern India in her ancient thought and culture, we are able to take up a platform immensely higher than any that the freedom-movements of Europe have so far been able to rise to. The peculiar value and distinction of our concept Swadheenata (self-dependence) and Swatantra (self-subjection) lies in the grandeur of the connotation of the word Swa or self. This Swa is both the individual self and the Universal self; and the two are really one. To speak in the terms of the Trinitarian theology, the individual self and the Universal self are one Ouisia, or essence, but different in hypostatis or appearance. And man's range of real freedom or self-dependence as we would call it, expands in proportion as he is able

^{52.} W. T. Stead, 'Mr Bipin Chandra Pal: Nationalist-Imperialist,' Review of Reviews, Vol. XLIV, No. 262, Oct. 1911, p. 341.

^{53.} Ibid., p. 342.

^{54.} Pal, The Soul of India, p. 141.

^{55.} Pal, Hindu Nationalism: What it stands for, in Nationality and Empire, p. 33. The article was written in January, 1912.

to realise his unity with the Universal Self." In these views he comes very close to the modern concept of positive freedom or the modern concept of liberty in a positive sense. Ideally therefore, Pal could not accept 'independence' as a desirable object which, according to him, works not for the Universalisation of our social, economic or political relations, but for their circumscription and isolation.

From the practical standpoint also he considered the future of Indian Swaraj better assured through her membership of the Imperial Federation than through wilful and reckless severance from it. And this is what he says: "... If India is able to attain full freedom of self-determination and self-government, as an equal partner in the British Empire, she will be able to control and direct, by her moral and spiritual influence, not only the course of imperialist evolution within the British Commonwealth of Nations, but also outside it. It will remove the fatal temptations of a revived temporal Empire of Islam from the Islamic populations of India and the Islamic peoples of the world. It will also offer an effective check to Japanese and Chinese imperialist ambitions, while its influence even upon European politics and history will not be negligible. The British Empire means practically India materially to-day. But when she enters into equal partnership with the Dominions and the United Kingdom in this Empire, India will mean the British Empire, normally and spiritually. And she will be able to curb and control the suicidal materialistic tendencies of this Empire. No Imperialist enterprise will then be possible"57

Pal was convinced that India had arrived almost at the parting of ways and that Great Britain was going to give up her suzerainty over India, sooner or later, in her own interest. The only course open before Great Britain would be to maintain with India a fraternal connection of mutual interest, for she would not by attempting to keep India in a state of subjection run the risk of losing India altogether, involving the possibility of India's going into the hands of her enemies. Though frequently irked

^{56.} Pal, The claim for National Independence: Freedom and Fellowship, The Englishman, Oct. 18, 1921.

^{57.} India, the Empire and the World: Independence of Federation, The Englishman, Oct. 20, 1921.

by the irresponsibility of British politicians, he noticed that the concept of the British Commonwealth of Nations was undergoing a rapid change in the British constitutional system. "The new idea is that of federation and equal partnership among different free states for the protection of common interests and the promotion of general well being."

In such a federation, when India joins it as a federal state. "all that will happen is that in the control of her foreign and inter-Dominion policy and action, India like the other members of the Federation, will have to be guided by the common voice of the Federal States. This Federation, when it is properly and finally constituted, will necessarily have its own Cabinet or Council of the Empire. In this Council of the Empire, India will have an equal place and an equal vote with representatives of Great Britain and the other self-governing Dominions. But submission to the decisions of the Federal Council in all inter-Dominion or inter-national questions will not in any way destroy her title to sovereignty or her freedom except to the extent that every association does restrict individual freedom." "30"

But he made it perfectly clear that in India under Swaraj the position of the British Parliament must be completely changed. "The Indian executive will be absolutely subject to the Indian legislatures, as the Indian legislatures will be entirely responsible to and removable by Indian constituencies. The attainment of real democratic self-government or responsible government in India must mean the ultimate transference of the authority of the British Parliament over Indian Administration to Indian Legislatures." ⁵⁶⁰

This is how he built up the gamut of his idea of a free and sovereign Indian state. This is how he put forward "India's claim to be admitted, through equal partnership in the Federation of British Free States, into the comity of modern civilised States and to an absolutely equal place in the great experiment of the League of Nations with the other members of the League." ⁶¹

^{58.} Pal, The Revolutionary Mind, The Bengalee, April, 18, 1925.

^{59.} Pal, Constitutional Advance: The Crux of the Problem, The Englishman, Aug. 4, 1927.

^{60.} Racial Problem in India: Need of Clear understanding. The Englishman Oct. 28, 1927.

^{61.} Ibid.

His was definitely an attempt to unite nationalism wiith internationalism, to adjust national sovereignty with the comity of nations. The Imperial Federation of his ideas was nothing but a World-Federation and in his life-time he could visualise the Commonwealth or League of Nations as the surest means to establish such universal fellowship. He could reach the highest apex of world-thought that was prevailing in the matter during his time and could also foresee its future trend. But he died about a decade before the trend found a broader dimension in the shape of the United Nations Organisation.

In Indian politics, old guards like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta and others enjoined the idea of an Empire which was limited within the orbit of self-governing institutions of the colonial type under British paramountcy. Though differing with them fundamentally, and sometimes bitterly, Pal was surely influenced by their liberalism to some extent. But he showed a characteristic distinctness from them in interpreting the Empire idea on a broader and deeper perspective. From 1911 onward he is found to be relentlessly preaching this ideal of Imperial Federation, and during 1915-1918, all the leaders of Home Rule movement, in which he himself played a propagandist role, conceived of India's political freedom within the Empire. 62 But here again, he went ahead of others in proclaiming even at the initial stage that the movement should be for a free and federal state within Imperial Federation. 63 With the advent of Gandhian movement and the politics of the Swarajya Party, the irresistible cry of complete or isolated 'Independence', however, began to be heard in Indian national life. Pal was still found to be holding fast to his ideas knowing it well that he was getting out of tune with the popular upsurge. It is, however, interesting to note that C. R. Das, the leader of the Swarajya Party, during the close of his life in 1925 could see "signs of reconciliation everywhere" and said: "Empire and idea gives us a vivid sense of many advantages. Dominion status today is in

^{62.} How India can save the Empire, edited by Wadia, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1918. The booklet contains some articles on the claims of Home Rule written by Pal, C. R. Das, Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Annie Besant, M. A. Jinnah, B. G. Horniman, Khaparde and others.

^{63.} Pal, A Federal Home Rule Association for India, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Dec. 25, 1915.

no sense servitude."⁶⁴ And Mahatma Gandhi, the non-co-operator, even in 1929 could think of maintaining a connection with British Empire and saw the scope for an understanding between the leaders of the British people and the leaders of the Indian people. "My position", he said, "is very clear. To me, Dominion status means Independence. Others have been led, through suspicion of Britain's good faith, and partly also, I am afraid, for their own party purposes, to make a distinction between the two."⁶⁵ But Pal had to pay dearly because neither 'suspicion' nor 'party-purposes' would damp down his intellectual probity and farsighted vision.

FREEDOM THROUGH PEACEFUL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS

Since revolution is detestable and since the dangers to India, wider international situations and a higher political philosophy suggest undesirability of isolated Independence, the logical way to India's freedom lies through peaceful and constitutional means. Pal never under-estimated the need and efficacy of constitutional reforms in the advancement of India's political freedom. He desired "to gradually have a popular government in India" with this belief that "whatever may be the scheme of election the spirit of popular government is identical with that of Parliamentary government." Repeatedly he urged the necessity of an open and candid declaration from the King and the British Parliament recognising the absolute legitimacy of India's claim to popular government.

Mr E. S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, made his famous declaration in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, to the effect that gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire was the new policy of His Majesty's Government. This impelled Pal to submit an exhaustive Memorandum to

^{64.} Das' Faridpur-Speech as in The Bengalee, May 2, 1925.

^{65.} Gandhi's statement to a representative of The Englishman, Englishman, January 3, 1929.

^{66.} Pal, Lord Morley's Reforms, Swaraj, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1, 1909, p. 10.

Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. In the Memorandum, he attributed the declaration to the combination of two things. First, the internal condition of India created by Home Rule movement, and second, the condition of the Empire, the general state of world-politics and the "unmistakable trend of the coming evolution of world-history." He welcomed the declaration, for, responsible government, in the true sense of the term, would, "strengthen the hands of the party of Nationalist-Imperialists who believe in the possibility of the full and complete National self-realisation and self-fulfilment of India inside the British connection." The points that he made in the Memorandum found consistent development in his subsequent views on reforms.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Constitutional Reforms was published in July, 1918, and shortly after was issued the Rowlatt or Sedition Committee Report. "The two were read together, and educated Indians can hardly be blamed for the conclusions they drew... Indians, who had confidently expected that the end of the War would bring a complete change in their status, now saw the Government of India taking new powers for repressive action, and found little comfort in the prospect of Mr Montagu's experimental reforms..." The Policy of Dyarchy which Montagu-Chelmsford Report evolved fell far short of the commitment made by Montagu himself in the House of Commons. In the extraordinary session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, Pal vehemently criticised the proposals and advised his countrymen still further to maintain "the great moral pressure" upon the

^{67.} The Memorandum does not contain publisher's name and date of publication. Evidently, it was published in 1917, when Montagu came to India to collect Indian opinions on the contemplated reforms. It bears the caption Memorandum on the Recent Declaration of Policy, and the steps that should be taken in pursuance of it. Submitted' to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, by Bipin Chandra Pal. Printed at Sree Gauranga Press, Cal., it consists of foolscap-size 18 pages. Consulted from the personal collections of Sj. Jnananian Pal.

^{68.} Ibid., p. 4.

^{69.} Ibid., p. 15.

^{70.} Thompson and Garratt, Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, p. 604.

^{71.} See Proceedings of the meeting in Amrita Bazar Patrika, July 18, 1918.

British statesmen in order to compel them to honour their declaration for responsible government. He moved the resolution, supported by C. R. Das, "that the proposals as a whole are disappointing and unacceptable and do not meet the exigencies of the situation."⁷²

When the Reforms became an enactment as Govt. of India Act, 1919, the Amritsar Congress of 1919 passed a resolution which incorporated the very words which Pal had earlier used at the Bengal Provincial Conference, saying that Congress would so work the Reforms as to secure early establishment of full responsible government. Later on, the Nagpur Congress of 1920 resolved to attain Swaraj through peaceful and legitimate methods which also reflected one of Pal's proclaimed beliefs. As a matter of fact, regarding Reforms and Council-politics he stuck all through to what he said at the open session of the Amritsar Congress: "We would co-operate where co-operation would mean advancement of common cause and would obstruct where interest of the country demanded it."78 And outside the Council-arena, he stood for the preservation of an unified strength of the people, for keeping alive vigorous pressure of public opinion upon the Government. Public opinion should be roused not only in India, but also in Great Britain and America and particularly by maintaining a fraternal connection with the British Labour Party.

He strongly felt the desirability of our being in alliance with the British Labour and Socialist forces, the need of fostering an identical interest between the Indian and British working classes, which would greatly facilitate our march towards a much larger and substantial measure of constitutional reform along real, responsible and democratic lines. "And every day the conviction grows strong in me." be wrote from London in 1919, "that if a peaceful settlement of the problem of Indian freedom comes at all, it will come only through the influence, if not the agency of British Labour men, in Parliament and the constituencies. This will come, not through their generosity... British Labour is gradually and increasingly coming to realise it that the existence of

^{72.} Ibid.

^{73.} Biswanath Chakravarti, The Amritsar Resolution and the Nationalists, Amrita Bazar Patrika, June 5, 1920.

^{74.} Pal, The Congress Propaganda in England, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 11, 1919.

a dependent Empire, that is large tracts if territories with undeveloped or ill-developed natural resources and teeming millions of frugal and abstemious humanity living on a very low standard of comforts, and supplying therefore an almost inexhaustible source of cheap labour supply, constitutes the greatest stronghold of capitalist exploitation, and consequently, a very serious menace to the future of British Labour itself. The British Labourmen are commencing to foresee that Indian resources and Indian labour exploited by British capital will dump Indian goods upon their home-markets and upon the markets of the world, to an extent that will be bound to tell upon British industries and thus hurt the interests of the British working men ultimately. And in the recognition of this menace to their vital economic interests that is coming from the capitalist exploitations of the dependent Empire, lies our hope of securing the powerful support of the British workers in the fight for India's freedom on constitutional and peaceful lines."75

This was broadly what Pal meant by peaceful and legitimate "Peaceful and legitimate method is only a paraphrase of what is generally known as constitutional method."76 Underlying this method would be an articulate public opinion, both inside and outside the country, that would continue to persuade or force the government to move towards our political goal. But our final achievement would considerably depend upon the working of international forces in a direction in which Great Britain, from the view point of her self-interest, would be found to have been placed in a very pressing situation. This is what he wrote in 1925: "The last war forced the present reform (i.e. Montagu-Chelmsford reforms) upon the British statesmanship. The next war will be bound to complete the process of democratic transformation which the last war openly started."77 In this process of transformation, he was rather elated to assert, the Indian Nationalists had been leading and would lead British political think-

^{75.} Congress Propaganda in England, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 14, 1919.

^{76.} Pal's speech on 'Present Political Situation' delivered at an all-party meeting. See proceedings of the meeting in the Bengalee, January 13, 1925.

^{77.} The Indo-European Community, editorial, The Bengalee, January 18, 1925.

ing. He pointed out that at the beginning of the century, the British masters always spoke and wrote of the duty of maintaining British 'Rule' over India. He was one of those pioneers who entered a protest against the idea that inspired the use of the term 'rule' and urged substitution of it by the word 'connection', urging that if British connection was to endure, India's subjection to Great Britain must be removed. "Gradually even British Parliamentarians and responsible ministers of the British Crown, commenced to push this 'rule' to the limbo of the past, and put forward the phrase, British connection" a connection by which he distinctly meant a relationship with the real democratic ideals of Great Britain, with the British working classes and labour leadership.

Thus the way to political freedom, according to Pal, is by gradual, but steady steps of advancement, remodelling and reconstructing our national life. It could not be otherwise with a man who was a scrupulous follower of the principles of evolution in every department of social life.

सन्यमेव जयन

^{78.} Pal, Evolution of British Imperial Thought: Where India leads, The Englishman, Nov. 4, 1926.

CHAPTER VI

IN THE REALM OF CONFRONTATION

CLASH OF IDEALS: PAL AND GANDHI

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms on the one hand outwardly constituted a transition in British political thinking and on the other they inwardly marked a new epoch in Indian national life, bringing eventually into open confrontation of two opposing political ideologies—one born of the then existing political contingency and the other seeking to combat that contingency with its legacy of the Swadeshi-days. The clash of ideals between Pal and Gandhi forms an appendage to this phase of our national history.

At the Amritsar Congress of 1919, Pal, Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi-all the three-stood for working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But they differed in their interpretation of the spirit in which they should work the scheme in practice. Pal stood for 'opposition' and Tilak for 'responsive co-operation', Gandhi's stand was one of 'loyal co-operation'. In between the period of Amritsar Congress and the special session of Calcutta Congress in Sept. 1920, Pal, on being invited by Pandit Motilal Nehru, took over the editorial chair of Independent, an Allahabad daily.2 Enunciating a policy of 'Parliamentary opposition', so that the authorities would be forced to grant our demand for responsible government within a short period, he wrote in that paper: "The object of the opposition is by every means in their power to create opinion in the constituencies against the Government, Bad measures we shall oppose because they are bad, good measures we shall oppose because they ought to have been better. Legitimate

^{1.} Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle, Thacker-Spink & Co. Ltd., Cal., 1948, p. 66.

^{2.} Pal joined *The Independent* as editor sometime in April, 1920. After a couple of months, however, he cut off his connection with that paper because of his difference of opinion with Pandit Motilal Nehru on Gandhian politics. See Pal. Experiences of a veteran journalist. *The Bengalee*, Aug. 24, 1924.

and constitutional obstruction must be our policy." He thus envisaged the role of the opposition in a parliamentary democracy and it was essentially as an ancillary to this objective that he declared: "Non-co-operation must, therefore, be our cry and policy."

He was prepared to extend the principles of non-co-operation outside the Council on some specific issues, by which he meant withholding of co-operation from the Government up to a limited extent. Before the commencement of the Special Session of Congress in Calcutta, he delivered four lectures expounding his ideas on non-co-operation. He thought absolute non-co-operation impossible and declared: "What they call non-co-operation is what we call passive resistance." And since he repudiated revolutionary criminalism, he wanted that non-co-operation, as a constitutional movement, must work within certain limits. "Absolute non-co-operation can never be a Constitutional movement.... The primary function of every State or Government is the preservation of peace and order. Therefore, any movement which strikes at the primary functions of the State cannot call itself a constitutional movement."

The fact is that Pal had his own conception of 'non-co-operation' which he endeavoured to introduce in Indian political literature and at the Nagpur Congress he actually recalled how in the columns of *Independent* he "wrote day after day that non-co-operation was our only remedy and our last chance." Comments *Standard Bearer*: "It was the *Independent*... who perhaps has every right to claim to have first introduced in Indian political literature the very word non-co-operation... It was really introduced to indicate a policy which openly opposed Mr Gandhi's policy of 'loyal co-operation' for which he fought so strenuously at Amritsar." Therefore, when Gandhi clearly announced

^{3, 4.} As quoted in Biswanath Chakravarti's 'The Amritsar Resolution and the Nationalists', Amrita Bazar Patrika, June 5, 1920.

^{5.} Pal, Non-co-operation (Four lectures), The Indian Book Club, Cal., 1920.

^{6.} Ibid., p. 20.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 68.

^{8.} Report of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress, 1920, p. 73.

^{9.} Vol. 2, No. 12, Nov. 14, 1921, pp. 141-142.

his plan of non-co-operation in the later part of 1920, Pal saw little or nothing new in it as an idea. To him it appeared as a revival of the old nationalist ideal and policy of Swaraj and Passive Resistance. Later, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose also held that the plan which Gandhi had placed before the Congress and the country was not altogether new in as much as it represented the features of the Swadeshi movement in which Pal had taken the leadership and refused to recognise British jurisdiction.¹⁰

At the Calcutta Special Congress, Gandhi moved his non-cooperation resolution giving an outline of his contemplated movement. Pal moved an amendment to the effect that in the first instance a representative Indian Mission be sent to the British Prime Minister to lav before him the statement of India's griev ances, coupled with a demand for immediate Autonomy. In the meanwhile the country be recommended to give consideration Gandhi's programme through a representative Committee and carry on preparatory propaganda. He differed seriously on bocott of the Councils. Gandhi believed that a greater service coult be rendered to the nation from outside the Council Room than from within. Pal, supported by C. R. Das and Madan Movies Malaviya, held that they could more fruitfully carry on that v fight of non-co-operation, with this additional weapon in the hands rather than without it, specially as the weapon had beacquired by them and not obtained by charity. He related past history of Swadeshi movement in Bengal and detailed a reasons of its failure. With the lesson of that failure in his many he counselled more discerning and wary steps and emphasithe need for educative and constructive propaganda before law ching immediately a movement in an over-sanguine manner. could not subscribe to Gandhi's idea of paralysing the government and urged on a scheme of qualified non-co-operation. And most disturbing point for him was Gandhi's too much advocfor Khilafat. But in spite of all his arguments and enchanoratory be lost ground and Gandhi had his day.11

Almost immediately after the Session, he sent a length ter to Pandit Motilal Nehru, in which he explained his differ-

^{10.} The Indian Struggle, p. 70.

^{11.} M. R. Jayakar, The Story of My Life, Vol. I, Asia Publication, Bombay, 1958, pp. 375-399; also see report in The Statement, Vol. I, No. 5, Sept. 12, 1920, p. 37.

with Gandhi and asked Nehru to relieve him of the editorial responsibility of Independent. A part of the letter goes on to say: "As a boy of eighteen. I would not sacrifice my conviction to obey my father; as a youngman I rose to revolt against Keshub Chandra Sen when he developed pontifical tendencies. I fear these a million-fold more in politics. I cannot lend myself to this new spirit of hero worship in the masses which kills people's freedom of thought and practically paralyses, by the dead-weight of unreasoning reverence, their individual conscience. I am not blind to the possibilities of good in the great hold that Mahatmaji has got on the populace. But there is the other side, and in the earlier stages of democracy these personal influences, particularly when they are due to inspiration of medieval religious sentiments. are simply fatal to its future."12 This anxiety to restrain the advent of personality-cult in Indian politics through the replenishment of modern democratic ideals, led him to add the word 'Democratic Swaraj' in the resolution moved by Gandhi at the Nagpur Congress. He considered it the distinct duty of the Congress to make clear to the emerging generation "the form of government that we must have in India in consonance with the spirit and traditions of our people, and in consonance with the spirit of modern thought and culture."13 But he lost his point at the Subjects Committee meeting.

Gandhi launched his non-co-operation movement on 1st of August 1920. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, meanwhile, acquiesced in Gandhi's leadership, becoming more concerned with a campaign against the foreign rule than with the ideals of Swaraj. Motilal said: "What Mahatma Gandhi and Srijut Das have declined to do, and very rightly so, is to commit themselves to the precise form of Swarajya at the present moment... The fact that we are insisting on the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs being redressed as a condition precedent to Swarajya, furnishes the key to the whole position." He further stated: "Nonviolence is the effective part, the blade of our sword. Non-co-

^{12.} Pal's letter, dated Sept. 10, 1920 to Pt. Motilal Nehru. Consulted from the personal collection of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.

^{13.} Report of The Thirty-fifth Session of the Indian National Congress, 1920, p. 57.

^{14.} The Struggle for India, Akra Publishing House, Madras, Year of publication not mentioned.

operation is but the hilt. If you wish to use the weapon effectively abide by the instructions of him who is both the inventor of the weapon and leader of the men who are armed with it." Motilal's statement is representative of the attitude held by the stalwarts of the non-co-operation movement and it was too much to expect that a man of Pal's temperament would reconcile himself to such line of thinking.

Still fighting a lost battle, Pal wanted to give Gandhian nonco-operation movement a complexion of rationality and constructiveness when it had already assumed a massive scale. made this attempt in his Presidential speech delivered at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Barisal in March, 1921.16 In the speech he reiterated the principles of non-co-operation earlier stated by him in his 'Non-co-operation (four lectures)', explained the implications of European Illumination and the principles of Democratic Swaraj and pleaded for an irresistible moral pressure upon the government that would "persuade them, in their own interest to offer an honest and honourable settlement of the present dispute."17 He stressed the point that non-co-operation would assume regional characters broadly divided between the politico-culturally advanced and un-advanced areas of the country. Making a plea for reorientation of the movement on those linesfailing which some kind of degeneration and imbalance caused by the mutual impact of the advanced and unadvanced sectors would result—he said: "conditions are different in different provinces, and though it may be conceded that the non-co-operation propaganda in the provinces should generally follow the non-cooperation resolution of the Nagpur Congress, complete freedom must be given to them to take up particular items of this programme and emphasise these more than the others with a view to suit provincial temperaments or conditions."18 These temperaments and conditions, rightly speaking, are socio-cultural behaviour patterns, what MacIver calls 'socio-cultural complex', which

^{15.} Ibid.

^{16.} Pal, Bengal Provincial Conference Session, Barisal, 1921, Presidential Address, Publisher—Suresh Chandra Deb, 55-B, Sankaripara Road, Calcutte, 1921.

^{17.} Ibid., p. \$8

^{18.} Ibid., p. 81.

are the characteristics of multilingual regions of India. He could see that a national movement like non-co-operation must inevitably rest itself on these diversified traits of our social set up.

He delivered his Presidential speech on March 25. On the next day a mass meeting was held outside the pandal of the conference, where indignation was expressed by several delegates at the spirit in which he had treated Gandhi's programme in his speech. In that meeting C. R. Das totally dissociated himself from Pal's contention stating that 'Swaraj was Swaraj and that Swaraj did not specify any scheme or any form of Government'. Pal could see the inevitable shape of things to come, found himself isolated and realised the futility of making any further efforts to remodel the movement on his own ideas. In closing the Conference, he addressed some more words to the gathering—words uttered for the last time from the Congress platform—and these were as follows:

"I have not been able to give what many of you wanted. The honest truth is, I have absolutely failed to give what I think the vast majority of this conference wanted. You wanted enthusiasm and inspiration, I have failed to inspire either in you. You wanted magic, I tried to give you logic. But logic is a bad odour when the popular mind is excited. I have never spoken a halftruth when I have known the truth, I have never tried to lead the people in faith blind-folded; I have never accepted anything on trust from anybody and I have always thought it a great wrong to the fundamental rights of human reason and conscience to wish, much less to demand, that my opinion and ideas should be accepted on trust even by the youngest and most inexperienced of my fellow beings. I knew that all of you would not entirely agree with the view I take about the non-co-operation movement But I never dreamt that there would be any protest against my presentation of the ideal of Swaraj. This protest, coming from one who is the leader of the present movement in Bengal, has given me the greatest surprise of my life. I have been asked -- why seek to define Swaraj? Why call it democratic or lanything else? Swaraj is Swaraj. Swaraj is to be felt within and not defined by words' . . . I confess that I am very much perplexed. My only salvation from this confusion lies in accepting one of those various authorities as established on Divine revelation and rejecting the others as human fancies."

"You may not think it expedient to speak out your mind just now, lest it should interfere with your propaganda or make people sober or circumspect. But a day of reckoning will come when the people will find out that they have been dreaming of one thing and you were talking of another. It happened even to Jesus. But the 'unkindest cut' of all was the denunciation of my humble attempt to place before you an idea of what the constitution of the Government of India ought to be when we have got Swaraj. I now see that all that is not wanted. Any desire to see the future is not only undesirable, but positively wrong. 'Sell all thou hast and follow me' is the new call. I regret my inability to accept pontifical authority in politics after I have discarded it in religion. If this be the new gospel of Swaraj, I am afraid, some people will find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree with those who proclaim or accept this gospel. I for one have no option but to part company with them. Conscience demands this practical protest against a tendency which I believe to be fatal to our future."19

But even the delivery of his last words was occasionally interrupted by the delegates present in the meeting. visibly excited and wanted to leave the pandal, but was persuaded to stay.20 Thus, for the first time in his life the chief architect of Swadeshi movement, whom Aurobindo once called "the most powerful brain at present at work in Bengal,"21 was humbled by the impertinent behaviour of an impatient audience. While Gandhi in an oblique reference justified his 'following in Bengal' on the ground that Pal's attempt was 'premature,'22 the nationalist press considered his conduct unfortunate and reprehensible. An example of sophisticated contempt for him was provided by a periodical, which, writing under the caption 'The coming and passing of Logic-dom', observed: "The last cry, at once tragic and pathetic, of that India which is passing away is singularly summed up in the Barisal wail-I come to give you logic, not magic, and ye would not have it.' Discoursing on logic from

^{19.} Proceeding of the meeting as in The Statesman, March 29. 1921.

^{20.} Ibid

²¹ On Nationalism, (First Series), Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1965, p. 74.

^{22.} Pal, Topics of the Day, The Englishman, Oct. 31, 1921.

an academic height at this crisis of our national life, and especially at that particular time and place reads not unlike the story of the philosopher standing on the brink and arguing with a drowning man crying for help."23

Surendranath's The Bengalee also at first characterized Pal's Barisal speech as an instance of "confusion worse confounded" for "the way in which he has gone into the questions of Initiative, Recall and Referendum as the most effective safeguard of democracy will puzzle the understanding not only of the general readers, but even of deep students of comparative politics."24 almost immediately afterwards it wrote in a contrary vein: "The address of Babu Bepin Chander Pal at the Barisal Conference conclusively shows that the non-co-operation movement is based on rather shaky foundations ... In subjecting it (i.e. Swarai) to close and critical examination, Mr Pal has given to Mr Gandhi's position a vital blow and sounded its death-knell."25 The Statesman, however, in its main editorial on the event in its issue of March 30, 1921, considered Pal an acute theoretical political thinker, an austere democrat, and added: "In this appeal for goodwill Mr Bipin Chandra Pal echoes the teachings of all the great moralists, who have taught throughout the ages that it is better to try and see the good in another than the bad"

Pal, in fact, had fundamental differences with Gandhi over the question of non-co-operation, passive resistance and civil disobedience movements. To the extent Gandhi's passive resistance or Satyagraha prescribed a way in which "the opposing parties have to come to some kind of agreement with one another by means of negotiation," he would be in perfect agreement. But Gandhi launched his non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements with a call to destroy 'Satanic' British government and

^{23.} The World and the New Dispensation, (Weekly), Cal., Thursday, April 21, 1921, p. 4.

^{24.} Editorial captioned, Presidential address at the Conference, March 27, 1921.

^{25.} Editorial captioned, Mr Pul and the situation, March, 31, 1921.

^{26.} N. K. Bose, Gandhiji—The Man and his Mission, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1966, p. 22. Reader may note that for similar interpretation of non-co-operation at the Barisal Conference, Pal could only evoke hostility.

starting at the same time a no-tax campaign. And here Pal differed with him seriously. He did not believe in absolute non-co-operation. He thought non-co-operation a policy of endurance and tolerance, "really a game of patience. No people can permanently or for long non-co-operate with their Government." Non-co-operation through passive resistance or civil disobedience must, to be kept non-violent, scrupulously follow the rule of law. A general call to paralyse the government, he thought, would make our civic life impossible driving the movement out of constitutional channel.

He never underestimated the great mass-upsurge generated by Gandhian non-co-operation or civil disobedience movement. But he apprehended that the manner in which the movement was being conducted would ultimately make it violent creating a situation for revolutionary activities. He asked to bear in mind how the movement started by Pym and Hampden in England, irredentists of the American War of Independence and the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, resulted in violent configration although those movements were initially started with a policy of nonviolent non-co-operation.²⁸ Moreover, the vital question was, how far a calculated call for disobedience or violation of established laws would be conducive to the growth of civic character among the people. Thus he remarked at the last phase of his life: "The good that these movements have done is as undeniable as the evils that have come in their wake. These evils will be bound to manifest themselves more and more after the present conflict is over and Indian leadership comes to its own. Disobedience is easy to instigate, but exceedingly difficult to lay when the need of it is over. What the Indian leaders are sowing today, they will have to reap inevitably when they are charged with the responsibility of law and order themselves."29

The achievements and failures of Gandhi's movements have since been brought to light by different writers from different directions. Gandhi himself admitted some of the shortcomings of his movements in his later days. The preeminence of Pal lies

^{27.} Pal, India and British Public Opinion, The Englishman, Oct. 29, 1921.

^{28.} Pal, The Situation, The Englishman, Nov. 23, 1921.

^{29.} Evils of Civil Disobedience Movements and Boycott, The Englishman, January, 26, 1931.

in the fact that he was the first among Indian leaders of importance who had the courage to point out some of the negative features of Gandhi's politics at a time when criticism of Gandhi was thought to be an act of denigration. That the revolutionaries hibernated under Gandhi's movement is clear from a statement made by M. N. Roy, then a staunch revolutionary, in the twen-Thus he wrote in 1923; "Towards the end of 1921, the movement reached its climax. The revolutionary rank and file overwhelmed the pacifist leadership of petty bourgeoisie."30 In a very searching and original contribution on Gandhi's philosophy, a distinguished scholar has in recent times shown how largescale outbreaks of violence have so often followed non-violent campaigns, "for the danger of a riotous return of violence always remains at least latent if we do not succeed in imbuing essential daily experiences with a Satyagraha-of-everyday-life." Pal's contention about regional variations in the character of the nonco-operation movement has also been vindicated by the revealing research of an Australian scholar.32

At times, C. F. Andrews was also critical of Gandhi's acti-

- 30. Roy, New Orientation in Indian Nationalism, as reproduced in *The Radical Humanist*, Vol. 34, No. 6, Sept. 1970, p. 24.
- 31. Erik H. Erikson, Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1969, p. 234.
- 32. Prof. David E. U. Baker "Linguistic Regions in Conflict: A study of the Nationalist Movement in the Central Provinces and Berar India, 1919-1939", Moonje Dosier, National Library, Cal. Prof. Baker wrote this draft-paper in January 1968. Reading his paper, I found a striking resemblance between his contention and that of Pal. (wrote to him seeking certain clarification and in his letter dt. 26.6.70, he wrote me back as follows: "I stand by my assertion in the paper, which you have, that in different parts of India the non-co-operation campaign assumed different aspects. I think that the campaign in the Marathi districts of the old Central Provinces and that in the Hindi region of province excellently illustrate my case Further to this subject, my former Ph.D. supervisor in Canberra (Australia), Dr Ravinder Kumar, who is now professor of History at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, is bringing out a book towards the end of this year showing how the Rowlatt Satvagraha as of 1919 differed in style and intensity from place to place throughout India. I think the proposition is entirely rational, and would be surprised, especially in this country, if people in one part of the country did things in the same way as people in another part. You may take it that my draft materials are entirely in keeping with your line of argument."

So was Rabindranath Tagore, who held that the idea of non-co-operation was 'political asceticism'.34 But one was a missionary and the other a man of literature, while Pal was in the political field. None did, therefore, evoke so much protest and indignities from the contemporaries as did Pal for his opposition to Gandhi. No body could then realize nor perhaps have many as yet been able to sufficiently realise it even today, that possessed of all the antecedents of our national politics, he could have some genuine ideological conflict with Gandhian political creed and dogma. A study of his writings on Gandhi would show that in his criticism there are no vulgarities, no unreasoned denunciation, no gibe, no attempt to turn the main issue into side channels, but an appeal to reason east in a mould which reveals great beauty and depth of thought. As he said, ".... There was nothing personal in this fight, though the Mahatma's followers did not hesitate to attribute personal motives to me."35

That he had no personal motive against Gandhi, save and except honest ideological differences, is proved by the fact that he paid the highest compliments to Gandhi on some momentous occasions. When Gandhi was flung into prison and made to break stones in South Africa for his movement on the issue of Indian settlers, it was he, who addressing a crowded meeting in London, said: Every stroke of Mr Gandhi's hammer on the stones meant a stroke on the shackles which bond (sic) their country (i.e. India); every piece of stone severed from another piece by that hammer was a link removed from the chain which bond (sic) them (i.e. Indians) to the Mother country (i.e. British Empire)."³⁶ Again, when Gandhi restored to fast-unto-death in 1924 to restore Hindu-Muslim amity, he said: "The thing that is happening at Delhi,

^{33.} V. H. Rutherford, *Modern India*, The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd. London, 1927, pp. 27-28; also see Andrews, *India and Britain*: *A Moral Challenge*, Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1935, p. 153.

^{34.} For Tagore's fuller comments, see John Coatman, *India: The Road to Self-Government*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1941, p. 71. Still a further critical comment of Tagore on Gandhi's politics appear in *Moonje-Diary* (4th June, 1926-15th January, 1927), Sl. No. 1, Moonje Dosier, National Library, Calcutta, p. 286.

^{35.} The Editor's Chat, *The Bengalee*, Sept. 30, 1924.

1908 36. See Proceedings of the meeting in *Times*, London, Oct. 17.

is really a very rare event in the history of the world. I have political differences with Mahatma Gandhi and on this account, I have argued, debated and sometimes even quarrelled with him. But the place where he stands today, is far above the field of politics. I doubt, if an example of such great sacrifice has ever been set by anybody else in the past . . . The ideal with which Raja Rammohun Roy established Brahma Samaj has not, even after the lapse of about a century, been followed by any section of our people. Mahatma Gandhi, through his fasting, is definitely trying to advance the ideal of Rammohun."37 Pal wanted Gandhi to undertake the task of infusing moral and spiritual values in our political life. He considered him the ablest leader to take up the cause of purity and cleanliness in politics. open letter to him he implored him to shoulder this responsibility, to carry on his "ethical propaganda as a training for the proper exercise of the political rights which we claim." Nothing was dearer to him than to see Gandhi "like Peter the Hermit, going about from town to town and province to province, declaring a crusade against the corruptions that have already overtaken our politics."39

The undeniable dissimilarities between Pal and Gandhi were due to a large extent to the different circumstances in which their public lives had been built up. Inspired by European Illumination and imbibing the liberalising spirit of Brahmo movement, Pal passed through a socio-religious reformation and represented himself like a protestant rebel, before coming to the political field proper. Gandhi came into Indian political lime-light only in 1918, when he undertook a fast in connection with Ahmedabad Mill strike, without having had the occasion to be directly associated with the earlier socio-religious movements in India. During youth,

^{37.} English rendering of Raja Rammohun Roy. Sanhati (monthly), Cal. 2nd. Yr. 6th issue, Aswin, 1331 B.E., pp. 245-246. Elsewhere also, through a message to the press, Pal gives similar expression of his feeling stating that Mahatma's "self-consecration even unto death and his determination vicariously to take upon himself the sins of his fighting fellow country-men, have lifted his movement out of the political, or intellectual or even moral, into the spiritual plane." The Statesman, Oct. 8, 1924.

^{38.} Pal's open letter to Gandhi, The Bangalee, May 6, 1924.

^{39.} Pal, 'Mr Gandhi: Politician or Prophet?', Editorial, The Bengalee, Sept. 17, 1924.

his attitude towards socio-religious affairs was one of 'non-resistance' and 'steering clear of the storm'. Pal prized reason, intellect and scientific understanding, more than anything else. Gandhi put more reliance on faith, instinct and reverence. One was a non-conformist and the other a conventionalist. Pal appeared before the nation to place his ideas so that the same might multiply and reinforce themselves in the thinking and activities of an entire people. Gandhi steadily drew the nation over to him like a navigable river avoiding immovable obstacles by noble bends of concession, seeking the broad levels of opinion on which men soon settle and dwell long.

The points of differences apart, there was a striking similarity between the two contrasting personalities. It was to be found in their adherence to moral and spiritual considerations in political beliefs, in their consuming love of freedom, humanity and universal brotherhood, and in their tireless efforts to resolve the riddle of Hindu-Muslim differences. In their political careers too, they had similar erperiences. In their experiment with peaceful passive resistance-Pal in 1905-1909 and Gandhi in 1920, 1930 and 1942—both learnt a melancholy lesson of how violence overtakes a peaceful movement. In 1927, Pal thought Congress 'An Institution that has outlived its need and utility'41 and pleaded for a new political philosophy with a constructive programme. In 1948 Gandhi advised Congress to disband itself and wanted to convert it into a Lok Sevak Sangh for social, moral and economie work. Both, again, were obstinately courageous in facing any odds or disrepute in holding aloft their own ideals. Thus, Pal "one of the mightiest prophets of Indian nationalism," 42 had to live in dreadful isolation during the last decade of his life and in utter impecuniosity, deserted by almost all his associates and waiting for the ultimate fate,43 because of his uncompromising attitude. Gandhi, the father of the nation, on the other hand for

^{40.} M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1958, p. 66.

^{41.} Pal's article of the said name in The Englishman, Sept. 8, 1927.

^{42.} This is what Aurobindo called Pal in his famous Uttarpara speech. For the full text of the speech, see *Kurmayogin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 5th Ashar, 1316, B.E., p. 8.

^{43.} This tragic aspect was lucidly described by Dr B. C. Roy, then Mayor of Calcutta Corporation, in the course of a speech delivered by

a similar bent of mind made the supreme sacrifice laying down his life at the hands of a Hindu fanatic.

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS AND DISCORD WITH SWARAJYA PARTY

Pal stood as a candidate for the Indian Legislative Assembly from Calcutta-Non-Mohamedan Constituency in the second general elections held in 1923 under the Govt. of India Act, 1919. He agreed to contest the election as an Independent candidate on the invitation of Mr B. Chakravorty and some other nationalists. His opponents in the field were three including Nirmal Chunder Chanda of Swarajya Party. Before standing as a candidate, he issued an 'Election Manifesto', addressed to the electors in which he pledged "to promote cleanliness in every department of political life, stoutly opposing autocratic leadership, bribery, corruption, intimidation and intrigue."44 The Manifesto is an exciting piece of document, for it bears unmistakable proof of one's profound knowledge of democratic constitutionalism, and it is also exceptional in that none of the candidates who fought the election from Bengal at that time, for Indian Legislative Assembly or for Provincial Council, appears to have felt the imperativeness of educating the electorate in such a comprehensive fashion.

Politically there was unbridgable gulf at that time between Pal and C. R. Das. Still, on the eve of the election, Das exchanged correspondence and made some negotiations with Pal indicating that if Pal were willing to cooperate with the Swarajya Party within the Assembly, there would be no candidate against him in the field.

Predictably, the negotiations fell through.⁴⁵ The unremitting labour with which Pal had been trying to build up an edifice of constructive and enlightened politics, could not but have pro-

him at the meeting of the Corporation held in memory of Pal; see proceedings of the meeting as in *The Statesman*, May 24, 1932. Also writes Sundarimohan Das: "....he embraced poverty, like Francis Barnardone of Assisi who had declared himself the bridegroom of poverty." See Das, 'Bipin Ch. Pal—His Inner Man', Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.

- 44. For the full text, Amrita Bazar Patrika, October 12, 1923; also, The Bengalee, October 12, 1923.
- 45. For the letters and comment, see Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 14, 1923.

duced a broad area of disagreement with the Swarajya Party, which proclaimed uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction, with a view to wreck the reforms. He found "very little of much political worth in the Swarajist propaganda or programme" and its success among the people, he thought, was not owing to its own merit, but to "the demerit of the Government against whom they stood up." To him, the hardened features of the Swarajist programme were a negative outcry which might be helpful only in whipping up an anti-British sentiment.

A politically conscious electorate having judicious scruples to choose freely and independently according their own will, was what he wanted to build up and in which he was eager to repose his complete trust. He urged the voters to keep public interest above party-considerations, spoke about "voters union in every constituency which should keep a watch on its representative to the council and assist the member to proceed disinterestedly for the good of the country and warn him the moment whenever he would go astray."47 The attainment, as well as the functioning, of his Democratic Swaraj is only possible through this democratic constitutionalism, where the people must be the ultimate political authority. "I have . . . been able", he wrote, "to place my views before them, through the press and the platform. I must leave it to their sense of public duty to go to the poll, and if they can honestly do so, record their vote in my favour. And whether I am elected or not, I shall have the satisfaction of having done a sacred duty by conducting an educative propaganda during the last few weeks."48 By taking such a stand, he wanted perhaps to be true to Plato's dictum that education lies at the foundation of democracy. But more significantly, he broached a point which in modern politics is called 'partyless democracy'—a concept on which much thought has been given in India by men like M. N. Roy and Jaiprakash Narayan.

Pal won the election defeating the Swarajya candidate and

^{46.} Pat's speech. See Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 36. Official Report, Govt. Central Press, Delhi, 1924, p. 2059.

^{47.} Pal, Right to vote: How to exercise it? Amrita Bazar Patrika, Oct. 28, 1923. This is a speech delivered by Pal in one of his election meetings.

^{48.} As in Pal's letter to Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 16, 1923.

also two others. This was definitely a creditable performance, for such was the titanic influence of Swarajya party in Bengal at that time that even a man of Surendranath's stature, who contested a seat in the Bengal Provincial Council, was defeated by the Swarajya Party candidate Dr B. C. Roy. That Pal won the election in spite of his pronounced opposition to Gandhian and Swarajist politics, bespeaks the fact that, though isolated from the popular political current, he was still a power to be reckoned with among the enlightened section of the community. exactly the reason for which the Swarajya Party made an organised attempt to pressurise him to join their fold-failing which they carried on propaganda to discredit him before the public. Strange it may appear today, but it is a fact that this party gave scant regard to freedom of thought, expression and belief, and wanted to stifle the voice of a man who was regarded as "a clear-headed and vigorous thinker as well as a practical politician"49 in our national life, and who was, none the less, "the poorest of our public men."50 But neither frown nor favour of any kind did deter his courage of conviction, for he had "the embarassing gift of personality."51

Inside the Assembly, the Swarajists numbered between 45 and 49 and they constituted themselves into a solid bloc under the name 'Nationalist Party' enlisting support of some Independent members. Pal did not join it and remained an 'Independent'. In his Assembly speeches he no doubt proved himself a great parliamentarian with his characteristic oratory. But these were nothing but reiteration of his pronounced beliefs on political questions and did not shed any new light on his political thought. The most noticeable feature, however, was his remarkable fortitude and marshalling of irrefutable logic with which he

^{49.} L. C. Vadhwani in Publisher's Note to Pal's Swara): What is it, and how to attain it? Vadhwani & Co. Bombay, 1922.

^{50.} These words are from the Public appeal made by eminent men like B. Chakravorty, Hirendranath Dutta, Sundarimohan Das, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Devaprasad Ghosh, Santosh Kr. Bose and others to raise some funds to meet up Pal's election expenses. For the full text of the appeal, see Amrita Bazar Patrika, January 10, 1924.

^{51.} Editorial comment, Morning Leader (daily), London, Oct. 11, 1911.

opposed, being almost a lone voice, the Swarajist move to throw out the Budget demand in its entirety.⁵²

Persistently he drew the attention of his countrymen, through the columns of the press, to the illogicality of Swarajist programme of persistent and unmitigated obstruction.

Not only were the tactics of Swarajya Party incongruous with the principles of Parliamentary politics; even more than that partisan-spirit and rigid party discipline, which formed a distinguishing feature of these tactics and explained much of the party's success, was viewed upon by Pal as a serious threat to the essence of freedom for which democracy stands. 'Regimentation' of thoughts and ideas by the dead-weight of party-monolithism, is what he seems to have in his mind as he viewed the activities of Swarajya Party, though, naturally, he was not in his times supposed to be conversant with this particular terminology.53 That this Party despite its solid majority in the House, was unable to fulfil the role of a responsible parliamentary opposition, was due to its propensity for a policy of fury and xenophobia—a policy sometimes practised also in public life to the extent that even men of respectable disposition could not get themselves immune from its intimidatory effect.34 Lacking in positive and constructive thinking, the party became, before long, a house divided against itself, particularly after the death of C. R. Das in June, 1925.

During the three-years term of his membership of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Pal sincerely endeavoured to set a high standard of parliamentary politics by remaining truthful to his political philosophy and to the commitment that he had made to his electorate. He did not, however, feel encouraged to seek a fresh term in view of some distressing symptoms which ran counter to his attitude and temperament. Thus he explained his position towards the end of his parliamentary career: "Enquiries have been made by friends, not only in Bengal, but in other parts

^{52.} Assembly Debates, Vol. V. No. 35, 1925, pp. 2441-2449; Vol. V. No. 37, pp. 2608-2622. Reader may note here the frequent interruptions that he faced from the Swarajist members and his skillful retorts.

^{53.} Pal's letters in The Statesman, March 30, 1924, April 15, 1924.

^{54.} For a report as to how the Swarajists broke a meeting addressed by men like Hirendranath Dutta and Rasaraj Amritalal Bose, Amrita-Bazar Patrika, Feb. 5, 1924

of India also, if I was standing for re-election to the Assembly. Some friends have even urged me to try and go back to my seat in the Central Legislature. I gave the question my most anxious thought, and found that I could not, consistently with my long political convictions, contest the present election. There is undoubtedly far wider sympathy and support for the political views which I hold today than there was three years back. There is a large and increasing body of influential political opinion which has been convinced of the utter futility of the Swarajist Policy of indiscriminate obstruction. But there is also, at the same time, in all the non-Mohamedan Constituencies, the only constituencies from which I could seek election, an unmistakable emphasis on the communal issue. No one who will not openly or secretly agree to support Hindu communalism or what Lala Lajpat Rai describes as Hindu interests, whatever that may mean, will have much chance of success at the present elections. the next place, frankly speaking, legislative elections are not as yet fought among us on strictly political or public issues. Not a candidate's political opinion, but his family connections, professional friendships, and class-feelings, control the votes of his constituency. Thirdly, success at the polls is determined by how much cash one is able to spend to secure the suffrages of his electors . . . In view of all these actualities of our current political life, many people could not make up their minds to seek the suffrages of the constituencies, and I happen to be only an humble individual among these many."55

This observation of his is still of unusual importance in our parliamentary democracy, even after the holding of successive General Elections, when we find the mighty weight of funds and communal considerations in the election battles. "Election to parliament has become much less the victory of a particular programme at the polls than the successful manipulation of caste rivalries and allegiances," observes a critic, adding further that, "the corruption in government office and company boardroom extends to the polling booth as well." 56

^{55.} Concerning Elections: Personal and Impersonal, The Englishman, Oct. 7, 1926.

^{56.} Ronald Segal, The Crisis of India, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, pp. 248, 303.

CHPPTER VII

PAL'S VIEWS AND CONTEMPORARY INDIAN POLITICS

NATIONALISM AND NATIONHOOD

William James' remark that a man's vision is the great fact about him, is perhaps best illustrated by Pal, for it is more in his angle of vision as a political thinker, than in his activist role as a politician, that his contribution to Indian politics bears durable importance. His searching vision, in fact, shed light on a variety of fundamental political issues of which nationalism stands in the forefront. Right from the beginning, down to the day of his passing away, there was rarely occasion when he did not write or speak something on nationalism.

Race-structure and Thought-structure of Nationality

The central idea that he expressed in this regard in his book The New Spirit at the dawn of this century was systematically unfolded in his subsequent writings. Explaining his idea as presented in this book Lord Ronaldshay observed: "An Indian writer whose pen has played a not inconsiderable part in the social and political ferments which have stirred the waters of Indian life during recent years, has written much on the meaning of the word 'nationality'. He has defined it as 'the individuality of a people'. One race of men, he argues, is differentiated from another by peculiarities analogous to those which distinguish one individual from another. Such peculiarities are physical, mental and social. They are due to certain inexplicable and pre-historic conditions in the race-structure. 'We cannot explain the how, much less can we explain the why of these peculiarities; all that we can say of them is that they are there, in the very constitution of these different peoples'. The peculiarities of physical structure are the most obvious, but they are not the most important. The most powerful of race-peculiarities are to be found in the thought-structure and the social-structure of the different

peoples. It is 'the structural formation of the thought life' of a people leading them 'to view themselves, view the world, and approach the world-problems from different stand-points, resulting in differences in their literatures, arts, philosophies and religions,' that are 'the essential elements of different race consciousness... and constitute the original elements of difference in the different types of civilisation."

From the above it is clear that Mazzini wielded a powerful influence upon Pal's basic postulates of nationalism. What Mazzini called every people's 'special mission' or 'thought of her own', came to be described by Pal as thought-structure or original elements of difference in the different types of civilisation. Mazzini held that the special mission which constitutes nationality must co-operate towards the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity. Pal followed this up to proclaim that nationality is inseparable from universal humanity. But though he accepted Mazzini as one of his guiding lights, he wanted to go beyond him. Thus he said: "Nationality has been defined by Joseph Mazzini as 'the individuality of a people.' The Hindy monistic instincts would, perhaps, prefer to describe it as the personality of a people. For the idea of individuality is associated with the European doctrine of rights, which implies inevitable isolation and conflict . . . Mazzini himself clearly realised all this; ... But brought up in the dualistic and legalistic atmosphere of Latin Christianity, even Mazzini failed to fully reach out to that higher philosophy of Nationalism, which could offer a true and effective antidote against the isolating and disrupting tendencies of the popular gospel of Equality and Freedom."2 He found that the philosophy of nationalism in Europe was associated with the individualistic inspirations of French Revolution, which gave rise to violent and revolutionary tendencies, including philosophical anarchism of William Morris, Nietzsche, and others. He would therefore find a higher philosophy of Nationalism, in the Hindu polity and culture, which could elevate men and identify him with the Universal. This is a super-social state where man is no longer subjected to

^{1.} The Heart of Aryavarta, Constable & Co. Ltd., London, 1925, pp. 1-3.

^{2.} Hindu Nationalism: What it stands for, in Nationality and Empire, pp. 24-25. The article was written in January, 1912.

the rules and restrictions of caste, nor to any other social laws and regulations. "This being the true Hindu conception," he said "regarding what is called the human individuality in Europe, personality, from Latin *persona*, meaning a mask, would perhaps be a better rendering of our idea of it. The function of a mask is to create a difference in appearance, where there is, in truth, no difference in substance. Personality implies, therefore, not *isolation* but only *differentiation*; and the difference that the concept of personality implies is a difference which only breaks up uniformity in appearance or organisation, but in no way destroys or even disturbs, the fundamental unity of being. I would, therefore, describe Nationality rather as the *personality* of a people than, following Mazzini's lead, define it as their Individuality."

Composite Basis of Indian Nation

This search for a higher philosophy in Hindu culture and civilisation has nothing to do with any revivalistic or medieval urge, nor with any sectarian Hindu religiosity. "Nationalism as Mazzini understood it may be a new force in India, but long before the (British) conquest, this Peninsula had its common heritage of culture. Nor was the love of a beautiful Motherland absent."4 From this point of view he looked into Hinduism to find out the genesis of this cultural unity, so that Mazzini's new concept of nationalism might be adapted to our distinctive social setting, coined in our "institutions, crystallised in traditions and supported by sanctified authorities." History shows that at the root of all these institutions and traditions of Hindu polity, there was always a cultural oneness and unity, which is called the 'soul' or 'personality' of India and which had been flowing since eternity through the various "minor and subordinate Indian cultures pursued by different denominations." This composite

^{3.} Ibid, p. 29.

^{4.} H. N. Brailsford, Subject India, Victor Gollanz Ltd., London, 1943, p. 100.

^{5.} Pal, Nationalism and Nationalists, Karmayogin, Vol. I, No. 27, 24th Paush, 1316 B.E., p. 5.

^{6.} Pai, What is Nationality, Standard Bearer, Vol. 2, No. 40, June 5, 1922, p. 473.

basis of nationalism which is peculiar to India, is a phenomenor to the understanding of which, however, no key is provided by Mazzini, because, Mazzini's had been a task of nation-building on the structure of a much more simpler and uniform social life. And this is one of the main reasons for which, generally speaking "our European critics so often fail to seize the character of Indian Nationalism."

But the spirit of nationalism must not be a petrified attachment to the past. In fact, our social life has not been stationary, but has passed without interruption, through a course of evolution from the most primitive upto the present time and through "historical epochs characterised by conflict with other social or national groups, leading frequently to new combinations."8 Viewed accordingly, it would be seen that with the advent of Islam in India, the unity of common culture in India, which was Hindu, faced a new situation. "The need of the situation was the formation of a cultural alliance; and the new national evolution in India commenced now to follow this line. The problem was no longer a problem of assimilation of similars, but the more complex and different problem of alliance between dissimilars." In the process a new dimension of ethnic unity took shape, the Hindus and Muslims became both creditors of and debtors to each other and there grew up a new nationhood in India. In this budding composite nationalism the old federal idea has persisted no doubt, but has received a deeper meaning and a larger application in this process. The old foundations of religious or religio-cultural unity have now been broadened into those of a socio-cultural and politico-cultural unity. This continuous process of permutation and combination of various cultures, passing through Islam, also took Christianity in its stride and gave birth to a "distinctive Indian culture, which is at once larger than Hindu or Islam or Christian culture."10

^{7.} Ibid.

^{8.} Pal, Indian Nationalism and Social Reconstruction, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 10, Oct. 31, 1922, pp. 151-52.

^{9.} Pal, Cultural Nationalism, Standard Bearer, Vol.2, No. 43, June 26, 1922, p. 508.

^{10.} Pal, Condition of a Constructive Programme, The Bengalee July 24, 1924.

Nationalism, a Cradle of International Brotherhood:

But the problem is that a nation-state, with its claim of sovereignty, has always a sinister tendency to encroach upon other nations. Therefore, Pal did never forget to expound his world idea whenever he spoke about nation-state or nationalism. As a matter of fact, the more passionate became our national sentiment, the more he was convinced of the truth of the idea that nationalism, to be true, must converge on internationalism. To him nationhood appeared as the cradle of international brotherhood. Thus he was an enthusiastic participant in 'The International Congress of Brotherhood', held at London in Sept., 1919, where, besides eminent men of Great Britain, delegates from U.S.A., Canada, France, Finland and other countries were present.11 He also arranged a conference on the same subject in India requesting Rabindranath Tagore to participate in it. Tagore could not join the conference due to illness. However, in a letter to Pal, he whole-heartedly supported the idea wishing success of the conference.12

In his ideas on nationalism, the influence of Fichte and Hegel, besides Mazzini's, is also considerably noticeable. "The Fichtean-Hegelian characterization of the nation is, however, elucidated far more in the writings of Aurobindo than of Pal," though both of them, "Pal and Aurobindo, were champions of a revitalised, resurrected new India."13 Proud as Pal was to consider himself a nationalist, and nothing but a nationalist, the abiding force of his nationalism lies in that, all through, it is radiated by the highest consideration of mankind and universal fellowship. The world-idea, vibrating in him ever since he started to expound his philosophy of Indian nationalism, ultimately found a crystallised expression in these words: "The great mission of this ancient land and its composite people among the modern nations of Europe, Asia and America, is to replace existing international competitions by international cooperation, to substitute the arbitrament of peaceful consultations

^{11.} See Pal. Indian Affairs in England, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Oct. 25, 1919.

^{12.} Tagore's letter to Pal, dated 30th Falgoon, 1333 B.E. Consulted from the personal collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.

^{13.} Dr V. P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra, 1961, p. 367.

and reasonable compromise through an impartial international Supreme Court, for the arbitrament of murderous arms, in the settlement of all international disputes and differences; and thus to help forward the realisation of the poet's dream of the millennium when the nations of the world shall be as One People, leaving at peace with one another, working together for the furtherance of the common good and the revelation of God in Man. The Indian nation-builder must constantly keep this before him..." Here more resonant is the voice of a humanist-philosopher than that of a politician. Ronaldshay was right to say: ".... a man need not be a politician to be a Nationalist in the sense in which the word is defined by Mr B. C. Pal; and the nationalism of a man who is not a politician is a thing of greater significance than that of the man who is." ¹⁵

One of the elements of his nationalism, viz., promotion of international peace and goodwill has since been included under Art. 51 of our Constitution. But the Indian nationhood of his imagination is still far from realization. This makes it all the more necessary for us to hark back to what he said about composite character of Indian nationalism. In him, we would indeed find a valuable guide in our efforts towards the achievement of emotional and national integration or national consolidation which is increasingly proving to be a riddle in our contemporary national life. A study of segment of his numerous writings on nationalism would, in fact, stimulate our thinking even today and would enable us to understand much of the prevarications which are passing under the name of nationalism.

STATE-CRAFT AND GOVERNMENT

India. A Federal State:

Long before any other Indian political leader, Pal put forward his case, as early as 1907, that "the future Government of India will be a United States of India" consisting of the "divided nationalities of India." He drew the idea of Federalism as a philosophy, from his studies in Hinduism. As he

^{14. &#}x27;Condition of Constructive Programme', Editorial, The Bengalee, July 24, 1924.

^{15.} The Heart of Aryavarta, p. 132.

^{16.} Madras-specches, p. 95.

analysed the social-cultural texture of Indian national life. it appeared to him that politically, the most fitting system of statecraft for India would be a Federal and not a Unitary one. One of the reasons of his constant plea for more and more provincial autonomy was to accelerate the growth of Federal character in our political system. To this, however, Tilak, who avowedly stood for a Unitary system could not agree. 17 In Pal's idea, the federal structure should be incorporated into a wide spectrum, consisting of a Federal Government, Provincial Governments, down to the local self-governments of far-flung rural sectors.18 The paramount need of a Federal State in preference to a Unitary state thus finds perspicuous expression in his language: "India is not a homogenous whole. There are very wide and fundamental differences in the culture and character of the different Indian provinces. . . These different provinces must form the different units of the future Federation or Confederacy of India. And if we shape and direct the course of our present political and historic evolution along this Federal line, and try to secure absolute freedom of provincial life for the different provinces, combining them into what has been called the future United States of India, we are likely to protect and develop along natural and rational lines the life and culture of the different provinces inside this All-India Federation. When we have been able to build up this National Federation or United States of India, the provincial legislatures will be vested with the complete control of provincial finance, provincial legislation, and provincial administration. The function of the Central Legislature and Executive will be strictly confined to such matters as concerns the relations between one province and another, and the collective political, military, or administrative interest of the continent as a whole."19

^{17.} See speeches of Pal and Tilak respectively in *The Report of the Thirty-second Session of the Indian National Congress;* 1917, pp. 97-100, 101-104.

^{18.} Pal, Swara;—The Goal and the Way, Upendra Publishing House, Madras, 1921, pp. 63-65; Swaraj—What is it, and how to attain it, p. 39; and Amar Rastriya Matabad, (My Political Ideology), Pal Bros., 55-B, Sankharipara Road, Cal., 1922, pp. 11-12.

^{19.} Bengal and the last session of the Assembly, The Englishman, September 22, 1927.

Grounds for 'secularism':

This Federal Indian State should be secular as well, 'Secular' is a term which has been in much use in our present day politics ever since we have committed ourselves to a secular state in terms of the Constitution. It is surprising that long ago Pal did coin this very concept which we now so frequently talk about. He was aware that "at one time in the early days of the nationalist upheaval of the last decade which was led practically by the Hindus, some short-sighted and unimaginative people did dream of a Hindu Swaraj in India", and similarly, there were some "Mahomedan leaders also who were ready to exploit the situation in and outside India for setting up a Mahomedan hegemony over the Indian continent."20 Left to himself Pal did never suffer from any religious susceptibilities and he had the stuff in him to identify himself with the values of every religion. As he said: "I am personally neither Hindu nor Mahomedan in the religious sense. From a larger view, I may honestly claim to be both Hindu and Mahomedan."21 But he noticed disturbing signs of certain tendencies in Indian politics that might shape India into what in political science is called a theocracy. In that case, detached from modern political life, India would drift towards a state of disorder and anarchy which would mean negation of all civilisation, progress and freedom. The remedy, therefore, lies in building up a secular state in India. This is what he said: ". . . The first thing to understand in this matter is that the modern state is an absolutely secular state. The old world states were almost all religious or theocratic states . . . If, therefore, we are to build up a modern national state in this country with its diverse races and religions and cultures and codes, our first duty must be to get rid of the old theocratic ideas of the Religion which must be religiously kept apart from politics. The injunctions of the religious scriptures of different denominations must under no circumstances be permitted to interfere with civic duties and responsibilities. These must be determined by civil laws only and enforced by

^{20.} Pal's Presidential Address at the Fourth Session of the Surma Valley Conference, published by Sris Chandra Dutta, Karimganj, Sylhet, 1920, p. 14. Consulted from the personal collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal. 21. Ibid. p. 15.

the authority of the state. This does not of course mean that our politics should have nothing to do with our religious life. But only that the particularism of different religions into which the allegiance of the populations of India is divided, shall not be permitted to interfere with the supreme freedom and authority of the common and composite Indian state and Government in any way whatsoever. The Hindu's Srauta Sutras for instance or his Manava Dharma Shastra shall have no place in the laws and codes of this modern national State in India; nor will this state give any recognition to the injunctions of the Quoran and the Islamic Codes except so far as these may relate to the strictly personal and private life and the communal relations of the Mahomedans."²²

There was nothing surprising in Pal's view that the Federal and secular Indian state should have a democratic form of government, for he had in his youth rebelled against Keshub Chandra Sen in defence of democratic principles, and had in his second appearance on the Congress platform in 1887 made it clear that he was a radical and a democrat.

Philosophy of Democracy:

A champion of democracy, he came out with a weekly named The Democrat from Allahabad in 1920 and in its first issue he wrote: "We stand for democratic ideal in every walk and relation of life. This ideal recognises no privilege arising from physical accidents as they are called either of birth or sex or economic or political accidents of wealth or rank. It demands that all human beings shall be given exactly the same social opportunities for the higher possible realisation of their inherent humanity and no man or woman shall be restrained in the freest exercise and enjoyment of their powers both of mind and body as long as they do not, in pursuit of their own freedom, infringe the equal freedom of others to freely pursue their own personal or social ends. Democratic ideals demand a common concern of social or political life. Collective ideals, wishes and interests of all shall prevail over individual ideas and wishes and particularistic or sectional interests, and voice of all shall

^{22. &#}x27;The Hindu-Muslim Problem: The Modern State-idea', editorial, The Bengalee, January 31, 1925.

direct the common business of State or Church." Again in a democracy "the constitution of the State must be so framed as to be able to bring out to the highest degree and in the largest measure possible within such limitations under which it may work, the essential divinity in its citizens. This is the fundamental philosophy of Democracy."

Universal Adult Franchise:

Such a democracy should naturally take the form of parliamentary government which should be responsible to and removable by the electorates built on universal adult franchise. "There can be no democratic constitution except it be based upon constituencies built on universal adult franchise."25 cause the electorate is the base for democratic education and training, Pal suggested its reform and said: "... the present legislative franchise must be broadened so as to bring the largest possible percentage of our rural populations out into legislative constituencies. Not only this, the entire structure of our present constituencies is much too large and unwieldy to be able to give real and helpful political training to the electorates. Some of them are so scattered that it is absolutely impossible for the electors and their representatives to be in close and continual touch with one another, a thing which is essential for the growth of true democracy. All this will have to be changed . . . "26 सत्यम्ब जयत

Separate or Communal Representation, a Negation of Democracy:

He was against separate or communal electorates, for he thought it dangerous to categorise majority and minority in the political field on the basis of religious dominations. "If any community, because of their being a minority in any locality, is subjected to any manner of oppression from the members of the major community, it is a charge really, not against that community, but against the Government, whose primary duty is to

^{23.} As reproduced in Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 8, 1920.

^{24.} Pal, 'Good Government vs. Self-Government', editorial, The Bengalee, May 9, 1925.

^{25.} Pal, The Democratic Mentality. The Bengalee, Feb. 19, 1925.

^{26.} Ibid.

preserve law and order." Nor can there be any such thing as Hindu interest or Muslim interest on economic and political questions. Democracy means the rule of the majority. If we are to grow into the most advanced type of modern democracy, we shall have to frankly and willingly accommodate ourselves wherever and whenever we find ourselves in a minority, to the will of the majority, of course within such limits as the fundamental rights of the human personality impose upon the authority of the state. Reservation of seats on communal considerations, he thought, "is an open denial of the right of the constituencies to choose whomsoever they please to represent them in the legislatures. As such, this reservation cannot be accepted, neither for Hindus where they are not likely to capture many seats, nor for Mohamedans for their inability to win the confidence of the electorates."

Civic Consciousness and Democratic Character:

The real requirement is a strong civic consciousness—"the consciousness that we are, whether Hindus or Muslims or Buddhists or Christians or any other denomination of religious communion, all members of a common civic society."²⁹ This presupposes habits of democratic thought and life, which "alone can create and foster that sense of social solidarity upon which alone can we ever hope to build up a true Democratic Society and State."³⁰ He was eager to ensure a sense of community, a fearless pursuit of truth in our mental and physical habits, for these were essential for the success of democracy. Quoting Bertrand Russell in support of his contention, he uttered a note of caution: "Cowardice, that is, a compromise with one's conscience and convictions, is certainly not the exclusive possession of the loyalists or royalists, though at one time, when Royality ruled

^{27.} Pal, A General Election without a Fundamental Political Issue, The Englishman, Sept. 23, 1926.

^{28.} Pal, The Electoral Problem: National vs. Communal view, The Englishman, June 23, 1927.

^{29.} Pal, 'Education in Civic Consciousness', Editorial, *The Bengalee*, October 17, 1924.

^{30.} Pal, The Swaraj Constitution and the Swaraj Character, $Th\epsilon$ Englishman, Sept. 3, 1925.

mankind, it was so. There is as much room for cowardice in democracies when these are only another name for mobocracies, as there is in the old type of autocracies."³¹

A democratic character is, then, indispensable for successfully running a parliamentary government which is the organ through which democratic principles are to be given a shape. "There is a conceit among many innocent people", he further said "that if only we get a full-fledged Parliamentary Constitution all the troubles of to-day will be over. But Parliamentary Constitutions cannot create conditions of Parliamentary Government. I have always argued that we must first attain the Swaraj-character before we can reasonably be expected to work a Swaraj state-constitution. Constitutions do not create man, and as long as you have not got men religiously eager to advance the common interest in preference to personal or communal interests, so long Parliamentary Constitutions will only help to create the present confusion worse confounded, and produce a Brazil or a Mexico on the banks of the holy Ganges or Cauvery." 32

Evils of Coalition Governments:

Personally, Pal was in favour of a grass-root democracy, where the people themselves, free from party dictates, would exercise their free will to choose the fittest candidate as their representative. But he realised that we are perhaps yet to traverse a long route before we reach such a stage. As an alternative, he would, therefore, prefer the two-party system of British politics to build up a viable representative government in India. But he was deadly opposed to the formation of coalition government by various political parties which he termed as 'group-system'. "... This group-system", he declared, "wherein there is no one single political party that commands an absolute majority, inevitably forces any strongest single group alliance the House to form with other or groups to command a majority. And these alliances cannot, in the present stage of the evolution of our common humanity, be formed except on the basis of vulgar personal interests which

^{31.} Current-Comments, Hindu, Vol. 7, No. 3, April 30, 1932, p. 10.

^{32.} Our unfitness for real Responsible Government, The Englishman, September 1, 1927.

means in plain English, except through bribery of some sort. The present legislatures in all our provinces have developed the group system only. And these groups again are rarely formed on any community of political ideas or principles." He said all this more than forty years ago and even to-day we find in our parliamentary system preponderance of multiple parties, craze for coalition governments, games of defections and floor-crossings and a number of similar other symptoms, but no perceptible effort to accelerate the growth of a two-party system of parliamentary democracy, much less any indication of non-partisan representative institutions.

Democracy and Administration:

Another point which Pal particularly emphasised for the success of parliamentary government was the maintenance of an efficient administrative machinery. He conceived of co-ordination between the elected Executive or Ministry and the permanent cadre of officials at the higher echelons and in this regard he wanted us to emulate the example of British constitutional system. Thus he wrote in 1932: "In fact, one of the greatest advantages of the British Parliamentary system is that while the permanent officials are charged to carry on the routine work of the administration, the initiation of policy is left to men who are in touch with the outside world, and who are able to bring to their task a fresh mind and broad outlook. When we have full responsible government, the same thing will happen in our country also. The permanent officials, both Indian and non-Indian, will continue to administer the laws of the country. But those who will make these laws and initiate public policy, will be outsiders like the British Parliamentarians."34 The soundness of his proposition is proved by the fact that the fathers of the Indian Constitution realised the necessity of such a system and they made necessary provisions in this regard in the Constitution. By these the permanent services are to maintain the continuity of administrative process and the Ministers are to provide the basis of its popular character. 35

- 33. Current Indian Politics in the light of the law and Karma, The Englishman, February 28, 1929.
 - 34. Official Publicity, Hindu, Vol. 7, No. 2, April 23, 1932, pp. 5-6.
- 35. M. V. Pylee, *India's Constitution*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967, pp. 361-63.

SOCIALIST DOCTRINE

What Pal, as one of the pioneers of our nationalist movement, thought about the doctrine of socialism which is now so much convulsing our political climate, makes fascinating reading. During his stay in England in 1908-1911, he took active interest in the propaganda of the Labour and Radical Parties as he came into intimate contact with the socialists. Thus he wrote to Karmayogin from London in 1909: "Socialism represents the protest of European Democracy against the existing economic arrangements of European society. It is a demand for a more equitable distribution of economic privileges than what obtains at present. Competition is the basis of the existing economic structure in Europe and individualism is the fundamental philosophy of this competitive economic arrangement. In this sense, and to this extent only, does Socialism represent a reaction against the excessively individualistic philosophy of the French Illumination. But though to a certain extent anti-individualistic, Socialism is in no sense a synonym for Nationalism. Socialism is a recognition of the limitations of individualism in one department of life only, namely, the economic. Nationalism recognises these limitations in every department of life. Socialism is a theory in Economics, Nationalism is a fact in Sociology. a higher generalisation."36

It is apparent that he was inclined to socialism, without being a socialist, and that he considered nationalism a higher ideal since, predominantly economic in character, socialism deals with only one aspect of life. Socialism attracted him considerably by reason of its economic principles and not as a higher philosophy. Equitable distribution of wealth, a high standard of social security, curbing of monopolistic trends, are some of the issues, which, he thought, can be effectively solved by socialist economics. The New Economic menace to India, 27 which he wrote in 1920 showing the crisis of capitalism was, in fact, a product of his intimate contact with British socialist thoughts. In his views, as presented in this book, one can easily notice

^{36.} Nationalism and Nationalists II, Karmayogin, Vol. I, No. 23, 2nd Magh, 1316 B.E., p. 5.

^{37.} Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1920.

the profound influence of Professor J. A. Hobson, the British socialist thinker.³⁸

But as he delved deeper into the theory and practice of socialism, he was faced with some stumbling-blocks. central demand of socialism has been that neither land nor 'works', by which is meant large organisation for national industries, should be owned by private profiteers, but should be claimed for the nation by the State which represents the life and authority of the totality of a people."39 But he saw how during the First World War a section of British Liberal politicians, under cover of socialism, sought a policy of state-control of industrial undertakings in India for the perpetuation of capitalist interests.49 It was a strange variety of socialism of which his immediate impression was that "State Socialism was absolutely fatal to the evolution of real democracy under a despotic administration."41 Gradually he came to realise that state-socialism, which means a strangle-hold of the state on the entire economy and complete dependence of the people on the state for their living, cannot be beneficial for society. "State Socialism," he said, "has for nearly a century past been the cry of modern democratic politics in matters of the larger state-life of every people . . . The inevitable result of state-socialism is to weaken and gradually destroy individual initiative in regard to the affairs of a people."42

In late twenties, Pal found that as we were struggling for political freedom, there also appeared in our thinking a bent for rapid industrialisation. A craze for industrialism in an underdeveloped country like India, runs the risk of ushering in a phase where capitalistic predominance would be inevitable. Thus he warned: "The effect of it will be to create in India the same conditions which have been created in Europe, namely, a predominantly industrial and capitalist social and economic and

^{38.} See Hobson, Democracy after the war, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1918.

^{39.} Pal, The New Economic Menance to India, p. 115.

^{40.} Ibid, pp. 118-119.

^{41.} Pal, Congress Babel: Great curse of short-sightedness. The Englishman, July 21, 1927.

^{42.} Civic Service, The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Vol. IX, No. 1. November 17, 1928, p. 11.

political structure out of which the great masses of the European proletariat are finding little or no way to-day. Capitalism must be followed by Socialistic philosophy of life and this must in its own turn give way to the Communistic menace."⁴³

He was prepared to recognise the usefulness of collectivism, as preached by socialist doctrine, which seemed to him a rational method to cure economic inequalities and to contain capitalistic exploitations and profits. But the problem, as he saw it, was that excessive extolling of socialism might in the long run prepare the stage for a communist take-over in Indian politics. He, therefore, accepted socialism with reservation and wanted to restrict it to the marginal level of economic reconstruction. Even then, he preferred socialism of the Fabian type, which appealed to him because of its intellectual and liberal approach. In the larger group of socialists, by which he meant left wing British Labour, he found "little difference between . . . Socialism and popular Communism. Both are hunger-born and envy-driven. They cannot appeal to the intellect, the conscience and much less to the real social idealism of the cultured man."¹⁴⁴

In the ultimate analysis Pal did not consider socialism a very enviable doctrine, as its demerits outweighed its merits. So he went on to say: "The socialist movement has not as yet found a principle or formula of reconciliation between the conflicting interests of capital and labour. Neither capital nor labour can in themselves find this principle or formula. Reconciliation between conflicting interests can only be found in some higher plane of life, wherein both stands as organs or instruments of the selffulfilment of it. Both capital and labour are instruments and organs of the economic self-fulfilment of every country or nation What the situation demands is a higher synthesis which will find a rational basis of honest and honourable co-operation between both, not only in their own interests, but equally in the interest of society, of which both the labourer and the capitalist are limbs and organs. The country represents this society, and the first step towards a settlement of the new class-war in Europe, and indeed all the world over, is to acclaim the rights of

^{43.} Pal, Current Topics, The Englishman, September 12, 1925.

^{44.} India and the Nationalist Government, The Englishman, Aug. 31, 1931.

the country or the nation as absolutely superior to the rights of particular groups or parties, representing particular interests."45

He wanted to rise above socialism, searched for a much more rational and humanistic political philosophy and in his quest he came back to his original views that a greater social order, a higher synthesis could be reached through the spirit of nationalism. There have since been a number of learned criticism of socialism in contemporary political thinking. Essentially a product of reaction and protest of the nineteenth century, socialism is now being seriously challenged by more improved and alternative political ideas. It is noteworthy that Mr. Hidayatullah, the former Chief Justice of India, in his convocation address at Aligarh Muslim University in Feb. 1971, made a plea for patriotism and nationalism, and not for socialism, and coined a new phrase 'militant chauvinism', which can save India from its socio-economic ills and which can transcend caste, class and creed resolving all the differences."46 His views, in fact, go to support what Pal concluded to be the rational way after aftergoing over a long range of the socialist line of thinking.

BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM

As a nationalist leader of a colonial country, it was natural for Pal to look to the Bolshevik Revolution with considerable hope. His initiative in this respect stemmed from his appreciation of a Manifesto issued in 1919 under the signature of men like Anatole France, Norman Angell, Bernard Shaw, H. G Wells, Rabindranath Tagore and others which denounced war, pleaded for international peace, and wanted an end of all exploitations. He identified this piece of document with Bolshevik Revolution and said: "....the Bolsheviks are against all economic and capitalist exploitation and speculation. They are also against all inherited wealth and social precedence. All the great men in every country, the men who are leaders of thought, art, philosophy, religion and literature in all these countries—have put their signatures to a document which proclaims this Bolshe-

^{45.} General Election Pointers: Country Decision against Party System, The Englishman, November 2, 1931.

^{46.} For the text of Mr Hidayatullah's speech, Hindusthan Standard, (Daily), Calcutta, February 25, 1971, p. 11.

vik doctrine."⁴⁷ He further said that during his third visit to England in 1919 he "studied Bolshevism", and added: "This Bolshevism is a powerful force just now in England—at Oxford—there is Bolshevism, in the broad sense of the term, in the sense in which I have just explained to you."⁴⁸ (italics added).

Such observation of Pal, however, raised a storm among the protagonists of British Government. The Pioneer, Allahabad, in an editorial considered his observation as "wild eulogy of Bolshevists,"49 and invited Government's attention. The Times, London, editorially wrote: "The eulogy of Bolshevism pronounced by Mr Bepin Chandra Pal at Calcutta is hardly timely though it is difficult to treat it seriously when silly utterances on the same theme are being made in Great Britain."50 Lord Sydenham, in a letter to The Times, stated: "Mr Bepin Chandra Pal, who is an expert in fomenting unrest, doubtless regards Bolshevism, adapted for Indian consumption, only as an aid to the anti-British movement which he inspires."51 The fact of the matter, however, was that Pal, during that period, had a very superficial understanding of the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia. That he quotes an extraneous Manifesto in support of Bolshevism and that he does not say anything about the real state of things obtaining in Russia at that time, clearly demonstrate his limited knowledge of the subject. Nevertheless, like many other Indian nationalists of that time, he supported Bolshevik Revolution, because it championed the uplift of the exploited and down-trodden. This he did in good faith, rather than out of intellectual probity, for even then he was found to raise his religio-ethical voice: "The bondage of man hurts the freedom of God. This is our philosophy of life. And, as such, whatever makes for the uplift of man is a sacred religious duty to us."52

But time was not far off to show the gulf difference between promise and practice. Bertrand Russell, a favourite author of Pal, who was then susceptible to the appeals of communism, was much grieved to see the ruthlessness of the Bolsheviks, reminis-

^{47.} Pal, The World Situation and Ourselves, pp. 19-20.

^{48.} Ibid, p. 25.

^{49.} December 22, 1919.

^{50.} January 2, 1920.

^{51.} January 8, 1920.

^{52.} The New Economic Menace to India, p. 249.

cent of the tyranny of the Peter the Great. He had to admit that "as experiment in communism, it has failed." H. M. Hyndman, who considered himself a Marxist in theory, and with whom Pal had an acquaintance, remarked after a study of the course the Revolution took: "That the Bolsheviks gained their position and keep it by terrorism of the most ruthless kind, that they resorted to massacre and torture of their assumed domestic enemies is quite beyond dispute." ¹⁵³

In our country, Tilak, though attracted by the plea of communism for equality and supremacy of manual labour, said "Bolshevism, as it is preached in the West, cannot succeed in India. Let us stick fast to our Vedanta and our desires shall be fulfilled." C. R. Das made a more intelligible remark: "The recent revolution is very interesting study. The shape which it has now assumed is due to the attempt to force Marxian doctrine and dogmas on the unwilling genius of Russia, Violence will again fail. If I have read the situation accurately, I expect a counter-revolution. The soul of Russia must struggle to free himself from the socialism of Karl Marx." ⁵⁶

The nationalist leaders of India, in fact, after a brief spell of emotional attachment, started to take a clearer stock of the situation. Pal's statement in this regard runs: "The French Revolution wanted to remould human society and its ideal was liberty, equality and fraternity. It pulled down the old machinery and set up a new one in its stead. And the result? 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', remained always in effect a cry in the wilderness. Another way of idealism is now running over the earth and the Bolshevists are its most fiercely practical exponents. Instead of dealing merely with the political machinery, the Socialistic Revolution tries to break and remake, above all, the social machinery (italics added). But judged from the results as yet attained and the tendencies at work, few are the reasons to

^{53.} Bolshevism: Practice and Theory, Harcourt & Bruce, New York, 1920, p. 175.

^{54.} The Evolution of Revolution, Grant Richards Ltd., London, 1920, p. 378.

^{55.} As quoted in Dhananjay Keer, Lokamanya Tilak, Bhageshwar Bhuvan, Bombay, 1959, p. 417.

^{56.} Das' speech at the Gaya-Congress, 1922. Report of the Thirty-Seventh Indian National Congress, 1922, p. 29.

hope, but many to fear the worst."⁵⁷ Here is a distinct hint at the threat of what in modern Political Science is called totalitarianism, which, more than the ordinary political order of the society, wants to regulate the entire social life of man.

Also in his attempt to trace the vital factors leading to the Revolution, he reached near-perfection of a modern analyst. In Russia "Political and economic serfdom worked together, the one supporting the other . . . The absence of Parliamentary institutions and popular franchise is responsible for the rapid development of the present politico-economic revolution in Russia."58 His disillusionment with the Bolshevik Revolution was by this time almost complete. He became anxious to keep India's political life free from its influence and suggested two-fold remedies: "There are two and only two alternative ways of escape from this doom—one is the rapid, if not the immediate, establishment of full Parliamentary Government in India upon a universal manhood franchise; and second, an immediate and effective prevention of the growth of modern industrialism among us."59 He tried to make an impartial estimate of the Revolution and remarked: "There are undoubtedly many things in this Soviet system that appeal to our idealism. But practically, if reports be true, the experiment of working-class-rule on communistic lines, more or less after the teachings of Karl Marx, has not been able to make that new heaven and new earth which we have been promised by every Socialist or Communist of the Marxian school."60 He could keep pace with the course of the Revolution upto early thirties, when Russia, following the New Economic Programme, was found to be compromising with countries which she earlier despised as capitalists. "Russia", he pointed out, "lost her foreign trade, and with a view to make up for that loss, the Soviet established a system of forced labour to keep up her productions. Her own populations, she thought ... would be able to consume everything that she produced in

^{57.} Essays on Social Idealism, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 1, August 10, 1922, p. 4.

^{58.} Pal, Indian Nationalism and Economic Reconstruction, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 4, September 5, 1922, p. 58.

^{59.} Ibid

^{60. &#}x27;The Modern Economic Slavery', Editorial, The Bengalee, October 23, 1924.

her own factories and would be able to compensate fully for the loss of her foreign trade. But the dream is slowly breaking at the touch of rigid realities. All the heroic efforts of the Soviet leaders to raise a teeming mass of educated and industrious proletariat, independent in mind and self-dependent in regard to the needs of their physical existence, have not been able to secure adequate compensation for the loss of her world market. Russia, who repudiated her public debts to foreign countries, has been negotiating, we read to-day, for capital in foreign markets on the credit of her national finances for reviving her national industries."

Deeper still, he could not accept Marxism, on the basis of which the Revolution was professedly staged. While he was intimately involved in the socialist movement in England, he could detect the defects of Marxian variety of socialism and Marxism and thus wrote in 1911: "This excessive economic emphasis of present day Socialism is due to the teachings of Karl Marx, regarded practically as the founder of this new thought movement in Europe; for Marx made the strange attempt of reducing every form of social life and evolution ultimately, to the result of economic life and organisation."62 This remained his basic outlook when he made further studies of Marxism and communism. His survey revealed that "the Socialistic reaction reached its highest point in Karl Marx. Bolshevism in its worst phases represents the parting kick really of individualistic economics to the old capitalistic exploitation of labour. The gospel of Marx suffered through its almost exclusive emphasis on outer material or physical values. It was, its collectivist preaching notwithstanding, really covered by an unconscious individualism. Its emphasis on what is called the class-consciousness, practically repudiated its collectivist professions. The method of class-war as the way to economic utopia, is practically a denial of the solidarity of society which includes all classes."68

It is only natural that one who cannot accept Marxism,

^{61.} The Congress-repudiation of debts folly: A generation that knows not Joseph, The Englishman, July 20, 1931.

^{62.} Contemporary Thoughts and Events, The Modern Review, Vol. IX, No. 5, May 1911, p. 493.

^{63.} Pal, 'The Problem of Poverty', Editorial, The Bengalee, Dec 13, 1924.

cannot find anything tempting in communism as well. It is, however, interesting to note that Pal's The New Economic Menace to India found a place in Lenin's personal library,64 though as we have seen, it represents a Hobsonian treatment of capitalism. Pal's remark that "every modern Imperialism is essentially Capitalistic,"65 undoubtedly bears a striking similarity to Lenin's observation that "capitalism has been transformed into imperialism."66 But that is no reason to surmise that he did subscribe either to Leninism or to communistic principles. About Lenin, he does not seem to have written anything in detail. But a cryptic observation that he made about Lenin in the course of a discussion seems to suggest that he did not hold a high opinion about him. This is what he said: "The philosophical anarchist is an individualist. He does not believe in any Government. At the same time as all Governments involve the organisation of many individuals into one whole, the philosophical anarchist is opposed to all organisation also. Count Tolstoy was an honest philosophical anarchist . . . No philosophical anarchist, loyal to his own principles, would agree to be the dictator of any organisation. 1 am told that Lenin, believed to be a philosophical anarchist, became the dictator of the Soviet Government in Russia. If Lenin really was a philosophical anarchist, his anarchism ... must have been only skin deep, a cover for his inborn passion for power and the inherent forces of his nature are those that make the Pope."67 For several years he was also acquainted with Shapurji Saklatwalla, the La-

^{64.} See Chinmohan Sehanavis, Lenin and India, Manisha Granthalaya Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1969, p. 31.

^{65.} Pal's Presidential address at the Surma Valley Conference 1920, p. 6.

^{66.} Lcnin, Imperialism—The Highest stage of Capitalism, as in Lenin's Selected Works, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 642.

^{67.} See Pal, Current Comments: Philosophical Anarchist or Papal Autocrat, *Hindu*, Vol. 6, No. 46, March 12, 1932, p. 13. Pal's remark deserves due weight, if we remember that "Lenin was convinced from an early date that unless his party took power, the aim could not be achieved, and that his party could not win and hold power unless it followed his leadership." See Richard Lowenthal, Messianism, Nihilism and the Future, in *History and Hope*, edited by K. A. Jelenski. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, p. 43.

bour Socialist, who ultimately became a leading communist so much so that paying a visit to India in 1927 he urged the Congress to adopt communism and asked the Muslims "to organise the Pan-Islamic movement, so that the Islamic population from Turkey to China may be a great shield against European aggression."68 Needless to say that Pal could have no affinity with such a change in Saklatwalla's approach. Considerably conversant with communist literature, Pal is found to have uttered frequently 'bourgeoisie' or 'bourgeois domination', a popular term in communist vocabulary, but this he used, as he said, "without subscribing to the Communist programme or accepting the Communist ideal."69

He did not like communist dogma, because he found that the 'red leaders', who spear-headed the working-class-movement, were relying on hatred and violence. They were "exploiting angry passions of the awakened populace about them in the name of a new social order which will never come through this exploitation."70 The induction of a proletariat movement of communist design in India would spell disaster, for "it will upset all the moral and spiritual values of life as understood by India's national genius and culture."71 To him the whole problem was that "Marxian economics has absolutely no appreciation of either ethical or spiritual values."72 The problems of communism that he thus visualised were rather few compared with the multi-dimensional contours of such problems as explored by modern investigations. But he reminds us at least of Bertram D. Wolfe's words that the Bolsheviks rested "directly on force unrestrained by any limits, ethical, legal or traditions, 78

^{68.} Moonje-Diary, Sl. No. I, (4th January 1926-15th January 1927), Moonje-Dosier, National Library, Calcutta, p. 199. Also sce letter from Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, Amrita Bazar Patrika, November 19, 1919. St. Nihal Singh, who personally knew both Pal and Saklatwalla, drew a contrasting profile of the two personalities. St. Nihal Singh, Bepin Chandra Pal: Reminiscences of the Patriot in Voluntary Exile, Modern Review, Vol. LII, No. J, July 1932, p. 38.

^{69.} Pandit Motilal's prescription: Gandhi or 'Bal-raj', The Englishman, April 11, 1929.

^{70, 71, 72.} Pal, The Calcutta-Congress: A warning to both India and the Empire, The Englishman, January 3, 1929.

^{73.} An Ideology in Power (Reflections on the Russian Revolution), George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1969, p. 32.

and Michael Polanyi's remarks that "Marxism is the most interesting case of (what may be called) the moral force of immorality."

A critic of communistic teachings and practice, Pal's concern for the common men or working class interests was however, too consuming to be underrated. Even the most zealous guard of the working-class movement in contemporary Indian politics, whether Marxist or non-Marxist, would be envious to see the dedication with which Pal persistently fought throughout his life to banish exploitations and inequalities. He was perhaps the first among our nationalist leaders to ask the Congress as early as 1901, to combine the forces of labour against the capitalists. Again, it was he who during the Swadeshi days, wanted to mobilise the workers and labourers as the backbone of the nationalist movement. In the Indian Legislative Assembly he exposed the anti-national activities of the mill-owners and industrialists, championed the cause of the Postal staff demanding revision of their pay-scales and service conditions, and vigorously pleaded for the solution of middle-class unemployment problem. He would be found to preside over a meeting of workers and clerks in Calcutta and ask them to unite and to understand the significance of strike. Even in his old age and infirm state of health he took the pains to inaugurate a session of the Bengal Government Ministerial Officers' Annual Con-सत्यमव जयस ference.75

But in all this his approach was that of a democrat. He demanded a thorough reconstruction of our economic structure "which must be able to provide healthy food in sufficient quantity for every man, woman and child in India. It must be able to provide sufficient and healthy raiment and healthy habitation for all. The instruments and methods of production must be so constructed and regulated that every worker shall have ample leisure for the cultivation of the intellect, the understanding and the aesthetic faculties."

^{74.} Personal Knowledge, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958. p. 227.

^{75.} For the proceedings of the meeting and the text of his speech see The Bengalee, April 9, 1925; Forward, January 1, 1928.

^{76.} Pal, Indian Nationalism and Economic Reconstruction II, Standard Bearer, Vol. 3, No. 2, August 22, 1922. p. 23.

more by duty-consciousness, than by right-consciousness. As editor-in-chief of The Bengalee he, therefore, frequently inserted in a box in the editorial page, the following as 'the worker's motto': "All labour is honourable, whether manual or mental. Labour alone should be rewarded, and not lazy leisure. work is our highest reward. We labour for love, wages are mere bye-products."⁷⁷ The economic reconstruction that he thus sought, was to be achieved through peaceful and orderly means, by infusing among the exploited a righteous social solidarity and a spirit of co-operation The is "not class-consciousness or class-war which must inevitably result from the growth of class-consciousness class-conflicts, but reasonable and just reconciliation the rights and responsibilities of both workers and those who, because they supply the necessary capital, are called or miscalled masters of workers."78 He termed his economic formulation as 'New Economics'. Expounding its principles he said: "The New Economics while fully accepting the underlying truth of the Socialistic or Communistic idea and ideal, has been repudiating the Communistic theory of equal distribution of wealth. What it has commenced to insist upon, as much for the due realisation of the ideal end in economics as for the development of the productive wealth of every society or nation according to its natural possessions and human efficiency, is the fixing of a minimum standard of living for the so-called poor and a maximum standard of living for the rich,"79 As a democrat what he thus prescribed seems to be a mixed economy as practiced in a modern welfare-state.

As a nationalist-humanist he believed in liberalism, ethical values and universal fellowship. As a democrat he put his faith in evolution, co-operation, tolerance, lawful pursuit and persuasive technique. Naturally, therefore, he could not subscribe to the communist creed which is hinged on the belief that force is the midwife of social change, that ends justify the means, however despicable those may appear to be. Ajoy Ghosh, the late General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, was somewhat

^{77.} See for example The Bengalee, Oct. 22, 1924; The Bengalee, October 23, 1924.

^{78.} Pal, The Modern Economic Slavery, The Bengalee, Oct. 23, 1924.

^{79.} The Problem of Poverty, The Bengalce, December 13, 1924.

fair in his assessment of Pal whom he regarded as "a nationalist of indomitable will" and remarked that "a true liberal, he dedicated himself to the nation's cause according to his own understanding and convictions." 80

FASCISM, AN ORGANISED BRUTE FORCE

Pal's critical eyes also penetrated the Mussolini-cult of politics and fascism which were then vigorously stirring the European continent. In our country as well there appeared a swing of opinion in favour of such politics. But Pal denounced it in no uncertain terms as a positive menace to freedom and democracy. Thus he wrote in 1928: "The queerest thing in the latest youth movement in India is the call for an Indian Mussolini to be the saviour of a lost people. . . . Mussolini is an autocrat. He has established a new terror in Italy. His Black Shirts are a menace to Italian Democracy. The domination which Mussolini has established in Italy is clearly the domination of organised brute force. . . ."

Again, "one wonders how many of our brave patriots would be found at their post if we have a Mussolini supported by his group of Black-shirts, in our midst. For one thing, they would lose their happiness of breaking up public meetings that did not support their leaders, for that work would then be taken off their hands by the Indian Black-shirts."

CONCLUSION: DID PAL DRIVE A SOLITARY FURROW?

The man who thus served the nation for about half a century, who applied his imagination almost on every conceivable issue affecting the nation in its religious, social, political and economic affairs, whose vision could simultaneously soar high above to the pinnacle of nobler thoughts, found himself ultimately a stranger among the very people whom he served. Amal Home

^{80.} Ghosh's message to the Calcutta Committee which organised Pal's centenary in 1958. See, Bepin Chandra Pal Centenary Brochure, published by Narayan Pal, Bepin Chandra Pal Centenary Celebration Committee, 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 4-5.

^{81.} The Youth of India: Exploitation and Misdirection, The Englishman, April 26, 1928.

brings out this aspect of his position in the words: "I can never forget the pathetic spectacle of Bipin Chandra Pal in the later days of his life, ploughing a lonely furrow—isolated from his life-long colleagues and friends, but it was a splendid isolation. For he stood undaunted and stuck with unflinching devotion to the ideals he held to be right and for which, to his mind, no sacrifice was too great. The gods of to-day in politics, he knew and often said, were not the gods of the morrow, and though he was a great and strenuous fighter, taking delight in warfare, he had no resentment and enemity." **

In the last phase of his life, Pal, as a columnist of *The Englishman*, on an occasion, wrote: "I have for once cited authorities and evidences in support of the presentation of India's dominant political thought from week to week through these columns. My English readers, as well as my critics in the Swarajist Independent press, will, if they are honest, have to confess that though driving a solitary furrow and unfitted for public service through advancing age, your contributor has never tried to mislead you or anybody else; and for the sole and simple reason that his politics, whether 25 years ago or to-day, have never been guided by regard for the first person singular."83

The main reason of his being isolated from the popular current of politics was his stubborn opposition to the Gandhian and Swarajya-party politics, the two political forces which had captivating influence upon the entire people during the later phase of his life. Underneath these political movements he saw "a violent race between competing politicians greedy of power and popularity in the exploitation of current popular discontent through presenting a more and more violent programme of working for what is called national emancipation . . . With the abandonment of his mass civil disobedience programme, for the exhibition of which the new leadership in the Indian Nationalist politics had been invited to and had foregathered at Bordoli, the more serious politicians broke away from the Mahatma; and C. R. Das rushed to the front with a new battle cry that promised early attainment of Swaraj not by the old fourfold

^{82.} Bipin Chandra Pal: Politician, Orator, Journalist, Amrita Bazar Patrika, November 6, 1958.

^{83.} Lucknow or Delhi? Verdict of India's Political Thought. The Englishman, November 15, 1928

boycott, but by the 'persistent and consistent obstruction' to the bureaucracy from within the new legislatures. Mr Gandhi was out to destroy the 'Satanic British Empire' practically by magic. Mr Das and his Swarajists promised to achieve the same object by destroying Diarchy in the provinces."84 This analysis, which endeavours to show only one side of the shield--rather the insubstantial aspect of a substantial whole, obviously ignored the fact that rousing of popular discontent against the foreign rule by every possible means, is an inevitable requirement of nationalist struggle. He himself had done this considerably during the Swadeshi days in his activist role. But by the time the Gandhi movement and Swarajya Party came into political field, he, with his past experience, had already developed a great aversion to any politics which were likely to create a violent or militant climate. His supreme concern for orderly progress, for a rational and higher political philosophy, had already made him a secluded thinker. His coming into conflict with Gandhian and Swarajist politics, in which he could discover little or nothing to edify his intellect, only enlarged the dimension of his seclusion.

At that stage, 'unfitted for public service through advancing age' and unwilling to share the help of any party platform, his only weapon was his powerful pen. Recollecting the exceptional qualities of his journalistic writings, The Bengalee commented: "At a comparatively old age he brought to bear on his work the vigour and avidity of youth, while his unsparing criticism provoked the serious thought even of his political Mr Pal was a zealous advocate of the purity of opponents. public life and for delinquents he had no mercy. If at times he appeared to be over-critical, no body could attribute any sordid motive to him. His only desire was to do good to his people according to the light that was in him. Bearing the scars of a hundred political battles he never cared for favour or frown of the powers that be."85 But the more he continued to stick to his fearless intellectual integrity, the more he found the doors of our nationalist press closed to him during the last phase of his life. The Bengalee, transformed into Calcutta Evening

^{84.} Pal, A Violent Race between Indian Politicians, The Englishman, July 28, 1927.

^{85.} Editorial comment of The Bengalee, May 15, 1925.

News (The Bengalee) in subsequent days, thus wrote again: "... It was the tragedy of his life that at the moment when his intellect had attained its maturity and his thoughts crystallised themselves into a definite shape, he should have been denied the opportunities for using his great gifts in the service of his motherland, which came to him, unasked and in such plentiful abundance in earlier years." ⁸⁶

In his personal life this hero of a hundred political battles became undoubtedly a lonely figure. But the vital question is whether, politically, his contributions and services to the cause of the nation actually ended in ploughing a lonely furrow. The question may perhaps be better answered first by taking into consideration the influence that he wielded upon the emerging leadership in Indian politics.

It is not yet sufficiently recognised that much of what C. R. Das became in his political life was owing to none but Pal. Sundarimohan Das writes in this connection: "It is not true to say that he was a follower of Deshbandhu. Ouite the reverse. Young Chittaranjan took his early lesson in politics from Bepin Chandra. In the early days of Swadeshi movement the struggling Barrister learned lessons at the feet of the latter. The cottage of my humble self was then the rendezvous of the leaders of thought such as Brahmabandhab, Bepin Chandra and others who met every evening there. The fire kindled within the future Deshbandhu was, according to his request, allowed to be confined within his Bar. He asked him to be a barrister for two years and after that period, his services, he said, might be requisitioned for public service. His love and reverence for his teacher remained unabated till death."87 Sir P. C. Mitter, a member of the then Governor's Executive Council, recounting Pal's great part in nationalist movement, also said: "He was closely associated with the late C. R. Das and it may be said that at one period he was the political 'guru' of Mr Das."88

Till their rift consequent upon the rise of Gandhian non-co-operation movement, Pal and Das maintained an intimate re-

^{86.} May 23, 1932. Editorial,

^{87.} Bepin Chandra Pal—His inner man, Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.

^{88.} For the text of the statement, See The Statesman, May 24, 1932, under the caption 'A Clear Thinker.'

lationship both in their personal and political life. Recollecting this aspect, Pal, in his later days said: ".... For full twenty, of the twenty-five years of the history of our times, with which C. R. Das' name is prominently connected, my relations with him were more intimate than it was with any other Indian publicist."89 He said further: "Throughout all these years, C. R. Das and myself worked together as two brothers, one of whom earned money and provided for the financial requirements of the other, while the latter worked for the same cause by his brains and his time."90 And in this process the country found "Mr C. R. Das, the leading nationalist politician, and Mr Bepin Chandra Pal, the leading theoretician of nationalism." Even when Pal had a rift with Das, the latter never questioned the integrity and honesty of faith of the former. To quote Sundarimohan Das again: "When Mahatma Gandhi started non-violent non-co-operation, he said it was a meaningless confusion of ideas. The leading nationalist journals refused to ventilate his ideas. Undaunted by the abuse and even threats of his countrymen, he was determined to ventilate his ideas. Was it for lucre? Certainly not The late Deshbandhu said: 'Whatever charge you may lay against Bepin Babu, never charge him with love of lucre, silver to him is no more valuable than garbage'." 92

Subhas Chandra Bose, even in 1923, could see, unlike many others, the potentiality of Pal's possible return to the Congress fold. Bose was then Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. In a letter to the press, expressing his wishes to co-opt Pal as one of the members of the B.P.C.C., he wrote: "I can assure Messrs Chakravarti and Pal, that if they really desire to become members of the B.P.C.C., there are many, including myself, who would even now be glad to make room for

^{89, 90.} Pal, Life and Times of C. R. Das: Some personal recollections, *The Englishman*, May 17, 1928. On different occasions Pal wrote on C. R. Das. Of these particular mention may be made of the two articles named 'The Curtain Falls' and 'The Spirit of C. R. Das' that he wrote in The Englishman, June 20 and June 23, 1925 respectively immediately after Das' death.

^{91.} Nirad C. Chaudhuri, The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1969, p. 462.

^{92.} Bepin Pal-His inner man, Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.

them." Bose, in fact, was much influenced by Pal in building up his philosophy of nationalism. That he drew heavily upon Pal in this regard is quite manifest in his presidential speech delivered at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Poona in 1928. Taking note of this and welcoming him as one of the future leaders of India, Pal observed: "By his speech at Poona, as President of the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Mr Subhas Chandra Bose has made a clear bid for Nationalist leadership in contemporary Indian politics. It is certainly a creditable performance. The whole speech is instinct with an honest desire to find a way to Indian unity and necessary reconciliation of existing conflict between caste and caste and class and class in our national life. As an old Nationalist, I am personally happy to find Mr Bose frankly feeling his way to the old lines of nationalist thought..."

In Jawaharlal Nehru, Pal found idealism and forthrightness which were distinctive features of his own character. "Jawaharlal". he wrote, "knows no intrigue, is above all the arts of partisanship or diplomacy. He speaks as he thinks, and goes straight to where his inner convictions direct him. This disregard of material values and outer consequences is the universal character of healthy youth. And I know of no young Indian politician either in Bengal or elsewhere in whom this essential characteristic of youth is more manifest than in young Nehru."96 Nehru, however, giving his first impression about Pal, when as a student he saw him in London in 1908, wrote: "We met Bepin Pal in one of our sitting-rooms. There were only a dozen of us present, but he thundered at us as if he was addressing a mass meeting of ten thousand. The volume of noise was so terrific that I could hardly follow what he was saying."97 That such notion of his lacked maturity and independent judgment is clear from the words that he further added: "I wrote to father that

^{93.} Bose's letter in Amrita Bazar Patrika, Dec. 9, 1923.

^{94.} For the full text of Bose's speech, Forward, May 3, 1928.

^{95.} Subhas Bose's Nationalist Ideals, The Englishman, May 10, 1928.

^{96.} The Modern Youth Movement in Europe and India. The Englishman, September 27, 1928.

^{97, 98.} Nehru, An autobiography, The Bodley Head, London, 1948, p. 22.

I preferred Lalajee's address to Bepin Pal's and this pleased him for he had no liking in those days for the firebrands of Bengal."98 Later on, decades after, Nehru could discover in Pal "a great man who functioned on a high level on both religious and political planes," a man who "represented India and essentially Bengal and (that) it was man like him, who fulfilled the qualification of representing the inner sentiments and the spirit of Indian people."99

Another leading figure of the Indian political scene, M. N. Roy, amazingly represents some of the fundamental thoughts bequeathed by Pal. Roy during his stormy political days did not, however, regard Pal with an appreciative eye. He thought that our nationalism had been "accorded a philosophico-spiritual sublimity, by Pal and Ghose." About Pal's advocacy for Imperial Federation, he hastened to remark: "Pal appeared to be bewildered by the extremely contradictory tendencies of his own ideas. Bourgeois radicalism coupled with religious reformism rendered his political vision rather foggy."101 He was perplexed to see "the astounding change in his political convictions" and thus further said: "Progressive liberalism was getting the upper hand of the religious mysticism in Pal's nationalistic philosophy."102 All such remarks were not unexpected from Roy who was a zealous Marxist at that time. But the change that he himself underwent subsequently, from a redoubtable Marxist to a pacifist-humanist, which is equally 'astounding', only conveys the truth that a thinker transforms his thinking potentialities as he gains in experience.

In 1911, Pal, the spiritual-humanist, said: "The ideal end of civilisation is perfection of man, not merely in his physical and material, but equally also, in his moral and spiritual aspects. It is more, it is the perfection of a man as a social unit, as a limb and organ of the social whole." Roy, the Marxist-turned-humanist, in his later days gave expression to exactly similar views in saying: "The crying need of the time is to harmonise ethics

^{99.} Nehru's speech at Pal's birth centinary held at Delhi in 1958. For the text of his speech see *Hindusthan Standard*, November 8, 1958. 100. M. N. Roy with collaboration of Abani Mukherjee, *India in Transition*, Edition de la Librairie J. B. Target, Geneve, 1922, p. 196.

^{101, 102.} Ibid, p. 199.

^{103.} Soul of India, p. 54.

with a social philosophy and political practice. The sovereignty of man...can be deduced only from the fact that man is a moral entity."104 Again, Roy went in the very direction indicated by Pal, when he came to believe, that "until the intellectual, cultural, spiritual atmosphere of the country was changed, it was not possible to bring about a political and economic reconstruction of the country..."105 And interestingly enough, during the last phase of his life he practically identified himself with Pal when he sought "a social reconstruction of the world as a Commonwealth and fraternity of free men by the co-operative endeayour of spiritually emancipated moral men."106 It seems that Roy, of all Indian leaders of the subsequent generation, inherited the basic traits of Pal,--in his advocacy for a rationalist-humanist politics, in his internationalism, and in his fearless independent thinking. All these, particularly the latter feature, made him, like Pal, an unwanted figure in popular eyes and he did invite no less abuses from his countrymen when, during the Second World War, he strongly pleaded for India's alignment with the British against the Axis powers.

Thus, the legacy of Pal's thought is traceable among those who played a prominent role in Indian politics in the succeeding generation. Also "if there was ever a political thinker completely vindicated, it was Bepin Chandra Pal. Almost everything he said came true, for he always took his stand on logic, and if you accepted his premise, he was sure to lead you to his irresistible conclusion. There was no getting away from it." Logic apart, the correctness of his views on various political issues, lay in the fact that he attempted to place politics, even while it was a science of expediency, in a higher and broader context, blending in it both topical issues and questions of permanent importance.

The fact of his losing popular following or of his being out of tune with popular political movements, does not disprove the

^{104.} Roy, Politics, Power and Parties, Renaissance Publishers Ltd., Calcutta 1960, p. 45.

^{105.} Ibid, p. 2.

^{106.} Roy, Reason, Romanticism and Revolution, Vol. 2, Renaissance Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1955, p. 310.

^{107.} Amal Home, Bepin Chandra Pal: Politician, Orator, Journalist, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 6, 1958.

justness of his political ideas. Seldom could a political thinker be master of the artifices which make for a successful politician. And rarely could a successful politician leave substantial stuff for political thought. Success in politics never depends on the soundness of one's theoretical principles. In all periods of history we see political men and political parties attaining power through means and programmes that cannot withstand critical analysis. The tragedy of Pal is that in his eagerness for enlightened politics, in his zeal to remove the irrational roots of our political beliefs, he went more and more to the core of political principles and fundamentals at a time when the people of a subjugated country to which he belonged, were entirely engaged in their struggle to break the chains of foreign domination. Crossing the limits of particular context and time, his views in most matters gradually revealed their permanent importance. This was the real reason why, with the exception of his brief role in the Swaleshi movement, much of what he said and wrote during his long political life, could not be appreciated by his countrymen during his life-time. This was the reason again why eminent foreigners, having had the advantage of being free citizens of free society, could weigh his views more dispassionately than we could when he was alive.

H. M. Hyndman found in him "a man of the most pacific turn of thought."108 Sir Bamfylde Fuller of Bengal-Partition fame, "called him a political philosopher and would eagerly await the delivery of New India edited by Bepin Chandra."109 Mr A. Fenner Brockway wrote an extensive report of his interview with Pal,110 in which, giving his impression about Pal he said: "He is the new spirit of India incarnate. What will happen when the sun's rays which now touch the highest peaks bathe the whole mountain range? When the out-pouring of life which today is thrilling but a few peoples and seers shall pulsate in the heart and soul of every son in India?" He found in Pal "the first prophet of the new Nationalist school" and was "charmed by his philosophic method of treating the subject and the clarity

^{108.} Hyndman, The Awakening of Asia, p. 241.

^{109.} Sundarimohan Das, Bepin Chandra Pal-His inner man, Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 2A, 1932.

^{110.} A. Fenner Brockway, The Truth About India: Interview with B. C. Pal, Labour Leader, London, Marsh, 17, 1911.

with which he described the development of awakening in India." Putting great hope upon Pal, he concluded with these words: "The labour movement in England grew out of a revolt on the part of the workers against unjust and oppressive social conditions at home, but as we advance, our sympathy must widen until it embraces all who are prevented from self-expression in every sphere of human activity. Perhaps Mr Chandra Pal's words may contribute a little towards that end."

When he died on May 20, 1932, all the nationalist papers paid glowing tributes in memory of the departed soul. Those, no doubt, to some extent were indications of a thaw in our understanding of the man. But generally, those were emotional expressions of homages customary for us when a national leader On his passing away, the most illuminating editorial was, perhaps written by The Statesman, May 22, 1932, under the caption 'Democracy's ingratitude', part of which runs as follows: "All the Nationalist papers pay high tribute to Bepin Chandra Pal, who is acclaimed as one of the men who gave the Nationalist aspirations of India a voice. his services are recognised. In life he might have starved for all the help he received from those who now acclaim his genius. For seven years and more he had been dependent for a platform upon European-owned newspapers, and there are many letters in our files which emphasise the fact that no other outlet was open to the ablest pen that has served the cause of India. There is no complaint in these letters, for Bepin Chandra Pal was above all petty resentments, but there is grief that one who had given his all to serve India should be denied, in the maturity of his views, the opening to serve India further by men who had learned all they knew of the deeper purport of nationalism from his voice and pen. Democracies are notoriously ungrateful. They use men to the utmost limit for their physical and mental power and then discard them and throw them on the scrap heap, Younger men striving for personal success are for ever trying to throw down the elders, and in their turn they learn something of the cruelty with which popular parties destroy their leaders when their usefulness is held to be at an end. This is not peculiar to India. It permeates all popular parties everywhere. The man who had created the Expeditionary Force that saved Belgium and France at the very beginning of the War, was being pursued by the howls of the mole even while that Force was marching to meet the German onset. A thousand similar, if less dramatic, examples might be cited from the history of most countries. Of Bepin Chandra Pal it might truly be said that he was of the company of those martyred by the youth that had lisped at his knee. Wreaths are heaped on his funeral pyre by those who criticised him in life and would have left him to drag out his old age in the darkness of neglect."

The Times, London, the ever-hostile critic of Pal, however, showed unexpected moderation and sobriety in writing a onecolumn obituary of him. It started its note with the remark that "few contemporary Indians had gifts of political expression both in the press and on the platform equal to those of Mr Bepin Chandra Pal", and concluded it with the observations: "He remained a convinced, but became a discriminating Nationalist, and the vehement abuse to which he was subjected was a measure of the skill with which he upheld the convictions of his last years. It may well be that at heart, he did not wish otherwise so far as his personal enjoyment, as distinct from his sense of public interest, was concerned. He had an instinctive love of controversy, and would have found life dull and tame if at any time he had roused no antagonisms and all men had spoken well of him. He was not free from vanity, and bore the weight of Extremist opprobium the more readily since he knew that he had won a permanent place in the history of Indian Nationalist development."111

Politically, Pal's was never the role of one who ploughed a solitary furrow. Decidedly, he was one of the mightiest prophets of Indian nationalism, implying that "he was not only the leader of Bengal nationalism but philosophical analyst of Indian nationalism and its development." As an exile in England, he was found acting as the inspiring force of newer ideas, and his abode "became a rendezvous for Indians with progressive tendencies." It may also perhaps be legitimately said that "in his own sphere of intellectual greatness he had hardly been

^{111.} May 21, 1932.

^{112.} Dr V. P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 362.

^{113.} Asaf Ali, 'Late Babu Bepin Chandra Pal', *Hindu*, Vol. 7. No. 8, June 4, 1932, p. 32.

surpassed."¹¹⁴ More assuredly, in fact, he belongs to that limited number of men in Indian national life who would ever be recognised as political thinkers. As he advanced in age, he continued to evince maturer views and unfolded new dimensions of prudential politics. His permanent place in Indian political life is due to those basic ingredients in his thinking which make for a political philosophy.

Democracies are ungrateful in the sense that whenever a thinker "departs too radically from the main channels worn by the thought of his time, he will be put by, for later generations to discover and make use of. So must history be re-written in every age; for we learn from the past only as we are able to bring it into the focus of the day in which we live, and read in it the terms with which we are familiar."115 A re-discovery, in Pal's own words a 'process of re-explanation, re-interpretation and re-adjustment', of his thoughts would show that he really provides a guideline to us in many directions even today, upholds political ideals with which our present generation is familiar and for the realization of which we are resolved. A rediscovery of him would, in fact, unravel a neglected dimension of our inheritance bearing striking relevance to our contemporary political needs and aspirations. He would be remembered so long as India follows the path of democracy with all its latent values. And at every stage of our victory in the cause of democracy, whenever we would look to him, we would perhaps think that here was a tortured and assertive spirit who could have said like Emerson: "I am Defeated all the time; yet to Victory I am born."116

^{114.} Editorial under the caption 'Bipin Chandra Pal', Liberty, Calcutta, May 21, 1932.

^{115.} Charles Maurice Wiltse, The Jeffersonian Tradition in American Democracy, Hill & Wang, Inc., New York, 1960, p. 4.

^{116.} As quoted in Sherman Paul, Emerson's Angle of Vision, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952, p. 225.

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- 33. Swadeshi & Swaraj (The Rise of New Patriotism), Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Calcutta, 1954.
 - 34. Character Sketches, Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Cal. 1957.
- 35. Saint Bijaykrishna Goswami, Bipin Chandra Pal Institute, Calcutta, 6, 1964.

B. Pal's Bengali Works.

- 1. Rajni Mata Victoria (Queen Mother Victoria), published by the author, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1887.
- 2. Bhakti-Sadhan (Sermons of the American savant Theodore Parker), Brahmo Mission, 211, Cornwallis St., Cal. 1894.
- 3. Jailer Khata (Prison Diary), Printed and published by Manmatha Nath Ghose, Ghose Press, 38, Sibnarayan Das Lane, Cal. 1316, B.E.
- 4. Charit-Katha (Character-sketches), Bhattacharya & Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta, 1323, B.E.

- 5. Bange Narir Nirvachanadhikar (Women Franchise in Bengal), published by the author from Calcutta, 1921. The publication contains proceedings of the Women's meetings in Calcutta and the mufassil districts of Bengal on the agitation about women franchise, with an address by Pal.
- 6. Amar Rastriya Matabad (My political ideology), Pal Bros., 55/B, Sankharipara Road, Calcutta, 1922.
- 7. Prabartak Vijaykrishna, Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta, 1341, B.E.
- 8. Markine Chari Mas (Four months in America) Yugayatri Pra-kashak Ltd., Calcutta, 1362, B.E.
- 9. Sattar Batsar, (Seventy years, an autobiography), Yugayatri Pra-kashak Ltd., Cal. 1362 B.E.
- 10. Rashtraniti, (Politics), Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Calcutta, 1363 B.E.
- 11. Sahitya-O-Sadhana, (Literature and beliefs), Vol. I, Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Calcutta, 1959.
- 12. Sahitya-O-Sadhana, (Literature and beliefs), Vol. II, Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., Calcutta, 1960.
- 13. Navayuger Bangla, (New Era in Bengal), Bipin Chandra Pal Institute, Cal., 1964 (2nd. Edition).

C. Pal's Writings in Periodicals

(Numerous are the writings of Pal scattered over a number of periodicals, both English and Bengali. An exhaustive list is not possible within the scope of this thesis. A selected few, with brief notes, of his writings in English periodicals are mentioned here. Regarding his writings in Bengali periodicals mention is made only of the periodicals along with the years in which he wrote).

English Periodicals:

- (a) Indian Mirror, Daily, Calcutta (1898).
- 1. Seventeen despatches were sent by Pal during his first visit to England. Of these three captioned 'Westward Ho!', the remaining named 'Social and Religious letter'. Oct. 11 to Dec. 18, 1898.
- (b) New India, Weekly, Calcutta (1901-1907).
 - 1. National Spirit, Aug. 12, 1901.
 - 2. Raja Rammohun Roy, Aug. 12, 1901.
 - 3. Educational Ideals, Sept. 2, 1901.
 - 4. Science and Religion, Sept. 16, 23, 1901.
 - 5. Reform on National Lines, Dec. 2, 1901.
 - 6. Hedonism and Idealism in Hindu Ethics, Dec. 2, 1901.
 - 7. Legalism in Hindu Ethics, Dec. 9, 1901.
 - 8. Features of Social Reforms, Dec. 9, 1901.
 - 9. Studies in Political Science: Natural Rights, Dec. 16, 1901.
 - 10. Self-help, Self-reliance, Dec. 16, 1901.

- 11. The Message of Vaishnavism, June 19, 1902.
- 12. Training in good citizenship, June 26, 1902.
- 13. India and the Empire, July 3, 1902.
- 14. Loyalty in India, Aug. 7, 1902.
- 15. Mediaevalism, Indian and European, Dec. 4, 1902.
- 16. Citizenship and Equality, Feb 4, 1904.

(c) Bande Mataram, Daily, Calcutta (1906, 1908).

- 1. The New Spirit, Aug. 25, 1906.
- 2. The New Situation, Aug. 27, 1906.
- 3. Partition of Bengal, Sept. 4, 1906.
- 4. The Old Policy and the New, Sept. 12, 1906.
- 5. The Shell and the Seed, Sept. 17, 1906.
- 6. The Sinful Desire, Sept. 18, 1906.
- 7. The Cry of Leadership, Oct. 1, 1906.
- 8. Love, Logic and Politics, Oct. 6, 1906.
- 9. Boycott not Antipathy, Isolation not Hatred, May 7, 1908.
- 10. The birth of the bomb, May 9, 1908.
- 11. Autocracy and Revolution, May 13, 1908.
- 1/2. The Secret of the Nationalist Movement, May 19, 1908.
- Mediaeval Abstractions and Modern Problems in India, May
 1908.
 - 14. The Bed-rock of Indian Nationalism, June 11, 12, 16, 1908.
 - 15. The Gospel of New Nationalism, June 20, 1908.
 - 16. The Government, the Press and the People, June 24, 1908.
 - 17. Before the Bar of History, June 30, 1908.
 - 18. The Passive Resister and the Government, July 4, 1908.
 - 19. The Problem before the Country, July 6, 1908.
 - 20. The Strength of Fatalism, July 20, 1908.
 - 21. The Boycott, August 4, 1908.
 - 22. Personal Freedom and Political Freedom, Aug. 11, 1908.
 - 23. Political Evolution, August 13, 14, 15, 1908.
 - 24. Sri Krishna or Indian Nationalism, Aug. 18, 1908.
 - (d) Svaraj, Fortnightly, London, (1909).
- 1. Indian Nationalism: Ideals and Methods, Vol. I, No. 1, 1st March, 1909.
 - 2. The Situation in India, Vol. I, No. I, 1st March, 1909.
 - 3. Lord Morley's Reforms, Vol. I, No. I, 1st March, 1909.
 - 4. Svaraj, Vol. I, No. I, 1st March, 1909.
 - 5. The Political Ideal of Islam, Vol. I, No. I, 1st March, 1909.
 - 6. On Loyalty, Vol. I, No. 1, 1st March, 1909.
 - 7. The Vaishnavic Ideal of Art, Vol. I, No. 1, 1st March, 1909.
- 8. The Situation in India: Lord Morley's Reforms, Vol. 1, No. 2, March, 16, 1909.
 - 9. The Gospel of Svaraj, Vol. I, No. 2, March 16, 1909.

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- (e) Karmayogin, Weekly, Calcutta, (1909-1910)
- 1. The Situation-I, Vol. I, No. 14, 9th Aswin, 1316 B.E.
- 2. The Situation-II, Vol. 1, No. 15, 16th Aswin, 1316 B.E.
- 3. Nationalist Work in England, Vol. I, No. 16, 23rd Aswin, 1316 B.E.
- 4. Nationalism and Nationalists, Vol. 1, No. 27, 24th Poush, 1316 B.E.
- 5. Nationalism and Nationalists-II, Vol. I, No. 28, 2nd Magh, 1316 B.E.
- 6. Nationalism and Nationalists-III, Vol. 1, No. 29, 9th Magh, 1316 B.E.
- 7. Nationalism and Nationalists-IV, Vol. 1, No. 30, 16th Magh, 13-6 B.E.
 - 8. Sociology as a Science, Vol. 1, No. 39, 13th Chaitra, 1316 B.E.
 - (f) The Modern Review, Monthly, Calcutta 1910-1911
- *1. A Series, in 9 instalments, captioned 'Contemporary Thought and Life', June-Aug., Oct., Nov., 1910; March, June, July, Sept., 1911.
- *2. 'Contemporary Thoughts and Events', in 2 instalments, April, May, 1911.
 - 3. Studies in the Bhagabadgeeta, in 2 instalments, Oct., Nov., 1911.
- * These were written by Pal from London under the pen-name 'E. Willis'. See in this connection, Notes: Bipin Chandra Pal, The Modern Review, Vol. Ll, No. 6, June 1932, p. 708.
 - (g) Hindu Review, Monthly, Calcutta, 1913.

(Excluding essays appearing in Pal's 'Nationality and Empire').

- 1. The Life of Swami Vivekananda, February 1913.
- 2. Nivedita and Vivekananda, March, 1913.
- 3. The Suffragette Revolution, April, May, 1913.
- 4. Character Sketch: Rabindranath and the Nobel Prize, Dec. 1913.
 - (h) Amrita Bazar Patrika, Daily, Calcutta, (1915-1919).
- Materialised Hindu Philosophy or Philosophy of Germany, July 12, 1915.
 - 2. Village Life and Town Life, July 15, 1915.
 - 3. Desertion of Villages for Towns and Cities, July 27, 1915.
 - 4. The Evolution of War, August 23, 1915.
 - 5. The Co-operative Movement, September 13, 1915.
 - 6. The Proposed Home Rule League, September 25, 1915.
 - 7. Village Panchayats, October 28, 1915.
 - 8. Home Rule for India, December 8, 1915.
 - 9. De-humanising a Nation, December 13, 1915.

- 10. Self-Government, December 16, 1915.
- 11. Larger Human Fellowship, June 15, 1918.
- 12. The Reform Bill, July, 2, 3, 4, 1918.
- 13. The Reforms: Why they were wanted and what they promise, July 12, 1918.
 - 14. India and the Modern World, Nov. 28, Dec. 1, 1919.
- 15. Twelve Despatches sent from London, Sept. 9, 16, 29; Nov. 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 26, 29; 1919.
- 16. A Federal Home Rule Association for India, (signed article), Dec. 25, 1915.
- 17. The Situation in India: Between the Devil and the Deep Sea, (signed article), May 29, 1918.

Note: Serial Nos. 1 to 14 are from his writings in the editorial columns of the paper.

- (i) Standard Bearer, Weekly, Calcutta, (1921-1923).
- 1. Indian Nationalism and Self-determination, Nov. 7, 1921
- 2. Intuition of the Age, March 6, March 27, 1922.
- 3. The Meaning of Nationalism, May 29, 1922.
- 4. What is Nationality? June 5, 1922.
- 5. The Individuality of India, June 1/2, 1922.
- 6. The Nation-idea in Ancient India, June 19, 1922.
- 7. Cultural Nationalism, June 26, 1922.
- 8. The New Indian Nationalism, July 3, 1922.
- 9. National Consciousness, July 10, 1922.
- 10. Nationalism as a Freedom Movement, July 17, 1922.
- 11. Indian Nationalism and Indian Swaraj, July 24, 31, 1922.
- 12. Essays on Social Idealism, Aug. 15, 1922.
- 13. A Series, in 8 instalments, captioned 'Indian Nationalism and Economic Reconstruction', Aug. 15 to Oct. 17, 1922.
- 14. A Series, in 10 instalments, captioned 'Indian Nationalism and Social Reconstruction', Oct. 24, 1922 to Aug. 15, 1923.
- 15. A Series, in 4 instalments, captioned 'Papers on Village Reconstruction', March 6 to April 3, 1923.
 - (i) The Bengalee, Daily, Calcutta, (1924-1925).
- 1. During his editorship of the paper, from 17.6.24 to 13.5.25, most of its editorials were written by Pal.
 - 2. To my readers (signed article), June 17, 1924.
 - 3. Revived memories (signed article), June 29, 1924.
- 4. A Series, in 4 instalments, captioned 'Recollection of Bal Gangadhar Tilak', (signed article), Aug. 1, 5, 8, 12, 1924.
 - 5. The Editor's Chat, (signed article), Sept. 30, 1924.

- (k) Leader, Daily, Allahabad, (1926).
- 1. Constructive Politics, June 25, 1926.
- Responsive Co-operation, Aug. 30, 1926.
- (i) Forward, Daily, Calcutta, (1926-1928).
- 1. Freedom Movement in Bengal: A Personal Narrative, Dec. 26, 1926.
 - 2. Chittaranjan's Religion, July 1, 1927, (Deshabandhu Number).
 - 3. The Cult of Mother in Bengal, Sept. 26, 1927 (Puja Number).
- 4. King Amanullah and Britain: Indo-Islamic Situation, May 27, 1928.
 - (m) Liberty, Daily, Calcutta, (1932).
- 1. A Series, in 16 instalments, captioned 'My Prison Experiences,' June 2 to June 17, 1932. The Experiences were written by Pal in 1920 and were published in this paper after his death.
 - (n) The Statesman, Daily, Calcutta (1926, 1928).
- 1. A series, in 3 instalments, captioned 'The Late Assembly: Politics and Personalities,' Sept. 22, 23, 25, 1926.
 - Juggernaut: What does it mean, June 23, 1928.
 - (o) The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Weekly, Calcutta (1928).
 - 1. Civic Service, Nov. 17, 1928.
- 2. Calcutta and the Cultural Evolution of Modern India, Dec. 22, 1928.
 - (p) New Era, Monthly, Madras, (1929).
- 1. A Series, in 3 instalments, captioned 'Vijaya Krishna Goswami,' July to Sept., 1929.
 - (q) The Englishman, Daily, Calcutta, (1921, 1925-1931).

Note: During Sept. to Dec. 1921, Pal contributed two writings in this paper each week. During June, 1925 to Nov. 1931, he used to contribute one writing each week, normally, on Thursday.

- (r) Hindu, An Anglo-Vernacular Weekly, Calcutta (1932).
- 1. A Series, in 3 instalments, captioned 'Provincial Autonomy,' March 12, 19, 26, 1932.

- 2. Current Comments: Philosophical Anarchist or Papal Autocrat? March 12, 1932.
 - 3. Official Publicity, April 23, 1932.
 - *4. Facing Facts, May 21, 1932.
 - *5. Mr Gandhi and the Congress, June 18, 25, 1932.
- * These seems to be Pal's last writings which he wrote for this paper and which were published in it after his death on May 20, 1932.

Bengali Periodicals (Monthly):

(a) Alochana (1291-1292 B.E.); (b) Pradip (1307-1308 B.E.); (c) Bangadarshan, New Series, (1308-1318 B.E.); (d) Bijoya (1318-1320 B.E.); (e) Narayana (1321-1330 B.E.); (f) Prabartak (1329 B.E.); (g) Sanhati (1330-1331 B.E.); (h) Nabyabharat (1329-1331 B.E.); (i) Bangabani (1328-1331 B.E.); (j) Sonar Bangla (1332 B.E.); (k) Basumati (1332 B.E.); (l) Bangalaxmi (1335 B.E.).

D. Pal's Speeches:

- 1. Sivaji Festival, Speech in Sivaji Utsab, Calcutta, New India, June 26, 1902.
- 2. Social Reform Ideals and Methods, Presidential Address at the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, New India, Dec. 11, 18, 1902.
- 3. The New Ideal in India, Speech during Brahma Samaj Anniversary, Calcutta, New India, February 4, 1904.
- 4. Political Situation: Danger from the Mongolian Races, at the Federation Ground Hall, Calcutta, Report on Native Papers in Bengal, Confd. No. 15 of 1908.
- 5. Treatment of Indian in British Colonies, Caxton Hall, London, The Times, London, October 17, 1908.
- 6. Indian Nationalism: Its Aims and Methods, Oddfellows' Hall, Edinburgh, Svaraj, Vol. I, No. 1, 1st March, 1909.
- 7. Speech at the Extra-ordinary Session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, The Bengalee, July 8, 1918.
- 8. Khilafat Movement, Allahabad, Musalman, Vol. XIV, No. 16, April 16, 1920.
- 9. 'Magic Preferred to Logic', (concluding speech at the Bengal Provincial Conference, Barisal, 1921), The Statesman, March, 29, 1921.
- 10. Right to Vote: How to Exercise it?—Election Speech, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Oct. 28, 1923.
- 11. Swaraj and Swadharma, at the Jagabandhu Institution, Calcutta, Amrita Bazar Patrika, November 1, 1923.
- 12. Political Thought in Bengal, Calcutta Theosophical Society, The Statesman, August 6, 1924.
- 13. Experiences of a Veteran Journalist, at the Indian Journalists Association, Calcutta, The Bengalee, August 24, 1924.
- 14. East and West, at the Calcutta Parliament (A Cultural Body), The Bengalee, August 30, 1924.

- 15. Union of the East & West, at the Calcutta Rotary Club, The Bengalee, October 22, 1924.
- 16. New Bengal Ordinance and the Revolutionaries, at the Calcutta Town Hall, The Statesman, Nov. 2, 1924.
- 17. Political Evolution in Modern Bengal, at the Calcutta Theosophical Society, The Bengalee, November 15, 1924.
- 18. The Call of the Ideal, before the members of the Chhatra Samaj or Students' Union, at the Brahmo Samaj Hall, Calcutta, The Bengalee, November 16, 1924.
- 19. Present Political Situation, Presidential Address, at the All Party meeting, Calcutta, The Bengalee, January 13, 1925.
- 20. Freedom Movement in India, at the Hindu College Union, Delhi, The Bengalee, February 8, 1925.
- 21. Presidential Speech at the West Bengal Ministerial Officers' Annual Conference, Berhampur, Forward, January 1, 1928.

E. Pal's Assembly Speeches:

(excluding the speeches appearing in Pal's 'The Indian Legislative Assembly, The Delhi Session, Feb. and March, 1924, A Personal Narrative'.)

- 1. Steel Industry (Protection) Bill, Indian Legislative Assembly Debates, (Official Report), Vol. IV, No. 42, 4th June, 1924.
- 2. Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, Vol. V, No. 6, 28th January, 1925,
 - 3. Grievances of the Postal Staff, Vol. V, No. 15, 12th Feb. 1925.
- 4. General Discussion on Railway Budget, Vol. V, No. 21, 23rd February, 1925.
- 5. Cotton Excise Establishment (Budget Speech), Vol. V, No. 30, 6th March, 1925.
- 6. Questions of Public Policy (Budget Speech), Vol. V, No. 34, 14th March, 1925.
- 7. Grounds for Commitment to the Principle of the Finance Bill (Budget Speech), Vol. V, No. 35, 16th March, 1925.
- 8. Grounds for refusing to throw out the Finance Bill (Budget Speech), Vol. V, No. 37, 18th March, 1925.
- 9. 'The Brandishing of Sword': The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Bill, Vol. V, No. 41, 24th March, 1925.
- 10. Case of Hindu Womanhood: The Indian Penal Code (Amendment Bill), Vol. V, No. 41, 24th March, 1925.
- 11. Unemployment among the Middle-classes, Vol. VII, No. 6, 28th January, 1926.
- 12. The Contempt of Courts Bill, Vol. VII, No. 11, 8th February, 1926.
- 13. The Bengal State Prisoners Regulation (Repeal), Bill, Vol. VII, No. 14, 12th February, 1926.
- Extension of the Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province,
 Vol. VII, No. 16, 16th February, 1926.

- 15. Motion to Omit the Budget Demand for 'Executive Council', Vol. VII, No. 30, 11th March, 1926.
 - F. Pal's Press-Interviews, Memorandum, Manifesto and Messages :
- 1. Interview with the correspondent of the Statesman. Full text in The Statesman, March 11, 1908. Here Pal narrates his prison experiences, expounds his political stand and claims himself a 'Sociologist'.
- 2. Interview with the correspondent of The Statesman. Full text in the Statesman, May 7, 1924. Here he explains some points on Tariff measures.
- 3. 'Memorandum on the Recent Declaration of Policy, And the steps that should be taken in pursuance of it. Submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy And His Majesty's Secretary of State for India', by Bipin Chandra Pal. Printed at Sree Gauranga Press, Calcutta, (Foolscap 18 pages). Year and Publisher's name not mentioned. Evidently, it was published in 1917, when Montagu came to India to collect Indian opinions on reforms. Consulted from the personal collections of Si. Jnananjan Pal.
- 4. Pal's 'Election Manifesto.' Full Text in Amrita Bazar Patrika, Oct. 10, 1923: also in The Sengalee, Oct. 12, 1923.
- 5. Message through The Statesman on the occasion of 'Unity-day' when Gandhiji resorted to fast unto death for Hindu-Muslim Unity. Full text in The Statesman, Oct. 8, 1924.
- 6. Message to The British Empire Association, Calcutta, on his being elected its President. Message published after his death. Full text in Hindu, Vol. VII, No. 8, June 4, 1932.

G. Letters:

- 1. Pal's letter in The Manchester Guardian, London, Nov. 1898, as reproduced in The Indian Mirror, Dec. 6, 1898.
- 2. Pal's letter in The Manchester Guardian, London, Nov. 1898, as reproduced in The Indian Mirror, Dec. 14, 1898.
 - 3. Pal's letter in The Englishman, June, 1, 1907.
- 4. Pal's letter in The Nayak, Feb. 26, 1909, a Bengali daily, Cal., as reproduced in Report on Native papers in Bengal, Confd. No. 10 of 1909.
- 5. Pal's letter in The Nayak, April 16, 1909, as reproduced in Report on Native papers in Bengal, Confd. No. 42 of 1909.
 - 6. Pal's letter in Times, London, March 11, 1909.
 - 7. Pal's letter in Times, London, July 12, 1909.
 - 8. Pal's letter in Times, London, August 8, 1910.
- 9. Pal's letter in The Manchester Guardian, as reproduced in Karmayogin, Vol. 1, No. 11, 19th Bhadra 1316, B.E.
- 10. C. R. Das' letter, Nov. 13, 1923 to Pal, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 14, 1923.
- 11. Pal's letter Nov. 13, 1923 to Das, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 14, 1923.

- 1/2. Pal's letter in Amrita Bazar Patrika, Nov. 16, 1923.
- 13. Pal's letter in Amrita Bazar Patrika, Feb. 27, 1924.
- J. M. Sengupta and others wire, March 5, 1924 to Pal, Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 12, 1924.
- 15. Pal's reply to Sengupta & others, March 7, 1924, Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 12, 1924.
 - 16. Pal's letter in Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 25, 1924.

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17.	-do-	The Statesman,	Feb. 27, 1924
18.	-do-	-do-	March 1, 1924.
19.	-do-	-do-	March 23, 1924.
20.	-do-	-do-	March 30, 1924.
21.	-do-	-do-	April 15, 1924.
22.	-do	The Bengalee.	April 13, 1924.

- 23. Pal's open letter to Gandhiji, The Bengalee, May 6, 1924; The same letter also appears in The Englishman, May 7, 1924.
- 24. Pal's letter, June 11, 1911 to Dr. Sundarimohan Das, unpublished letter. Consulted from the Personal Collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.
- 25. Pal's letter, Aug. 26, 1919 to one of his relatives (in Bengali), unpublished letter. Consulted from the Personal Collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.
- 26. Pal's letter, Sept. 10, 1920 to Pandit Motilal Nehru, unpublished letter. Consulted from the Personal Collection of Sj. Janaanjan Pal.
- 27. Rabindranath Tagore's letter, Falgoon 30, 1333 B.E., to Pal, (in Bengali), in connection with a conference on International Brotherhood, unpublished letter. Consulted from the Personal Collections of Sj. Jnananjan Pal.

सन्यमेव जयने

PART II:

Secondary Sources.

- A. Writings, Reports and Comments on Pal (as in periodicals).
- 1. St. Nihal Singh, Bipin Chandra Pal: Boycotter, The Review of Reviews, Vol. XXXIX, Jany.-June, 1909.
- 2. W. T. Stead, Bepin Chandra Pal: Nationalist-Imperialist, *Ihc Reviews of Reviews*, Vol. XLIV, No. 262, Oct. 1911.
- 3. A. Fenner Brockway, The Truth About India: Interview with B. C. Pal, Labour Leader, Daily, London, March 17, 1911.
- 4. Prof. J. L. Banerjee, A Born Rebel, The Statesman, May 21, 1932.
- 5. Dr Sundari Mohan Das, Bipin Chandra Pal—His Inner Man, Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1932.
- 6. T. L. Vawani, Bepin Chandra Pal, Hindu, Vol. 7, No. 8, June 4, 1932.
- 7. Asaf Ali, Late Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, Hindu, Vol. VII, No. 8, June 4, 1932.
 - 8. St. Nihal Singh, Bipin Chandra Pal: Reminiscences of the Pa-

- triot in Voluntary Evile, The Modern Review, Vol. LII., No. I, July, 1932.
- 9. Amal Home, Bipin Chandra Pal: Politician, Orator, Journalist. Amrita Bazar Patrika, November 6, 1958.
- 10. Manindra Narayan Ray, A Prophet and a Pioneer, Hindusthan Standard, Nov. 2, 1958.
- 11. Frederick James, Bipin Chandra Pal, Vigil, Weekly, Calcutta, Vol. IX, No. 40, (New Series), November 8, 1958.
- 12. Jawaharlal Nehru's Tributes to Pal at the Centenary-Celebration at Delhi. Text of the Speech in *Hindusthan Standardard*, Nov. 8, 1958.
- 13. One Fred Reynolds' letter to Manchester Guardian supporting Pal's Political views. As reproduced in *The Indian Mirror*, Dec. 21, 1898.
- 14. Patrika's London-Correspondent gives reports and comments on Pal's London-speeches. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 6, 1899; Feb. 15, 1899.
- 15. Notes & Comments on Pal, The World and The New Dispensation, Weekly, Calcutta, Vol. X, No. 26, June 25, 1899.
 25, 1899.
- A Felicitation to Pal, Indian Social Reformer, Madras, Vol. XII, No. 2, Sept. 8, 1901.
- 17. Manchester Guardian's Calcutta-Correspondent's report and views on Pal, in Manchester Guardian, January 22, 1907. As reproduced in *India*, Weekly, London, January 25, 1907.
- 18. A Correspondent's lengthy letter giving excerpts from Pal's Madras speeches. *The Times*, London, June 3, 1907.
- 19. Main Editorial criticising Pal's Madras speeches. The Times, June 3, 1907.
- 20. A Critical report of Pal's speech on 'Sakti Poojah'. The Times, June 19, 1907.
- 21. Editorial on Pal's 'Sakti-poojah'-speech. The Times, June 19. 1907.
- 22. Reports on Pal's involvement in 'Bande Mataram'-prosecution case. *The Indian Daily News*, Calcutta, August 27, September 11, September 13, September 18, November 21, 1907.
- 23. Report and comment on Pal. The Daily News, London, Nov. 28, 1907. As reproduced in India, London, Dec. 6, 1907.
- 24. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya's letter in *The Times*, March 1, 1909. Here he criticises Shyamaji Krishnavarma and supports Pal.
- 25. Shyamaji Krishnavarma's letter in The Times, March 10. 1909, in which he quotes Pal in support of his contention.
- 26. A Correspondent, The Extremist Attitude, *The Times*, July 8, 1909. Here the correspondent quotes from Pal's 'Svaraj' and wants to implicate Pal with Savarkar's activities, particularly because the latter resided with Pal as a paying guest.
- 27. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya's letter in *The Times*, July 12. 1909, defending the aims and objects of Pal's 'Svaraj'.

- 28. Indian Sedition (Editorial Note on Pa) and Surendranath Banerjee), The Times, August 18, 1909.
- 29. Indian Sedition (A report on the prosecution of 'Svaraj' Agent of Bombay), The Times, September 21, 1909.
- 30. Prosecution of the 'Svaraj' Agent (A Report), The Times, August 24, 1909.
- 31. A Britisher, Mr B. C. Pal and The Future of India, (A letter), The Manchester Guardian, September 20, 1911.
- 32. Mr B. C. Pal's Sentence (Editorial Note), Morning Leader, London, October 11, 1911.
- 33. Mr Stead on 'Svaraj'-case, as reproduced in Karmayogin, Vol. I, No. 19, 27th Kartick, 1316 B.E.
- 34. Main Editorial, *The Statesman*, Calcutta, Oct. 8, 1911, criticising Pal and making a plea for stringent punishment of Pal.
- 35. Amrita Bazar Patrika's Editorial Comment, October 9, 1911, in reply to The Statesman and in defence of Pal.
- 36. The World-Situation (Main Editorial), Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 14, 1918. An appreciation of Pal's views on International Politics.
- 37. Editorial Comment, The Pioneer, Daily, Allahabad, December 22, 1919. An attack on Pal for his views on Bolshevism.
- 38: The Bolsheviks in Central Asia, (Editorial), The Times, January 2, 1920, Criticism of Pal's views on Bolshevism.
- 39. Lord Sydenham's letter in *The Times*, January 8, 1920, criticising Pal.
- 40. Amrita Bazar Patrika's Editorial Comment, February 25, 1920, rebuffing Sydenham.
- 41. Provincial Conference at Barisal: President criticised, (A Report), The Statesman, March 27, 1921.
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