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A REVIEW

OF THE

POLITICAL SITUATION

IN

CENTRAL ASIA,

BY

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PREFACE.

In March 1909 A. D., when I had the misfortune of being confined to the Arak Fort (Kabul), I had left the world calm and peaceful. In April 1919, when I came out of the Arak into the free living world, I found it topsy-turvy—everywhere revolution. The Bolshwik revolution of Russia had been followed by revolution in Afghanistan, and revolutionary troubles in Europe. The political thought of India was being revolutionised. No one can deny the legitimacy of a nation, however happy it may be under foreign rule, wishing to be liberated from it. England overthrew Latin yoke, Spain struggled out of the Saracenic rule; Greece liberated herself from Turkey. Such a struggle is natural and healthy, and indicates that the struggling nation is not dead.

It is, however, regrettable that Indian struggle has been misrepresented in our neighbouring countries, and this misrepresentation has given rise there to active sympathy with the Indian people. I believe it is a crime to wilfully misrepresent, and thereby cause misunderstanding, for misunderstandings break old ties, and

make foes of friends. But why should Afghanistan, Soviet Russia, or any other country sympathise with us? Would their sympathy be excited by self-interest, or would it be purely unselfish and humane? Should we profit by such sympathy, and, if so, how far? I have been greatly worried by these questions, and I have noticed that some leaders of Indian political thought have misunderstood and exaggerated this foreign sympathy. The superficiality of this thought, which is maintained by the votaries of 'Popular Applause,' has helped, and is helping, misrepresentation, and is causing misunderstanding. My fear that these errors might lead to grave consequences, *whereby India is sure to lose,* is the cause of my writing this book. I wish we might think and act more seriously, more deeply, more calmly, and more systematically, and not lose the game.

The Extremist thinkers might denounce me, but as an Indian I have every right to express my views, and, I hope, they will not condemn me unheard. I assure my Indian brethren that nothing but a deep feeling of India's future welfare has prompted me to do so, and that my denunciation of Bolshwism, or of the vanity of

Indians depending upon foreign help, is not at all exaggerated. I only claim honesty of my views, and, if they are at all appreciated, I shall be gratified. To express such views, and at such a time, is a sufficient proof that to court admiration or applause is far from my heart.

I will be highly obliged if I am corrected.

M. ABDUL GHANI,

Jalalpur Jattán,

Dated the May 1921. *Gujrat, (Panjab).*

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INTRODUCTION.

Why should India have an interest in Central Asia?

ONLY so late as the last decade of the last century when I was in England, I had the opportunity of witnessing a sad and painful spectacle in the House of Commons, when the Minister for India, after persistent importunity, had been graciously given a day for Indian questions. Hardly a score of members were present, some of them actually dozing. A few speeches, and the fate of three hundred millions of humanity was sealed—the millions, who daily and nightly sweat to swell the British Exchequer, whose labours make India the most precious gem in the British Crown, and whose sword and blood have won laurels for the British arms even outside India:—so little was then the interest taken in Indian affairs by the British public and their representatives. Early in this century greater interest has been shown, because a large number of Indians laid their affairs directly before the British public, because Ranji had played well at the Lords', and because during the Great European

War India neither spared men nor money to strengthen the British arms, and to secure ascendency for it.

In the first half of the last century Central Asia was considered to be a land unknown, and untrodden by European foot. Very few travellers had penetrated into those regions, and some of those who did so, had perished in the attempt. The westward prolongation of the Himalayan range, and the high-wall of the Hindu-Kush, were believed to be impassable, and, thus, ensuring to Great Britain the security of her possessions in India, had not only lulled, but impeded, the very thought of those mountainous regions, which old civilisation had abandoned to their cruel snows, and more cruel inhabitants, who, in self-destructive struggles, rose and fell not less perennially and perpetually. In the latter half of the 19th century forced efforts began to be made to know something of that land. Russia's penetration in those territories, hitherto conceived to have been impenetrable, suddenly roused unexpected fears in the Anglo-Indian mind, which began to perceive the slowly approaching spectre of a Giant Polar Bear advancing in that direction. The Bear marched

step by step until the northern boundary of Bokhara was reached. Britain's threatened interest roused her diplomats in Westminster and in Calcutta, and in 1872-73 they began to define the northern boundary of Afghanistan, which was confidently believed to bear the brunt of any intrusion from that side. Afghanistan as an organised government together with the Hindu-Kush, the Kuen Lun, and the highest table-land of the Pamirs—"the Roof of the World"—lying between and above them—would form a strong and sure safeguard against the onroads of the Bear, and the Lion would remain undisturbed.

Still at the time (about 1896) when Sir Henry Rawlinson's "England and Russia in the East" drew the British public attention "to a livelier sense of the responsibilities and dangers attaching to British tenure in India," says Mr. Charles E. D. Black of the India Office, London, in his editorial introduction to "The Rival Powers in Central Asia," (translated from the German), "it was a far cry from Westminster to Simla, and India was comparatively unfamiliar topic. If it were so in the case of Hindustan, public opinion was still less enlightened with regard to its contiguous regions."

Regarding these regions, I am sorry to observe, public opinion in India is not better informed. The British tenure in India was considered to be in danger then; it is pre-eminently in danger now.

Just now when there is a tension between Afghanistan and the Indian Government, I thought it might be useful to throw some light on the Central Asian political situation, as my close knowledge of Afghanistan and the Kabul Court, and a year's contact with the Bolshwik Legation in Kabul, have enabled me to observe.

India's interest in Central Asia is apparently twofold. On the one hand *India—Anglia* (the British Government of India), which is deeply and sincerely interested in her, must seek to protect her. Great Britain like an over-affectionate but suspicious husband, not mistaking her effusion of fidelity for genuine love for himself, would be ever casting at her stealthy glances with extremely jealous anxiety. On the other hand *India-Propria* like an old wife, who has experienced various wedlocks, and served several husbands, having lost all faith in the genuineness of her present husband's too warm embraces, has, and naturally must have, no other interest than the welfare of

her numberless children. She would rather be a widow, and 'wed her own sons', who, she seems confident, would carefully look after her. *India-Propria* is sick of changing masters, and wants no new master. She looks round herself with frightful suspicion, and would in no case like on her breast any more sanguine demonstrations of love between her rival lovers. She looks with satisfaction only to the North, where the snowy peaks of the Himalaya guard her, but all other directions she watches with fear and distrust. Her greater fear is from west and north-west, which is her old vulnerable side, though she has some lurking suspicion of Japan, who might be a possible claimant.

So, she naturally dreads interlopers from her north-western boundary; and who can be such unwelcome claimants but Afghanistan and Russia, singly or combined? Afghanistan, single-handed, if she had any sense, would not even cherish such an idea in the near future. She might enter upon this venture when her treasury is full, and her army efficiently and up-to-date trained, organised and equipped, with the complete development of her resources, and at least every fifth man of her male population priding himself as the educated and armed defender of his motherland.

Single-handed Russia will hesitate before she raises her strength to double that of Great Britain. Therefore if she ever cherished designs upon India, she must secure the co-operation of Afghanistan—Afghanistan regenerated, organised and strong. So I propose to consider in this little book how far India's danger from that direction is real, and how far imaginary.

In this connection we have two positions to consider, *viz.*, *within* India and *without* India.

Within India, we have again two points of view:—one that of the Indian Government, which is based solely and wholly on British interests; and the other that of the Indian public, who consider their own interest to the total exclusion of all other interests, so much so that even their intelligent sympathy with the present government would be only a veiled support of measures, which, they believe, would be actually conducive to the security of their own motherland. It pains me to see the ever-widening gulf which exists between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian minds. Why it has existed, and why it must exist, let the Anglo-Indian answer, whom alone I blame for it, *i.e.*, if he, as representative of His Majesty's Government and trustee of British interests, admits it to be undesirable.

The Indian public has become intelligent enough to understand that the British conquest of India began as a commercial concern under a British Company of merchants, and that when its administration grew too large for the Company, it was transferred to the British Crown. Still it was a commercial concern, and even now it is no more than a commercial concern, with no other motive than the prosperity of the British nation and of the British Government.

To suggest to the British Government what ought to be their attitude in the present crisis might perhaps be considered presumptuous, but, as I have the interest of India at heart, I cannot refrain from remarking that the British Government should think twice before attempting any drastic step such as an Anglo-Afghan war, and that the Indian public should think more than twice before opposing that step or lending support to it, for *it would involve the greatest issues of India's future.* If war were declared with Afghanistan, India cannot but lose, perhaps not in battle first, but surely in men, in money and in materials, because, in addition to the ordinary losses which a great war would naturally entail, India, as the aftermath of such a war, will have to face like Russia an economic crisis, which

might throw it back for generations in its struggle for independent national existence. And what will *India-Anglia* lose or gain, their own statesmen are wise enough to anticipate. I am afraid that for them the question will be "life or death of Great Britain in Asia."

No doubt British sword and diplomacy have conquered, and retained India, and they will retain it for some time to come. Physically they can retain her possession, how long I cannot say, but morally they have already lost the ground. Even as a commercial concern it was incumbent upon the Anglo-Indian representatives of the British Crown to assume heart-winning and gentle attitude in the interest of their own country. But imperious bullyism has been used instead, which has led to the total estrangement of the Indian mind. Repressive and coercive measures are widening and deepening this gulf, and apparently shortening the tenure of British hold on India. The Indian mind, already conscious of its mistrust by the British rulers, would, out of sheer despondence, and for the love of mere change, readily welcome foreign invasion—even jump to invoke or support it, or produce anarchy enough to embarrass offensive or defensive operations under-

taken for the safeguarding of India. The readily inflammable of them—and their number is great,—once possessed with the fire of frenzy, might kindle others, and produce a condition beyond all remedy. Who can say where this fire would end, in Mecca or Tokio, or extend still further, and singe African and American shores.

Such state of affairs is not only against British interests, but I believe it to be fatal to the best interests of *India-Propria* in its present stage of evolution.

The greatest laurel, which Great Britain should aim at, is to win the hearts of India. Indian heart is now England's trump-card on the British playing table of Imperial games, which it would be her greatest victory to gain, and her highest and noblest achievement to retain.

Now let us consider the situation outside India. This involves our examination of the evolution of political conditions in the two neighbouring countries, *viz.*, Afghanistan and Russia. In both of them new conditions have risen, which require new relations, new considerations and new adjustments. Afghanistan has suddenly sprung out of her dependence, and her nascent independence creates for her a peculiar situation. Russia is thoroughly metamorphosed—politically, economically, indust-

rially, socially, and morally. So, the Central Asian question has assumed an altogether new shape, a correct grasp of which is absolutely necessary for the leaders of Indian political thought. I propose, therefore, to take a brief general survey of the new conditions of the two countries separately, and mention how they have evolved and what would be their probable future.

In these days I have observed that 'Popular Applause' is doing great mischief in India. It is misleading the current of progressive political thought. To abuse the Indian Government has become a fashion with the public. The abusive and violent speaker or writer finds a ready appreciation, and an abusive address on the platform has become a passport to 'public leadership'. Such 'public leader' at last sacrifices himself on the altar of 'Popular Applause,' readily steps into prison, and becomes a 'martyr,' a 'hero.' Deceived by his idol he takes a wrong step, goes headlong, while he knows he is wrong, and goes so fast and so far that he cannot 'honorably' (as he thinks) retrace his steps—yes, 'honourably,' *i.e.*, with the good graces of his idol. The one leading thought, which creates 'public leaders,' is to create a spirit of freedom among the masses. The spirit is

created, roused, and becomes unruly. Forethought and sense of organised activity are lost. Failure results. The baffled leaders and their followers become irritated, plunge into violence without the least organisation, and bring disaster upon themselves and their propaganda. The object is lost in confusion.

Perhaps I would disappoint my readers, if I were to say that I consider the use of such 'fashionable language' below the dignity of India and her sons, nor, I believe, India can gain anything by it. I am afraid we lose by such tactics. Superficiality and lack of soberness and of forethought are becoming the principal features in the national school of our political thought. I have bitterly criticised both the Indian Government and the Indian public, honestly yet politely, as it should be done. Let the idol of 'Popular Applause' be dethroned, and be replaced by organised and intelligent activity based on self-determination, balanced thought and foresight. It is not the violent language, but it will be the united, organised, determined and sober actions of her sons that will liberate India.

CHAPTER I.

Afghanistan. A.

A knowledge of the history of Afghanistan would help the reader a great deal to have a comprehensive grasp of its political situation, and its political fluctuations in the last century, and to trace its evolution to the present condition. But the history of that country is not within the scope of this work, in which I only make a general review of conditions that have led to the present state of affairs, so that its present position, the true knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for the determination of the most important part of Anglo-Indian foreign policy, might become comprehensible to the public of India.

Afghanistan is a strictly tribal country.

Its area is a little larger than that of Germany, or of France, before the Great War. Its population is not less than fifteen millions. In this respect neither our geographical accounts, nor Afghan census, are reliable. Six theories have been advanced about the descent of Afghan people, who have been traced by different historians to Copts, Jews, Georgians, Toolks, Mongols, or Armenians. But their true descent is not

known. Their Jewish origin seems to be more probable on account of their prevalent features and their love of money. We need not, however, dwell upon mere conjectures. We must treat them just as we find them.

The principal geographical feature of Afghanistan—the existence of various mountain ranges—divides it into certain confined valleys and passes. Each valley or pass is inhabited by a different tribe. These tribes have lived as separate communities, having very little intercourse with each other, with different manners and customs, and different traditions. Their isolation has led to the existence of at least twenty different languages in the country, some of which are entirely unintelligible to its other inhabitants. The necessary outcome of such a geographical distribution of more or less primitive tribes, was the independent spirit of each tribe and the constitution of so many Khanates. Each tribe had generally one Khan at its head, whose position was hereditary. But that was not the established rule. Another family might prosper, and forcibly oust the Khan in power. The neighbouring Khanates have never been on friendly terms, each one jealous of the other, and

always on the watch to have power enough to raid him and his tribe. Tribal feuds never ceased. The slightest pretext was enough, and, if no pretext existed, it was easily made. This state produced an inter-tribal warring spirit, which was fairly well kept in practice; and death in shoes was considered to be an honourable death. It produced among them the habit of plundering and robbing, which, in course of time, came to be considered rightful as long as the robbed party belonged to another tribe. An armed escort was, therefore, necessary for journey from one portion of the country into anotner.

If the robbing party were weak, they resorted to ambuscade and all kinds of dodges to entrap their prey; lies were manufactured, and laws of hospitality were observed under the host's roof, but after parting from the house they were violated with impunity. Travellers were induced to be guests in order to facilitate the knowledge of their possessions, and of the details of their journey, so that preparations for waylaying them the next day might be made with certainty of success. Promises were given; oaths were taken; and all possible deception was practised. Their moral sense became blunt, and

opportunities for the cultivation of virtues lessened. Their hearts became hardened. Sympathy and compassion seemed to be excluded from their social and moral code.

The other feature of the tribal life was the family feuds in the tribe itself. A little dispute would become hot, daggers drawn, blood spilt, and lives lost. The 'right of might' ruled that primitive society just as powerfully as it does the most civilised European society to-day. The only difference is that 'might' then meant direct physical power, expressed in daggers or the crudest rifles, and now it is physical power coupled with money, organisation and the most deadly weapons, the outcome of very highly educated and developed brains. The weak family would always consider itself oppressed, and go on cherishing vengeance until it had power or opportunity to wreak it. If the father of the family died without such gratification, he would bequeath the duty to his children. 'Blood for blood' became, therefore, a legacy, and feud was inherited as the family's most sacred and incumbent duty.

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CHAPTER II.

Afghanistan. B.

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan.

So, Afghanistan was never settled, not even in the times of Saddozai Kings, or of the Great Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and his sons. It had never any opportunity to develop as a united nation until the late Amir Abdul Rahman Khan appeared on the scene, who with a strong hand controlled the tribal family feuds and established a well-organised strong monarchy of absolute despotism.

Abdul Rahman had no book-education; on the other hand, he was quite illiterate, and learnt how to read and write when he had long passed the school age. At that time he was in Badakhshan, subjugating its various Mirs (chiefs,) who had revolted against the Kabul throne, which was then occupied by his father. He had just finished the troubles of Badakhshan. It would be interesting to relate in his own words the story of how he learnt writing:—

'I must repeat a wonderful experience, or inspiration, which came to me at this time, and

about which it gives me much pleasure to write. One day when I was holding my court, I received a letter from Amir Mohammad Azam's daughter, who lived in Kabul, and who was betrothed to me. She instructed her messenger to deliver the letter into my hands only, and that it was not to be shewn to anyone, and the reply was to be written and sealed by myself. As I have before mentioned, I was never fond of reading and writing, and I had forgotten what I had even learned. Imagine my disappointment on receiving this letter. I felt my heart beating, and I blamed myself very much that while I boasted of being such a fine man, I was really most unmanly, being so ignorant. On retiring that night I wept bitterly, and prayed to my God with all humility, beseeching the souls of the saints to intercede for me. I repeated the prayer: "O God, send a light into my heart, and enlighten my mind, so that I may read and write. Thou shalt not make me ashamed in the eyes of Thy creation." At last being overcome with weeping, towards the morning I fell asleep. I dreamed that the figure of a holy man appeared to me. He was of middle size, and very straight, with almond eyes, and delicate eye-brows, a long

beard, and an oval-shaped face, also small long fingers. He wore a brown turban, and a striped cloth round his loins, and carried a long staff, at the end of which was a piece of iron. He appeared to be standing at the head of my bedstead and saying very quietly, 'Abdul Rahman, rise and write.' I woke with a start, and seeing no one, I slept again, and again the same figure appeared to me, saying, 'I say *write*, and instead you sleep.' I hesitated, and awakening a second time, and seeing no one, I again fell asleep. For the third time the holy man appeared, saying with evident annoyance, 'If you sleep again, I shall pierce your chest with my staff.' At this I was frightened and awoke, but not to sleep again. I called to my pages to bring pen and papers to me, and began thinking of the letters I used to write when boy, the unseen power of God representing the shapes of letters before my mind one after another. My memory helped me to recollect what I had read, and I scribbled on the paper one word and then another. In this way I finished a letter before sunrise of about sixty or seventy lines. Some of the letters were not joined, and others hardly formed. When I read this over I found I could read it all,

and I also noticed the mistakes of which there were many. I tore this up, and rewrote it, being so happy and glad I could hardly contain myself. On rising that morning I opened one or two letters addressed to me from the governors, and finding I could uuderstand the subject of the letters, my pleasure was multiplied ten times. When the hour arrived to hold the court, the secretary, whose duty it was to read my letters, came to me as usual, but I said: 'I will read my letters to-day, and you shall correct my mistakes.' He smiled and said, 'But Your Highness cannot read,' at which I opened a letter saying, 'Hear if I can.' With that I commenced to read, and dictated the replies In this way we got through 200 letters, and answered 100. At the end of a few days I was quite independent of my secretary's help, and read and answered my private letters myself. Some days after I re-read the Koran, and gave money away in the names of the Holy Saints and Prophets. I also wrote to my father an account of the providential help which enabled me to read and write. I sent this letter through my guardian, and when at first my father doubted the truth of my story, my guardian said: 'You know your son could

not write anything to you which was not the truth. How could he show his face to you if he told a lie?' My father at last believed him, and presented him with 5,000 *Tangas* * and a valuable *Khalat.* † To me he sent one gold-mounted sword, ten sheets of gold-cloth, and a few pieces of woollen material. I praised God, and wrote my thanks to my father for his kindness."‡

A born genius with strongly pronounced Afghan proclivities, softened and polished by religious education, and by the general training practised in noble families, Abdul Rahman was brought up in the midst of feuds, which had rent the family of his grandfather, the Great Amir Dost Mohammad Khan. Besides he had vast experience of the tendencies and the character of his people, as during the life-time of his father and his uncle, who had occupied the throne one after the other, he had been appointed to govern Turkistan, and command its forces. The chiefs of that territory and their tribes rebelled against the Kabul authority, and he subjugated them one by one after hard fights, and often against odds. Here

* Tanga is a silver coin of Bokhara nearly equivalent to four annas.

† Khalat is a gown of honour with or without a turban.

‡ Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's autobiography translated by Mir Munshi Sultan Mohammad Khan.

his administrative genius had his full play, and the influence and experience gained in Turkistan served him well when he returned from Russia in order to expel the British forces, which had occupied Kabul. In the family jealousies and conspiracies he was loyal to his father, though he did not support his weak and vascillating policy. His cousins and uncles, noting his power of foresight and determination, once succeeded in poisoning against him the mind of his father, Amir Mohammad Afzal Khan, and the well-meaning youth was suspected of designs against the very father whose interests he had been safeguarding with his life, and he was consequently put in prison. At other times he was a governor or a general, ruling and commanding with credit.

On his father's death he offered the throne to his uncle Amir Mohammad Azam, and commanded the army himself, giving him the best advice for administration. But his uncle was weak-minded, and was soon persuaded by his courtiers, who were extremely jealous of Sardar Abdul Rahman, to send the young prince towards Turkistan. Even there he was not allowed to rest, until Amir Sher Ali marched upon Kabul from Kandahar, and the courtiers began to desert his uncle, who

at last invited his nephew to come to the rescue. Abdul Rahman at once marched to Kabul, and thence, with his uncle, to Ghazni. In the neighbourhood of Ghazni their forces met. Abdul Rahman's well-trained and disciplined army inflicted two defeats upon Sher Ali's forces. The Amir insisted upon tactics, which Abdul Rahman considered suicidal, but he was obliged to follow his uncle's orders. The result was that they were both forced to fly from the country.

After undergoing many hardships, and escaping many dangers, he crossed the Amu into Bokhara, where, though at first honourably received by the king, great coldness was shown to him afterwards, and he was obliged to shift to Russia, where he remained as a State refugee for ten years. He entered Russia poor, and lived there on a poor pittance. Russia was nothing for him but a school of hardships, which really trained him for the work he was destined to do afterwards in his own country.

When after the defeat of Amir Sher Ali Khan the British Government took possession of Kabul Abdul Rahman left for Afghanistan with the permission of the Russian authorities, travelled through Bokhara, and entered Turkistan with a few com-

panions of his last flight, who had remained faithful and friendly to him even in the midst of his obscurity in Russia. In Turkistan he got help from some of the Mirs there, and invited the Afghans to rally under his banner in order to expel the foreign interloper from their sacred home. A glance at his correspondence will not be without interest, as it shows his own mettle and spirit, and the character of the people he had come to govern and release from foreign yoke.

Shahzada Hasan one of the chiefs of Turkistan, from whose family Abdul Rahman had taken a wife, wrote to him in answer to his letter despatched from Khawaja Gulgoon (a village in Bokhara), and told him not to cross the Amu, as he and his people had vowed that if a piece of their land were touched by the feet of an Afghan, they would throw that piece of land out of the country together with Abdul Rahman, as both being impure. To this letter Abdul Rahman replied as follows :—

> "O idiot, O ungrateful coward, I brought you and your brother up for many years, and I related myself to your cowardly family, believing you would do some

service to me in the time of necessity. I have now discovered my mistake, and learned your true character. If I had feared death, I should not have come so far. To-morrow will decide which of us is the stronger, O coward."

He crossed the Amu. The Shahzada had collected an army of 12,000 against his 110 men, but suffered an ignominious defeat. On this occasion, he says. he depended upon God, and he felt that he could defy the whole world. "My heart was so strong," he writes, "that if I had to face an army of the whole world, they would appear as insects under my feet. I say this in the name of God. This is not bravery, but simply a spirit which He has given me..... This is the experience of my life, that if men have true heart in the service of God, He will ensure their success. The result of my belief is that I am a king to-day."

After that he proceeded to Rustak, and on the way he addressed the following two letters, one to the people, and another to the chiefs, of those territories :—

(1) "O Muslims! I have not come to fight Afghans who are true believers, but to

make *Ghaza*. Therefore it is necessary that you should all obey my commands which are those of God and His Prophet. We are all God's slaves, but *Ghaza* is a duty of us all."

He signed this letter 'A Muslim,' believing that the word 'Muslim' would have a more powerful effect than his own name. The second letter was addressed to the chiefs, signed by himself, and entrusted to Mir Baba (one of the chiefs) :—

(2) "Mir Shahzada Hasan, chiefs and subjects of Faizabad, I inform you that I have come to release the country of Faizabad from the hands of the English If I succeed in doing so peacefully, well and good, otherwise we shall have to fight. You are all Mirs, and should not let the country of true believers fall into the hands of the Feringis. If they gain our country, our reputation will go too, and the people of the world will think the Mirs had no shame or pride, and through the fault of disunion had lost their country and their Faith. Hearken to my advice, O Mirs ! If you will not listen, it is plainly my duty to

make *Ghaza* against you also, as infidels. Make up your minds either to be supporters of God and Mohammad, or to be prepared for war (against yourselves)"

The chiefs and the people consulted their big Mir, who would not submit to Abdul Rahman, ran away to Kashmir, and died soon after. Then he wrote to the Mirs of Kataghan, asking permission to pass through their territory, and requesting their help with money and men. The Mirs replied: "We have no power to fight or offend the English, therefore we cannot let you pass through our country." Abdul Rahman threatened their chief Mir with a declaration of *Ghaza* against him, but he would not yield, on which he despatched 1,000 brief letters addressed to the army of Balkh to the following effect:—

"You people of Afghanistan, I inform you that I am on my way to Rustak, but your Mir, Sultan Murad, will not allow you to meet me when I came."

In the meantime the Mirs of Badakhshan under their Chief, Mir Baba, were conspiring to capture him, and hand him over to the English

in connection with which he received a secret intimation as follows :—

> " I, the writer of this letter, am an Afghan merchant, and have heard that Mir Baba Khan and his secretary, Dabeer, are planning to take you prisoner, and send you to the English. This will leave the rule of Badakhshan to their family in future. For God's sake do not come to Faizabad."

But Abdul Rahman did not hesitate, and he proceeded on his journey. Mir Baba was apparently friendly to him, but after a few days surrounded the fort where he was staying. Abdul Rahman had very few men in the fort; therefore he changed his dress so that he might not be recognised. He came out of the fort unobserved, with his revolver hidden under the sleeve of his overcoat. No one noticed him until he came close to the Mir himself, got hold of his neck, and, with the muzzle of his revolver on his temple, compelled him to lay down his arms, and call out his men, who had forced an entry into the fort through the first gate. Mir Baba submitted, and Abdul Rahman proceeded on his journey. By the time he had arrived in Kunduz an army of 20,000 had

joined him. At Kunduz the local army honoured him with a salute of 101 guns. Here he received the following letter from Sir Lepel Griffin :—

> "My exalted friend Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan,
>
> "After greetings from your friend Griffin, and wishes for your good health, I write to inform you that British Government are pleased to hear of your safe arrival in Kataghan. They will be glad to know in what way you have left Russia, and your plans and intention."

The treaty between him and the Indian Government was preceded by a correspondence between him and Sir Lepel Griffin, which is rather interesting. Abdul Rahman gathered his army, read Sir Lepel Griffin's letter before them, and asked the officers to help him in writing the reply. They requested permission for two days' delay, after which they presented him with one hundred drafts, some of which, writes the Amir, ran as follows :—

> "O English nation, you must leave our country. We will turn you out, or die in the attempt." Another demanded compensation for past losses and damages before they would enter into

communication with them at all. Another wrote that they required 100 crores of rupees for the destruction of their guns and forts, or they would not allow an Englishman to reach Peshawar alive, as they did on a former occasion. One chief had written:—'O treacherous infidels! you have taken India by treachery, and now you would annex Afghanistan in the same way. We will resist you as long we are able, and then another power like Russia will join us to fight against you.' In short they presented me with all this rubbish and nonsense. I read these letters out loudly, and after I had done so, I suggested that I also should compose one in their presence, so that they should not think I had consulted with anyone beforehand. I took a sheet of paper and a pen, and asked my God, who is the God of all creation, to inspire me to write a suitable answer. I wrote in the presence of 7,000 Uzbeks and Afghans, as follows:—

'To my exalted friend Griffin Sahib, Representative of Great Britain.'

'Greetings from the writer, Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan. I am pleased to receive your kind letter, expressing your pleasure on my safe arrival in Kataghan. In reference to your en-

quiries as to how I left Russia, I left it with the permission of the Viceroy, General Kauffman, and the Russian Government My only intention in doing so was to help my nation in much perplexity and trouble. With compliments, etc.'

"After reading aloud this letter to my army, I asked whether they approved of it. They replied that they were willing to fight for their religion and country under my command, but they did not know how to communicate with kings. On the oath of God and their Prophet, they invested me with full authority to write what I thought fit. Raising their loud cries of '*O Char Yar*' (four companions), this letter which you have written is the correct answer, and to it we all agree."

After this he marched on to Charikar, sending a verbal message to the British officials at Kabul that he was proceeding to Charikar to settle matters with them. By the time he reached Charikar his following had swelled to 300,000 *Ghazis*, regular army and militia On 30th April 1880 he received another letter from Sir Lepel Griffin urging him to proceed to Kabul, and to hold the reins of the Afghan Kingdom. But the Amir answered on 16th May :—

"My valued friend"

"I had, and still have, great hope from the British Government, and your friendship had justified and equalled my expectations. You know well the nature of the people of Afghanistan The word of one man can effect nothing until they feel that I speak for their good. But the people want to know the answers to the following questions before giving me permission to proceed to Kabul. Their questions are as follows :—

(1) What are to be the boundaries of my dominions ?

(2) Would Kandahar be included in them ?

(3) Would a European envoy or a British force remain in Afghanistan ?

(4) What enemy of the British Government am I expected to expel ?

(5) What benefits does the British Government promise to confer on me and my countrymen ?

(6) And what services do they expect in return ?

These I must place before them, and in concert with them I will, having ascertained how far I can do so, agree to such terms of a treaty as I can accept and carry out. I trust in God for your honour that this nation and I may some

day unite to do your Government service, although the British Government has no need of it, but occasions of necessity may yet arise in this world."

Sir Lepel Griffin returned the following answer on the 14th of June :—

"After compliments—

"I am commanded to convey to you the replies of the Government of India to the questions you have asked.

"Firstly, with regard to the position of the ruler of Kabul in relation to foreign powers. Since the British Government admit no right of interference by foreign powers in Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all political interference with Afghan affairs, it is plain that the Kabul ruler can have no political relations with any foreign power except the English, and if such foreign power attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the Kabul ruler, then the British Government will be prepared to aid him, if necessary, to repel it, provided that he follows the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations.

"Secondly, with regard to limits of territory, I am directed to say that the whole province of Kandahar has been placed under a separate ruler, except Pishin and Sibi, which are retained in British possession. Consequently the Government is not able to enter into any negotiations with you on these points, nor in respect to arrangements with regard to the north-west frontier, which were concluded with the ex-Amir Mohammad Yakub Khan. With these reservations the British Government are willing that you should establish over Afghanistan (including Herat, the possession of which cannot be guaranteed to you, though Government are not disposed to hinder measures which you may take to obtain possession of it) as complete and extensive authority as has hitherto been exercised by any Amir of your family. The British Government desire to exercise no interference in the internal affairs of these territories, nor will you be required to admit an English resident anywhere, although for convenience of ordinary and friendly intercourse it may be advisable to station by agreement a Mohammadan Agent of the British Government at Kabul."

Abdul Rahman answered it briefly, but did

not confirm the separation of Kandahar from his kingdom, because it formed an essential part of Afghanistan. The reason for his not raising the question at that time was that he knew for certain it would gradually come into his possession of itself, why should he, therefore, undergo a special obligation to the British Government?

At Charikar he heard that the British army was greatly perplexed about his intentions On July 20th the chiefs and heads of Afghanistan, who were present there, proclaimed Abdul Rahman Khan as their king and Amir, and read the *Khutba** in his name. On 22nd July a formal court was held at Charikar, and Sir Lepel Griffin announced the British Government's recognition of him as Amir in the following words:—

"The course of events having placed Sardar Abdul Rahman in a position which fulfils the wishes and expectations of the Government, the Viceroy of India and the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, are pleased to announce that they publicly recognise Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan, grandson of the illustrious Amir Dost Mohammad

* Address from the pulpit during the Friday service wherein prayers are offred for the reigning Muslim sovereign of the country.

Khan, as Amir of Kabul. It is to the Government a source of satisfaction that the tribes and chiefs have preferred a distinguished member of the Barakzai family, who is a renowned soldier, wise and experienced. His sentiments towards the British Government are most friendly, and so long as his rule shows that he is animated by those sentiments, he cannot fail to receive the support of the British Government. He will best show his friendship for the Government by treating those of his subjects, who have done us service, as his friends"

In the beginning of August the formal agreement was drawn up as follows, and handed over to the Amir :—

"His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council has learnt with pleasure that Your Highness has proceeded toward Kabul, in accordance with the invitation of the British Government. Therefore in consideration of the friendly sentiments by which Your Highness is animated, and of the advantage to be derived by the Sardars and the people from the establishment of a settled government

under Your Highness's authority the British Government recognises Your Highness as Amir of Kabul. I am further empowered, on the part of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to inform Your Highness that the British Government has no desire to interfere in the internal government of territories in possession of Your Highness, and has no wish that an English Resident should be stationed anywhere within those territories. For the convenience of ordinary friendly intercouse, such as is maintained by two adjoining States, it may be advisable that a Mohammadan Agent of the British Government should reside, by agreement, at Kabul. Your Highness has requested that the views and intentions of the British Government with regard to the position of the ruler of Kabul, in relation to foreign powers, should be placed on record for Your Highness's information. The Viceroy and Governor-General in Council authorises me to declare to

you that since the British Government admits no right of interference by foreign powers within Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all interfernce with the affairs of Afghanistan, it is plain that Your Highness can have no political relation with any foreign power except with the British Government. If any foreign power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such in erference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the dominions of Your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you to such extent and in such manner as may appear to the British Government necessary, in repelling it, provided that Your Highness follows unreservedly the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations."

In the meantime news had arrived that the British army at Kandahar had suffered a defeat at the hands of Mohammad Ayub Khan, on which the British army at Kabul soon departed

from there, General Roberts starting for Kandahar on 8th August under the escort of an Afghan army. The others left for Peshawar two days afterwards Ayub was defeated on 1st September, and fled towards Herat. This ended the Second Afghan War.

This was a humiliating treaty for a State outside the limits of India, when a long buffer chain of warlike spirited Afghan tribes lay between Afghanistan and the Indian possessions of the British Government. But the Amir accepted such terms because at that time he was afraid the Russian Government would ask him to assist them in their anti-British operations, as he knew Russia was steadily advancing towards Afghanistan, and paving her way for an invasion upon India Such overtures of Russia the Amir could not reject, if he were left single-handed and unsupported by some strong power. He could have easily fought and defeated the British army then in Kabul, but he knew that if he got rid of them by force, he would soon have to face another, perhaps stronger, invasion of Afghanistan by the Indian army, which might again throw him back into the arms of the Russian Bear, from whose clutches it would not be easy to get out again.

In Russia he had minutely studied Russian despotism, and the Tzar's policy, which was by no means peaceful penetration. but the gratification of barbarian greed for conquest. He knew that any diplomatic relations with Russia would be a thin edge of the Russian wedge, which was sure to rend his kingdom to pieces

Such were the considerations that forced him to accept so humiliating a treaty. Subsequently he always felt sorry he had done so, but as he had given his pledge he must keep it. I have seen him getting in temper at the dictatorial tone of some communications from Calcutta, and biting the back of his hand for having sold himself to the British Government, adding 'Oh, I am a Muslim, and must keep my word.' But in spite of that perpetual smarting he observed the conditions of his agreement scrupulously. On one occasion when an anonymous letter from an M.P. appeared in the columns of the London *Times*, belittling Afghanistan, and alleging that British Government would destroy it in a week, his back was up, and he wrote the reply that while one Afghan was alive not an inch of Afghan soil could be taken by any foreign power. He quot-

ed the Persian couplet :—

Beneath a stone lifeless to lie
With honor, though unknown to fame,
Is better than to live a king,
Honoured but by the crown of shame.

This was the man who accepted such treaty of peace and friendship. Evidently it was the welfare of his people, and the promise of future integrity of his country that swayed his personal feelings. He seems to have been confident of making his kingdom a free state, and in his less than a score of years' rule he laid the foundation of it.

He had observed in Russia the spy system, which, as a dreadful weapon, maintained the glory and power of Imperialism. So when he took the throne of Kabul, he immediately established a complicated system of intelligence whose spying ramifications entered almost every house. A large number of women were employed for detection. Even wives were made to spy on their husbands, and daughters on their fathers. Thus making himself well informed of what was happening in the country—nay, in every house of it—he began to organise his system of administration, which was absolutely despotic in character, *trusting none and suspecting every one.*

Soon after his accession he contrived a plan of winning the heart of the public, and obtaining their full confidence in him. He invited all the inhabitants of Kabul, and of villages within six miles of it, to a grand feast. Great preparations were made. Numerous tents were pitched outside the town in a large open area, and arranged like those of a great camping army. The kitchen itself was no less than a town, with large stores of rice, flour, meat, and other requirements of cookery, tea, sugar, milk, fruit of every description, both fresh and dried, music, singing—in short, all kinds of available amusements and refreshments which an Afghan heart could desire for an ideal festival. With the rise of the sun the guests began to pour in; refreshments were served in tents, or *al fresco* as they would have it. They were told they could sit or stroll about as they chose. At first the citizens of Kabul, whose manners had a polish of urban etiquette, and their country brethren, whom the unexpected grandeur and vastness of the scene had affected, were reserved and quiet. But the ice of shyness broke under the warmth of reception as the number of arrivals increased, and they began to realise the nature of the occasion, and

the right of free enjoyment that was given to them. Now they began to order refreshments, and protested even against the unavoidable delay of waiters in the execution of their orders. Soon the protests became loud, and here and there the guests began to help themselves. The Amir was to arrive at noon, and partake of the dinner with his 'children,' as a royal father to all his subjects But the freedom of the atmosphere, and the sight of unlimited stores of eatables whetted the appetite of the guests, and they would not listen to the polite request of the waiters 'Please just wait a little, and food will be ready soon; have some refreshments in the meantime; let the Amir Sahib come.' Some of the country folk could not resist the temptation when they saw heaps of fruit and sugar lying before their eyes, and thought self-help was a great virtue, and should be practised. In vain did the waiters and the guards gently resist; sugar-cones, fruits, cakes—whatever they could lay their hands on—were picked up. A general looting ensued. Just at this moment when anarchy was reigning the Amir arrived, and he rode through the festival camp, sadly watching, and brooding over, the liberty of lust. He knew he could not control them; so he

passed on unheeding and unheeded. He remarked, "I thought I might win the sympathy and willing submission of my subjects by gentle means; but I am sorry they cannot be curbed in this way. Let them do what they like; and now I will do what I like."

Henceforth he asserted strict despotism, and began to clear out all possible candidates to the throne, together with those who had actively supported Amir Sher Ali, or had helped the English during their short sojourn in Kabul. Prisons began to be filled; blackpits were choked. The cannon thundered out the order 'part and depart'. Hands and feet and other organs of the body were violently wrenched from each other, and flew up in every direction. Skulls were blown up like foot-balls, fell, and rolled down the side of the mound, on which the awful and hideous 'harbinger of death' had been stationed—the departed souls hovering over, and lingering to watch the cruel dismemberment of their cages from which they had been forced out, perhaps satisfied at their own escape from sudden disintegration. People wondered, regretted, and were awed and hushed. Dreadful silence reigned in the country. Amir Abdul Rahman's spirit

seemed to be watching everywhere. Friendly visits in society stopped. Friday preachings were prohibited. Transactions were made in hushed tones. People talked in whispers, lest the air might waft their sounds to the Amir's over-sensitive ears. Time improved matters a little, but the Amir's occasional thunder in the court reached even the remotest corners of his dominions, and kept them in awe until his death. At the time of his death I happened to be in Kabul. The Amir's illness was considered to be a hoax, and premonitory to something dreadful. When his death was whispered, none would believe it. 'The Amir' they answered 'is alive, he has only contrived to know what we say or do under such circumstances. Keep quiet brothers; you are sure to hear very soon his live death-pouring thunder.' On the day that his dead body was to be brought from Bagh-i-Bala, although the news had become commonly known, no extraordinary crowds appeared on the roads or in the streets The route, on the other hand, was avoided, and excepting a pedestrian here and there, none could be seen. It was hushed. Nature seemed to be in mourning for him. The procession quietly passed, and entered the place where he had willed

to be buried. A mourning Durbar was held by the new Amir, Habibullah Khan, and his father's remains were deposited without any public ceremony. He lies now in a marble-covered grave in the centre of the very room whence he issued thousands of warrants for human souls to depart. It was the house of death then, it is the house of death now. Living death reigned in that palace; now helpless death lies under it. The palace is converted into a mausoleum.

Kabul knew for certain that Amir Abdul Rahman and his reign of terror had passed away. Yes, it was a reign of terror, but just what was required for the country, a square peg in a square hole, to make it firm and settled.

During his reign most of the tribal Khans were seized one by one, and imprisoned, banished or killed. All the suspected nobility of his own family, or of his own tribe, shared the same fate. No head remained in society except himself. People revolted in some quarters, but he suppressed them with an iron hand.

The British Government had kept Kandahar a separate province under a governor (wali), appointed by themselves, named Sardar Sher Ali. But he could not manage it. So the Government

removed him and evacuating Kandahar on 21st April 1881, handed it over to Amir Abdul Rahman, who made it a province of his kingdom. Mohammad Ayub Khan, who after having been defeated by the English army at Kandahar, had fled to Herat, and had been in possession of it since that time, now marched on Kandahar. The Amir's army there came out to meet him. A battle took place on 20th July. At first Ayub's army was defeated, and dispersed, but nearly a hundred of his plucky soldiers remaining in the field, and not liking to fall alive in the hands of the enemy, rushed on the Kandahar army, and made their way towards its chief officers, who were not sufficiently protected. The officers fled before them, and the Amir's army was completely routed. Mohammad Ayub rode into Kandahar victorious.

On hearing this news the Amir was greatly agitated, and led an army in person. On 22nd September 1881 the Amir's army met Ayub Khan at the site of old Kandahar. Ayub Khan was defeated, and he returned towards Herat. But Amir Abdul Rahman Khan had already anticipated his move, and had appointed Sardar Abdul Quddoos Khan from Kabul to invade Herat, while he himself would be fighting in Kandahar.

The Sardar took Herat. Ayub Khan was on his way when he heard of the fall of Herat; therefore he made his way towards Mashhad.

The annexation of the provinces of Kandahar and Herat made Abdul Rahman master of the whole of Afghanistan, as it was defined then. But still he had a great deal to do before all the tribes acknowledged his sway, and his kingdom could be said peacefully settled. The Amir's own words, as quoted in his autobiography, would express the condition better. He says:—

> "As I have mentioned elsewhere, every priest, mulla, and chief of every tribe and village considered himself an independent king, and for about 200 years past the freedom and independence of many of these priests were never broken by their sovereigns. The Mirs of Turkistan, the Mirs of Hazara, the chiefs of Ghilzai were all stronger than their Amir, and, so long as they were the rulers, the king could not do justice in the country. The tyranny and cruelty of these men were unbearable. One of their jokes was to cut off the heads of men and women, and

put them on red-hot sheets of iron to see them jump about. There were many other worse customs, but I will not mention them for fear of shocking the readers of my book Every chief, official, prince, nay, the king himself, had parties of assassins and a large number of hired robbers and thieves, and as the robbers used to kill the travellers and other rich merchants of the country and plunder their property and money, the stolen property was divided between the employers and the employed. Every one of these robbers had a band of his own armed men with rifles and guns. I will relate in the next chapter what a desperate struggle I had with two of those robbers, named Dadu and Sadu, who defeated my army several times. One of them hangs in a cage, where I put him on one of the peaks of the Lattaband Mountain.

"Many of these priests taught as Islamic religion strange doctrines which were never in the teachings of Mohammad, yet which have been the cause of the

downfall of all Islamic nations in every country. They taught that people were never to do any work, but only to live on the property of others, and to fight against each other. Of course it is natural that every one of these self-made kings should have levied separate taxes on their subjects; so the first thing I had to do was to put an end to these numberless robbers, thieves, false prophets and trumpery kings. I must confess that it was not a very easy task, and it took fifteen years of fighting before they finally submitted to my rule or left the country, either by being exiled, or by departing to the next world."

The Amir's all-subduing policy caused many revolts. The first person to rebel was Syed Mahmood of Kunar, who rose against the throne of Kabul; but he was defeated, and then fled to India.

Mir Usaf Ali of Shighnan and Roshen had invited Russia to help him in remaining independent of Kabul. The matter was reported to the Amir, who sent an army against him, and had him taken prisoner and brought to Kabul.

The Shinwari tribes lying in the south-east of Jalalabad persisted in their looting and plundering the travellers between Jalalabad and Peshawar. The Amir himself went to Jalalabad, sent for their chiefs, and advised them to give up their bad practice which was strictly prohibited by Islam. But they would not listen. So the Amir sent an expedition; four battles were fought, and the rebels were defeated in each. The Amir ordered that a tower be built up of the skulls of the enemy who had fallen in battle, as a living testimony of punishment and warning for such crimes.

The tribes of Mangal and Zurmat rose in rebellion. A force was sent against them from Kabul; they were defeated, after which they submitted, and remained peaceful ever afterwards.

Dilawar Khan had assumed independence in Maimana (Turkistan.) The Amir ordered an attack on Maimana from two sides, *viz.*, from Balkh. The strong fort of Maimana was besieged, assaulted and taken. Dilawar Khan was captured, and was brought a prisoner to Kabul.

The Killman people (near Lamkan), who did not own the sovereignty of Kabul, were sub-

jugated, and were exiled into other parts of the country.

Then began the general Ghilzai rising. Ghilzai is the most powerful and most numerous of Afghan tribes, and they gave trouble to the Amir for a few years. At last they were subjugated one by one, and peace and order were restored in the country.

This was followed by the rebellion of Ishak Khan in 1888. Ishak was his cousin, Amir Mohammad Azam's son. The Amir had appointed him governor of Turkistan, but this year he declared himself Amir of Afghanistan, and issued his own coin. He had mustered an army more than 20,000. The Amir sent a strong army against him. The two armies met in the valley of Ghaznigak on the 29th of September. A very severe battle ensued, and lasted from early in the morning till late at night. A part of the Amir's army was defeated, but General Ghulam Haider, his Commanding Officer, was engaging the main army of the enemy, and the battle was going on furiously when in the afternoon a few of the Amir's disloyal soldiers galloped towards the hill, where Ishak had been watching the course of battle, in order to submit themselves to him.

Ishak thought they were going to capture him, and that his main army had suffered a defeat. So he jumped on his horse, and galloped away, running as fast as possible. His army continued fighting, and when late at night the news of Ishak's flight reached them, they became disheartened, and were defeated.

After this victory the Amir thought it necessary to visit Turkistan in order to ensure total submission of the people, and to settle the state of that country.

While the Amir was at Mazar-i-Sharif, the people of Badakhshan also rebelled, but they were severely punished. They gave no further trouble.

In December 1888 while the Amir was reviewing his troops in Mazar-i-Sharif, a soldier from among the file passing before him fired at him. But the bullet missed him, passed through the back of the chair he was sitting in, and hit a page-boy standing behind him in the thigh. It was quite a miraculous escape, for the Amir was fat enough to occupy the whole chair, and the bullet passed through the middle of its back Therefore it might have passed just through the heart of Abdul Rahman. I have seen the chair, which is preserved in Kabul as a curiosity.

The last great civil war during Amir Abdul Rahman's time was the Hazara War, and its successful issue greatly enhanced the prestige of the Amir and the Afghans. The Hazars are a mixed Mongolian race, generally medium-sized, well-built, with prominent cheek-bones, depressed nose, and short and narrow eyes. They have either hirsute chins or scanty short beards. They belong to the Shia sect, but are commonly the most ignorant Shias. I have seen some of them to be exact prototypes of Changez Khan, whose picture is hanging in a state-room in the Arak palace They are a hardy people, occupying the central part of Afghanistan, from Kalat-i-Ghazni extending right up to Herat and Balkh. Their couutry is very mountainous, containing the strongest valleys, and many inaccessible peaks. Their homes are *naturally* fortified, and their isolation in those strongholds gave them a spirit of warlike independence, of which they were very proud.

They were unruly and rebellious towards Kabul The Amir's armies marched twice through their territory, defeated them, burnt and destroyed their strongholds, looted their property, and brought their leading men as hostages. Kabul

was filled with Hazara slaves. Many of them were banished into other parts of Afghanistan. Immigration into Hazara from the rest of Afghanistan was induced, and thus Afghan element was introduced into the remaining Hazara community, and it always kept them in check.

Similarly Afghan transmigration into Turkistan was induced, and culprits were also banished there, to infuse life and spirit among the dull and lazy people of Turkistan. From the Afghan point of view both these movements were extremely useful, for now there is hardly any part of Afghanistan without Afghans.

In addition to securing peace and conoslidation of his dominions, the Amir gained several tracts of land in 1893 by Durand Treaty. The largest of them was the territory of Kafiristan, which had never acknowledged the sway of Afghanistan, and which was a stretch of mountain ranges with intervening valleys. The tribe inhabiting those valleys was called Kafir (heathen); they were neither Muslim nor Afghan. Their origin is not definitely known, but it seems probable that they are descendants of the followers of Alexander the Great, having dropped away from

his army, and settled among these hills. Their religion was a mixture of idol-worship and superstition. They are a brave people. They had defied Tamerlane's army, which was forced to retire from Kullum, a strong fort lying in the heart of Kafiristan.

At first the Amir avoided battle, which, he was afraid, might result in great bloodshed on both sides. So he occasionally invited some of their chiefs, treated them very kindly, and returned them loaded with gifts, so that they might go back to their tribe and persuade them to accept his rule. But they were not amenable. At last Russia's possession of the Palmirs, and her coming in close proximity to the Kafirs' home, made the Amir decide to invade and conquer Kafiristan. He was conscious of Russia's steady advance, and knew that her next move after the Palmirs would be a march into Kafiristan. The Kafirs, already knowing the Amir's desire to annex their territory with Afghanistan might appeal to Russia, and invite her interference in their behalf. So he determined to attack it suddenly, and keep the world in dark about his movements until he had finished its conquest. His plan of invasion was to project a simultaneous attack from four points, *viz.*, Badakh-

shan, Panjshir, Lamkan and Asmar. Four regular columns, supported with large bodies of militia, marched into Kafiristan in the midst of winter, 1895, when the snow-clad tops of its mountains would refuse to give shelter to the Kafirs from the Afghan soldiery. The progress of the Amir's army was, no doubt, slowed by the snows, still the whole territory was swept over and conquered in less than six months. Sixteen hundred brave Kafirs were sent up to Kabul as prisoners of war, whom the Amir treated very graciously, giving them lands to cultivate in Pamkan and Logar, where they settled in peace. The young among them were taken into Afghan Army, and they have proved to be good soldiers. A few schools were opened among them for their education. Almost all of them adopted Islam.

Schools were opened in Kafiristan also, and many of them gave up their idol-worship, and became Muslims. Afghan transmigration was encouraged in that territory, so the Kafir element there has lost its individuality, and is being absorbed into Afghanism.

Afghanistan has only two principal sources of revenue—land and commerce. Land revenue which forms the chief part is about thirty millions

of Kabul rupees, and trade revenue not more than five millions.

Land revenue, though more or less fixed, cannot be properly estimated, for it is partly in cash, and partly in kind. It also includes other taxes like cattle tax, road tax, etc. Trade revenue is always fluctuating in prices, in the rates of taxation due to other causes, and in the honesty of officials in charge of various octroi posts. The total revenue, however, may be estimated at an average between thirty and forty millions of Afghan rupees. In the land-revenue there is another difficulty; it has never been fully realised. Partly through the poverty of the people and partly through the dishonesty of the officials, there are arrears of a million or more every year. They are annually counted, and efforts made to realise them, but they are of very little use. Therefore annual additions make it such a heavy burden upon the people that one of the strongest arguments for a new successor to the throne to win the people is the granting of remission from all such arrears.

Amir Abdul Rahman occupied the throne with practically an empty exchequer, and began to collect revenues. As the internal resources

of the country were not developed, he added to the existing taxes by increasing their rates, and creating new taxes and rates. He made a rule of saving ten millions every year, but so much was never actually saved. Another item of his income was fines on officials, mostly for embezzlement, and the consequent confiscation of their property. The country has always been overtaxed, and the organisation to collect taxes is still imperfect. In spite of all his efforts to have an exact statement of annual income and expenditure of the couutry the revenue officials kept deceiving him, and insisted that such a statement could not be prepared, simply because that would give him a clue to their illegal practices, which they would not give up under any circumstances. So the system remained defective. But the Amir's financial policy was to have a full treasury, and thereby save his country from loans from other power. In this he succeeded, though the means he adopted to collect money could be called undue exactions.

The result of his internal policy, based on these two objects, *viz.*, (1) Clearing the country of all elements of possible rebellion and turbulence, and (2) Filling his treasury, both of which caused

him to adopt seemingly hard and exacting measures, was that tribal independence was utterly broken, and no spirit of self-assertion was left among the people. He paved the way for peaceful progressive reforms. But in this respect Afghanistan has been very unfortunate. No progress could have been made without developing the resources of the country, and such development depends upon the general dissemination of modern knowledge, scientific and technical. What existed of education there was mainly religious, more or less organised, but that even very little. The education which fitted out young men for clerical and official work in the administration of the country, consisted of a few standard Persian books—not in the modern language used in Persia, but in the old language of centuries ago; not even of modern literature, but the old classics without the least tinge of modern scientific and practical thought. This much alone with caligraphy was required in the clerical line.

A workshop for the manufacture of arms was established, wherein merely practical work was taught to the workmen without imparting sound scientific principle upon which the working of machinery and the manufacture of arms and other

army requisites are based. Leather and glass factories were established, but that was only for the benefit and gratification of the government, (*i. e.*, the royal household). An attempt was made to translate books on various arts, but it was neither thorough, nor the translations, whatever they were, were ever published or utilised There has been no permanent and appreciably progressive influence of these works upon the social or economical condition of the people, because they were not accompanied with systematic education of the principle. Continued peace encouraged trade in face of high tarriff. This necessitated freedom of intercourse between Afghan traders and those of the neighbouring countries, especially India. The import of the products of civilisation, the interchange of thoughts generally, and about economic conditions particularly, the sight of material progress outside Afghanistan—all these combined to raise the taste and intelligence of the commercial class, and through them, of the people they mixed with. This effect, though not much, was appreciable.

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan left behind himself an organised and settled kingdom, with full treasury. At his death there were in the treasury

seventy millions of Kabuli rupees in cash, and thirty millions worth of gold (coin and bullion), Indian currency-papers, precious stones and jewellery.

His iron rule had a far-reaching effect. Just before his death he remarked that he had broken the khandom of the country to such an extent that there would be no disorder in the country for thirty years after his death, and that so long his successors would reign in peace, and after that they would reap their own sowing. But he was not satisfied with any of his sons to succeed him. He used to denounce Habibullah's tendency to fashion, and one day he scolded him, saying it would not be a surprise if he were killed by the Afghan people.

He was a man of middle height, inclined to be fat, and of sound masculine face and features. He wore full beard. He was a very hard-working sovereign In State affairs he consulted none, and he centered all the secretariat in his own person. He never retired until he had finished his day's work. He used to go minutely into the details of every case that was brought before him. He had a curious Afghan humour, and a peculiar fascinating attitude towards all his servants, who

dreaded him, yet loved him. He would test a man's fidelity in various ways, and when he was satisfied, he would trust him in spite of people's complaints. He was a shrewd statesman, a brave and experienced soldier, and a wise far-seeing governor. European statesmen considered him as the key-holder of peace in Asia.

He died of gout, from which he suffered for many years But in spite of his physician's constant advice he was careless about his food. He used to indulge in fatty food and abundance of fruit. His one meal would suffice for at least four men. The attacks of gout, therefore, increased in frequency and intensity, so that for several years before his death he could neither stand nor walk. For the last five and-a-half years of his life I have not seen him standing.

CHAPTER III.

Afghanistan C.

Amir Habibullah Khan.

Now we pass from the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan to that of his son and successor, the late Amir Habíbullah Khan, who got the throne without trouble. The death of an Amir in Afghanistan generally used to be an occasion for family fights, and general disturbance in the country. Control was lifted up; claims were advanced and disputed; consequently disorder prevailed. Even if the Amir happened to go some distance from the capital, he had to run away with the crown, leaving the throne behind for some one to step on. But this time the central control remained intact, for the ghost of Amir Abdul Rahman was not less powerful than himself. Family feuds were avoided with tact. Amir Habíbullah Khan was not the appointed heir to the throne as has been alleged by the translator of Amir Abdul Rahman's autobiography. He totally disapproved of such an appointment in his lifetime, and used to say that the quarrels among Sher Ali's sons after his death were due to the

latter's having elected and appointed an heir from among his sons during his life-time. His idea was to leave the throne to the ablest man of his family, which either he would suggest at his death, or the chiefs of the country would settle after his death. Habíbullah Khan's claim was, no doubt, prior to that of his brothers; he was the oldest and ablest of them. But his mother was not of the royal family. His younger brother, Mohammad Umar, had a superior claim from the side of his mother, who belonged to a very high family connected with the royalty, and who was the real queen during Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's life-time, but the boy had two disadvantages. Firstly, he was too young to be the responsible head of Government; secondly, he had very low intelligence and education. He had no *nous*. Nasrullah Khan and Habíbullah Khan were both from the same mother. The former would have put forward his claim, but Sardar Abdul Kuddoos Khan interfered, and reconciled the two brothers by making the younger brother heir to the throne after Habíbullah Khan in preference to the latter's sons. This pacified Nasrullah, and a formal pledge was written on the Koran by Habíbullah Khan.

Now the consent of the army was of prime necessity. Sardar Abdul Quddoos again came forward, ordered a muster of the army, and harangued them to accept Habíbullah as the future Amir, and held out a promise of increased payment. The army consented, and Habíbullah went forward, and was profuse in promises. The army saluted him, and he was formally crowned Amir in the public *Durbar*.

In this Durbar the new Amir gave forgiveness to all the servants of his father, who had escaped punishment for their misdeeds, and declared that he would not dismiss any of the Government officials under his late father, unless it was for something committed during his own time. He also declared that one day during the week he would preside over an assembly of the Mullas (priests), who would discuss State matters from a religious point of view, and correct him if he had not acted in accordance with religion. He divided the days of the week for various branches of Government work, and said he would do his best to alleviate the burdens of the people, and keep the prices of provisions and other necessities of life low enough to make even a poor man live decently.

The first act of his reign was the settlement of his relations with the British Government on the same terms which existed in the time of his late father Then he nominated a Legislative Council under the presidency of Nasrullah Khan, of which my elder brother, Maulvi Najaf Ali Khan, and myself had the honour to be members. Its function was the framing of laws for the country. The Council divided administration into twelve branches, each branch being represented in it by a few members. Sardar Abdul Quddoos Khan was its leader. The deliberations of his Council were marked by their seriousness and sanity. I have witnessed the sittings of the British Parliament in Westminster, and I can state without the least prejudice or exaggeration that the Amir Habíbullah's Council, in spite of the full liberty of speech granted by His Majesty to all its members, was better behaved than the British Parliament, and equally well presided and led. It sat two days in the week. One day in the week was appointed for the Amir's audience, where proceedings of the two days were read, and confirmed by him. Points of difference with him were discussed with the members, and His Majesty's view was subject to alteration if it were

opposed with sound argument. For a few months it worked regularly, and very useful work was done in it. But gradually motives began to be attributed to members for insistence on their views; His Majesty's mind was prejudiced, and the Council was dissolved before completing its first year.

After that His Majesty framed a special Council of the nobility, which was only convened when he had any special matter to deal with.

He was particularly devoted to the Arms Factory, of which he had been superintendent during the reign of his late father, and which he had visited regularly once a week. It received greater attention from him throughout his reign than any other department of the Government. In connection with the army he established a Military school under a Turkish Officer, who introduced Turkish drill and training. The students, who came out of this school, were made officers in the army, and they were better officers than those who had received no regular training. This school still exists, though not in a very promising condition. But if it were placed under new Turkish Officers, as it ought to be, it would make a decided improvement, and

would turn out much better men. I have no doubt that His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Mohammad Nadir Khan, will pay due attention to it.

But before that His Majesty Amir Habíbullah Khan had desired to establish an Arts School for general education, and he asked me and my brother to make necessary arrangements for it.* We sent for half a dozen young educated Indians, collected about 300 boys from the town, classified them, and put them under the charge of a trained graduate † as Head Master of the school. In the meantime I came down to India on leave, when the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore offered to me the chair of Principal in the Islamia College in 1893, and I stayed in Lahore for nearly three years. The Kabul School, which I had named Habíbiya, after His Majesty's name, did not prosper. Its management did not satisfy the Amir, and the number of its students fell down to fifty. No solid attempt was made to improve it, and the local

1903?

* Here I beg to apologise to my readers for bringing myself in the book. They will observe that I cannot very well omit my name when I speak of education in Afghanistan on modern lines. Education is the most fundamental work in a governmet, and must be dealt with at some length.

† Hafiz Ahmad Din, B. A.

officials would not let the staff have their own way. This friction hampered their work, and the result proved unsatisfactory. At last the Amir sent to me a special autograph letter, asking me to return to Kabul. I showed this letter to the Islamia College Committee, and obtained permission to retire from that College.

When I arrived in Kabul His Majesty commanded me to reform the school. I considered a school of fifty students an irony upon education; so i placed before the Amir a scheme of University, which he accepted, and authorised me to work it out. I immediately set to work to establish Primary schools, and, in order to overcome the resistance of the people, who were prejudiced against modern education, which they considered to be English and, therefore, *Kufr*, I selected sixty mosques in the town, and engaged the Mullas, who were already paid by the Government, to teach the primary classes. I raised their salaries to one-half of what they had before, the additional pay being given from the Education Department. I selected about 5,000 out of the available boys of school-age, who were distributed in these schools. In the central school I brought together about 400 boys and opened

secondary classes. Classification was made, Inspectors were appointed to visit the primary schools daily, guide their teaching and management, and report to me regularly every day. Primary books and other requirements were given gratis, and the work began in right earnest.

Then I established a Translation and Compilation Department, for which some Indian graduates and Afghan scholars were engaged. My next step was to open a training school for teachers. At the same time I pushed a scheme of universal education for the whole of the country, which was accepted by His Majesty after some hesitation, and I was asked to make a tour in Afghanistan, and start schools like those of Kabul, first in 13 important towns which would form district local centres, and then continue spreading the system in the country. A medical school was also considered, and received the Amir's sanction with sufficient grant from the Government to work it out.

The Habíbiya School and the primary schools, in the meantime made rapid progress, far beyond my expectations. It surprised the local officialdom, and excited jealousy. I placed before the Amir another scheme of reform on

which the growing jealousy of officials put another version. It was represented by them to the Amir that I was conspiring to overthrow the despotic regime of government, and aimed at the establishment of Constitutional Government with myself as its president. Several gentlemen, some of very high position, had supported my scheme, and the Amir was told that I had formed a strong party to immediately subvert the Government, and that they would use violence in case of refusal by him. Unfortunately their representations—or rather misrepresentations—were given full credence. I was immediately confined to prison in the Arak Fort, along with my two brothers, one of whom was the Chief Inspector of the schools, and the other the Headmaster of the Habeebyia School. Of the Afghans, who had supported me, seven were immediately put to death, and the rest, about sixty,* were put in

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*In this number there were four Indian gentlemen beside myself.

1. My elder brother Maulvi Najaf Ali, then Chief Inspector of Schools and tutor to Prince Amanullah Khan. He is now in Kabul, and working in the Legislative Council.

2. My younger brother, Mohammad Charagh, who is now in India.

3. Mohammad Hussain Khan, B.A., (Alig.) of Jullundur, now the Headmaster of the Habeebiya School, Kabul.

4. Muzaffar Khan B A, (of the Lahore Islamia College), who unfortunately died of cholera while in prison.

Both of these were able young men, and worked in the Translation and Compilation Department.

prison. When the matter, however, was more carefully sifted and examined, no proof was found of the charges alleged against us. Even an appeal to the Chief Kazi brought no condemnation on me or on my scheme. The Kazi declared that Muslim law would not allow the Amir to imprison me.

We lingered in prison; years rolled on; we hoped against hope. Our case seemed to be forgotten; we thought we were doomed to prison until death. Full ten years and a half (of the lunar year) after our imprisonment the Amir Habeebullah was secretly shot while asleep in his tent, and we were released by his son and successor, His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan, and declared innocent. May he live long and prosper!

This much about the educational development as far as I was concerned. I am sorry it shared my fate. The Universal Educational Scheme was totally abandoned.

A few days after our release my elder brother, Maulvi Najaf Ali Khan and myself were graciously taken into His Majesty's own Council. During the Armistice after the last Anglo-Afghan War I was appointed by His Majesty a member of the Afghan Deputation for Peace Conference at Rawalpindi. After my return to Kabul we both of us were given the honour of being also members of the new Legislative Council constituted early in 1921.

The medical school was never taken up. The Translation and Compilation office lingered for a while until it collapsed. Of the primary schools only a dozen remained, and their number finally fell to eight. The control of the schools had been transferred to Prince Inaitullah Khan, who did his best; but selfishness and anti-Indianism prevailed. No decent and sound organisation could be made. The Habíbiya School lost all vitality and spirit, and continued failing. An educational board was organised, but most of its members, though apparently educated, knew nothing of education. They gave way to party feelings, and made a hash of education. Last year when I visited the school, it was gasping, with the worst morale that could exist in any institution.

The Amir Habíbullah Khan adopted no other measure of reform worth mentioning. The Amir, however, was a thorough gentleman in manners, and a very shrewd observer. He possessed extraordinary intelligence and marvellous memory. His interest in photography amounted to fondness, and he had made quite a hobby of it. He sedulously studied and practised photography, and was quite an expert in it. He was also fond

of fine arts, and was a good critic of painting and music. He had an excellent taste in building, house-furnishing and gardening. He was a great observer of formalities in the court, and spent a lot of time in arranging its details. He was particularly fastidious in dress, and in the harmony of his surroundings. He had a habit of stammering, but he got over it a good deal by constant practice of speaking. He was a good speaker and latterly began to pose as an orator. He had a strong healthy physique, a little inclined to obesity, which worried him, because it detracted from the symmetry of his body. He was an indefatigable and expert rider, and an excellent shot. Sporting was his other hobby, which he would not miss for any engagement. He was a regular newspaper-reader, and was the most generally informed man in Afghanistan. In fact he was the ablest and the cleverest man of his time—in his country. Cooking was his favourite pastime.

His *harem* was full, almost to choking, and his strictness in formalities even extended there. Latterly he became very fond of harem life, and spent much time there. He took special pleasure in arranging the dresses and duties of his numerous wives. They were made to dress in European

fashion, and he occasionally liked a moonlight ride in the midst of a bevy of them. His harem-indulgence at last told on his nerves, and he became very irritable. In the end he could not bear brain-work; the slightest exertion to think fatigued him.

There was no special alteration in the method of administration in his time. His attention to State affairs became less and less; the officials, especially in localities removed from the centre, felt less restraint, and, therefore, boldly took to bribing and embezzlement. This resulted in mal-administration and oppression on the people, and produced general discontent.

Comparative freedom of political thought was the most remarkable development of his time, and it would not be without interest to trace its genesis in a country where it had been chained down for centuries.

Amir Habíbullah Khan was an ardent lover of fashion. He had seen illustrated papers of Europe, and he was anxious to have an illustrated paper in Afghanistan, whereby he would see himself seen and known by others in the full glory of his fashionable majesty in the midst of fashionable surroundings. It may be vanity, or it may be

harmless self-gratification. Before this there was a halo of mystery about the Amir; people had heard of him, but had hardly seen him. The public knew nothing of what was going on in the court and in the capital; perhaps he wanted his people to become better informed. Surely the Afghan public ought to know something, not only of the happenings of their own country and its capital, but they should be aware of what was taking place in the world around them. The common country Afghan has a very poor knowledge of geography, and has a happy exaggerated notion of the extent and power of his country. It was the right thing to undeceive the people. So the Amir expressed a wish that I should edit a newspaper, and illustrated, if possible. I prepared a sample copy, which he approved. But a few days after that I got into the prison, and my paper never came out. About three years hence he expressed the same wish to Sardar Mahmood Beg Tarzi, who was the best and the most suitable man for this purpose. Belonging to a family, well known for their knowledge of Persian literature, and having been for years in Asia Minor, where he had learned the importance of Press, to edit a paper in Persian language, and in his mother country, was the very

thing he wanted. So he edited the *Siraj ul Akhbar* with great *eclat*, and fulfilled his editorial function with tact and credit He had lived under the despotism of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, and watched how educated public opinion in Turkey was smarting under it, Therefore he had supported the Young Turk, and imagined himself to be a Young Afghan His proficiency in the Persian languange drew from his pen, under the garb of eulogisms to the Amir, some scathing denunciations of the stagnancy of Afghanistan, He administered sugar-coated quinine, which was swallowed with an expression of pleasure and gratitude. The Amir handsomely rewarded him, and honoured him with the title of " the tongue of Afghanistan." His views were always anti-British, and he bitterly criticised British policy. A few issues of his paper were suppressed by His Majesty's order, because his attacks on the British Government were too bold and acrid, and not consistent with the spirit of friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments. He, however, cared little, because the Amir had made a close family alliance with him by taking two of his daughters, one for Prince Inaitullah, and another for the present Amir.

But the seed of free anti-despotic thought had been sown before this organ made its appearance. My scheme of peaceful intellectual development had been represented to the Amir as a blow to his power. Of course he was jealous of his power, as all dospots are, and believed me to be democratic. My real scheme was kept a secret, so my imprisonment made a profound impression, and the people who knew me were wondering, why ? It was given out that I had wanted a constitutional Government, with myself at its head, but no one accepted this charge, and the very idea was pooh-poohed by the people as ridiculously false. The imputation of such an idea to me was preposterous. A foreigner, however great, could not cherish such a mad notion. They knew it was fabricated, but none dared say so. Here and there questions were whispered 'What is constitution ? What is it that the Doctor wanted'? They probed into the nature of 'constitution' (*Mashrootah*), and when it was found out that *Mashrootah* was neither more nor less than the regime which existed in the time of the early Caliphs, there was a silent and suppressed approval of what I was believed to have demanded

Thus in intelligent quarters the existence of

their rights, and, above all, a vague possibility of their enjoyment of them dawned upon the dormant consciousness of the people. From all quarters I had secret messages of sympathy and wishes for my release. But the Amir's heart was adamant. Now and then he released some of our party, and made quiet enquiries, but not a shadow of the heinous charge could be discovered.

It was at this stage that the Siraj rose on the horizon of sleepy Kabul, and began to uplift the shroud of abiding darkness wherein the public mind was groping in vain. It brought before them the realised fact in other countries (especially Turkey) of the assertion of people's rights, and of their being achieved and enjoyed. A youthful community of young thought, anxious to break through the adamantine chains of despotism, came into existence, and, by the natural affinity of co-related hearts, gradually drifted together, and throbbed with pleasure and relief at the bright vista of hope which opened before them. The Siraj materially helped them, and buoyed up their hearts. In its elaborate eulogistic phraseology they read the future destruction of the present regime. The young boys of the high classes in the school looked upon the members of the Amir's

Council as old fogies, and remarked jestingly—'Oh, we could manage much better than these blundering old fools.' Very bold and disrespectful this ; but they were merely school-boys. The Siraj was even bold enough to give a veiled hint about our release, for which I am deeply grateful to H. E. Sardar Mahmood Tarzi, who now enjoys the well-earned honour of being Foreign Minister to the present Kabul Government. A secret society was formed. Tyranny and oppression always breed secret organisations, which become strong and consolidated in proportion to the strength and persistence of the pressure over them. As this young Afghan secret society could accomplish nothing openly and actively, they wrote an anonymous letter to the Amir, requesting him politely not to waste his time and his energies and the public treasury in the way he was doing, and to attend to the affairs of the State regularly, as became his high position of great responsibility, and warned him that if he did not do as was requested of him, he would have to abide by the consequences.

In the meantime a Turko-German informal mission arrived in Kabul, when Europe was convulsed with war, and requested the Amir to

assume operations against the Indian Government on the North-West Frontiers of India. This request was supported by a printed appeal, plausibly from the Sultan of Turkey, asking the Muslims of the Yaghistan and other territories to rise simultaneously for *Ghaza* against the British Government, which was threatening the Khilafat at that time. The Amir did not consider himself strong enough to scratch the British Lion ; perhaps he would not disturb his own quiet enjoyment ; perhaps he could not nerve himself for such a great and risky programme ; perhaps he did not consider it honourable, or permissible by the code of chivalry, to invite for combat a Government, which had been friendly to him, and which was already engaged in a deadly struggle. Whatever the reason, the Amir did not agree with the Turko-German proposals. The Young Afghans, who supported the object of this mission, believed, and made others believe, that the Amir's evasion at such a critical and opportune moment, when the Indian Government was practically defenceless and the fate of the Khilafat was hanging in the balance, and when a slight movement of the Amir would surely turn the scales, was decidedly anti-Muslim, and, therefore, an unpardonable offence

from the ruler of a Muslim country. This was followed by the anonymous letter referred to. The Amir read the letter, and heeded it not, and, saying 'they are surely mad' committed this important paper to oblivion. Another year rolled, and another, and another. The coalition of Central Europe failed, the Allies had the upper hand ; the severest blow fell on Turkey, which was rent and dismembered. The Young Afghans attributed the misfortune of Turkey to Amir Habibullah, whose 'misdeeds' (as they designated his negligence) were exaggerated in their imagination, and they swore to settle with him. The existence of such a society was vaguely felt in some pro-Amir quarters, and some awful happening was feared.

At the end of 1918, on the anniversary of the Amir's birthday, Kabul was illuminated as usual; the Amir drove through the main bazar in his motor as usual. In the street, known as *Shore bazar*, a bullet shot from a revolver fell in his motor. His officers hastened to the spot from where the sound came, but no one was found there. The bye-streets were explored ; no trace was discovered. The miscreant had decamped. Mirza Mohammad Husain, the late *Mustaufi* (Revenue Officer) was appointed to make investigations.

This Mirza had once been a Kotwal of Kabul, and was, therefore, well-suited for the work. It was this man, who had reported against me, and fabricated a huge conspiracy to put a stop to the diffusion of modern education in his country. In this case he charged, rightly or wrongly, I cannot say, a young gentleman, named Abdul Rahman, a former student of the Habibiya School, and then a member of the staff on the *Siraj*, working under H. E. Mahmood Tarzi. He is the son of an old gentleman, who was already in prison implicated in my case. Another young gentleman, Abdul Hadi, his co-worker in the same staff, was also charged as an abettor. A few other young men of the Young Afghan party were imprisoned with them. A gentleman, who had been imprisoned with me ten years before, but had been subsequently released and given a responsible post under the government, was re-imprisoned in connection with the revolver case. Six months elapsed but no sentence was passed on them. The Amir was coming down to Jalalabad, his winter capital. The same Mirza Mohammad Husain now smelt something in the air, and began to question an Indian emigrant, who he suspected, might know it. The Indian gentleman

(whose name I do not conider advisable to divulge) not knowing what the actual state of affairs was, harped on the Amir's neglecting the Khilafat, and threatened him with a conjecture that anti-Habibullah feelings had produced a strong combination in and out of Afghanistan, which will soon settle its fate. My name was cunningly brought in by the Mustaufi, and the Indian gentleman, though he was quite a stranger to me then, gave a wrapped hint of my being the probable head of that movement. Based on this vague information, which was at best inferential, the Mustaufi, not content with the murder of my young innocent son, for which he had laid a most cruel and inhuman plan, wrote to the Amir that Dr. Abdul Ghani's party had grown and spread all over Asia, that in Afghanistan he had numberless adherents, but in Turkistan, Russia, Persia and India legions supported him, that they had sworn to revolutionise His Majesty's Government, that they were enemies of Islam, and that, therefore, it was incumbent that he and his companions in prison should all be sentenced to death. This report reached the Amir just on the day before he was leaving for Jalalabad. The Amir ordered that the prisoners of my case, who were in other

Kabul prisons, should all be brought in chains into the Arak Fort, and should be kept there along with me, strictly guarded. He said he would communicate their (our) sentence of death from Jalalabad.

At the same time the Young Afghan Society, greatly offended at the Amir's ignoring their advice and warning, addressed another anonymous letter to him, repeating their previous exhortations and warnings, but in more determined phraseology, saying clearly that he should not imagine them like Dr. Abdul Ghani's party, whom he had easily seized and confined, but that they had their staunch friends in the Court, and in the very Harem, and that the Amir could not safely escape them, if he did not amend at once. The Amir read this second letter, but took no notice of it, nor did he change his programme, which was utter waste of the 24 hours of day and night. The same routine of cooking, sporting, chatting, making speeches, hareming, etc., continued, without showing the least inclination to work for the State.

Prince Amanullah Khan, the present Amir, was the Governor of Kabul for the first half of that winter. His term of Governorship had

passed, and Sardar Hayatullah Khan, his elder brother, was on his way to Kabul in order to take charge of the capital for the second half of the winter, when the awful news of the Amir's death reached Kabul as a surprise to all. Hayatullah's motor had failed, and he was detained on the road, so the control of the capital, with all its privileges, was entirely in the hands of the present Amir.

This development is not commonly known in India. Its effect was far-reaching and revolutionising. The masses in the country are forced imperialists, as they ever had been, but the intelligent urban population, excepting the officialdom, who can practice their usual method of bribery, peculation, and despotism more safely in an imperialistic regime, is more or less democratic. Though democracy is their central thought, yet their conception of it is limited, partly because elective system is foreign to their minds, and not fully conceivable by them, partly because the inherited acceptance of bureaucracy still lingers in their hearts, and partly because they observe capability only in the upper layer of the community, which includes the aristocracy, the nobility, the wealthy, and the superior office-holders. In

such cases representation in the control of state affairs can be affected only by thoughtful selection, and not by popular election.

CHAPTER IV.

Afghanistan D.

His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan.

The murder of Amir Habíbullah Khan has appeared to the outer world as altogether unexpected. In Kabul it was expected ; rather the prolongation of his reign was a matter of wonder. It was a bazar *gup* regarding him :—' Well, he is lucky ; he has since long given up the kingdom, and said good-bye to it, but the kingdom does not give him up '.

Beside the evolution of free political thought there were various other points, which had turned the opinion of the public against him.

Firstly, He was so pro-European in his tastes, dress and general mode of life that the people considered him to be something worse than a friend of the Kafirs. He was blindly given to imitate Europe ; he would eat fowl, killed by his French cook, who would simply lop off its head. An animal thus killed, and by a non-Muslim, is believed by the Muslims to be *haram* (unclean). This practice of the Amir was highly objectionable, even to the unorthodox section.

Secondly. His court formalities made him dismiss all the courtiers, except the chosen few, from dining with him at the same table. Muslim Asiatic monarchs have generally free table. People thought it was mean of him. But Amir Habibullah was never mean; on the other hand he was too generous and bountiful.

Thirdly. He was irritable, he would beat and scold at the slightest offence.

Fourthly. He would not personally listen to people's complaints, and they imagined he was too proud, and held himself too high for the common folk to talk to; while the Amir did it merely to maintain discipline in the conduct of affairs, for he had appointed various officials to hear all the different kinds of complaints.

Fifthly. His neglect of the State, which continued to increase till the end. He engaged himself more in pastime—photography, cooking, frequent sport, games, amusements, etc.

Sixthly. His especially favouring the European officials, who were mere servants of the State.

Seventhly. His rejecting overtures of the Turko-German Mission, which, in other words, was the rejection of the Khalifa's request. Though he was quite right in this as far as the

interests of Afghanistan at that time were concerned, yet the people particularly resented it. Not only this, but they strongly resented his dissuading the independent frontier tribes from practically and actively supporting the Khalifa's cause.

Eighthly. He extravagantly wasted the public treasury, over which he had no personal right. His annual expenditure on harem dresses and house furniture, was awful. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's painfully collected treasure, together with annual revenues of the country, was consumed in his personal gratifications. Out of his father's savings only a few millions were left at his death.

All these causes led to the formation of strong opinion against him; and the spirit of a revolution, which had produced general unrest in the world, excited the discontented section to take a decisive step in the matter, and change an unwelcome regime with one deadly stroke; and they succeeded in it.

"Thus ended the eighteen years of selfish and self-indulgent despotism. Afghanistan was the last country in the world, which boasted of absolute monarchy, and Habihbullah as carried it with himself to the grave. So it was not

Habíbullah, but it was the relics of monarchy—the absolate authority of one man over millions of human beings—a previlege, which, upto his death, has been a disgrace to humanity, and a blot on its progressive development. It lingered and persisted as a black shadow of bestial passions retarding the development of man as a social being. So it was not Habíbullah, but it was monarchical despotiam, that was shot out of the world for good Yes, for the good of humanity, which owes a great debt of gratitude to the man who did it. Blessed be the hand that gave the fatal blow. Socialism must worship him".

This is the loud soliloquy of the Young Afghanistan Democrat. I have heard him say so; yet he has a queer logic.

A reliable gentleman, who, I presume, might be a true Young Afghan, related to me that this 'brave noble man' (these are his words), before moving the trigger of his revolver, looked up to heaven, and prayed, "God, Thou knowest the innermost secret of my heart; if I do not strike the blow sincerely for the good of humanity, let the bullet pierce my own heart; but if I am sincere in my motive, which is Thy pleasure and the happiness of Thy creatures, then send the

bullet home into the heart of the citadel of monarchy, and rid the world of it".

Some would call it a distardly crime—to shoot a sleeping king. I say it is distardly to shoot any sleeping man. But the socialists' answer, based on his queer logic is :—' For ages we were man-ridden. This man that rode us never slept. He was always awake, and saw that the chains in which he had bound us were tight. We begged him to free us; we implored for mercy; but the more we implored, the more were our chains tightened. He would keep his dogs better than he kept us. Why, we produced for him, and maintained him and his position. We only wanted him to work for us, and improve our condition. To all our entreaties he turned a deaf ear, and showed no mercy, so he deserves no mercy. Let him leave this world, and *by his death fulfil that which he failed to fulfil in his life*—the happiness of millions entrusted to his charge. To bid him depart was not a crime, but a meritorious deed. It was to remove a stumbling block from the road of human progress.'

The Amir's personality had kept in check so many passions that his sudden death relieved the pressure over them, and a strange reaction

took place. Let us first see how his sudden death happened.

It was usual with him to make a sporting excursion in the middle of winter towards Noor Pass. The evening before he was to leave Jalalabed for this excursion Mirza Mohammad Husain reminded him of my case. The Amir said, 'Write the sentence, and I will sign it.' So our death-sentence was written, and the paper was placed before the Amir for signature. The Amir was engaged in conversation, and our death-sentence lay on the table before him. It was getting late, and the time for His Majesty's retirement for the night approaching. The Mirza became impatient, shifted the paper to draw his attention, and again laid it before him. 'What is it?' asked the Amir. 'The Doctor's death sentence, Sir,' he answered The Amir read it, thought for one moment, and then said :—'Well, it is rather late now ; I am retiring ; keep the paper till I return from sporting, and then I will sign it.' The Fates interposed ; my death had not been sealed yet in the Destiny's office. In the morning the Amir left for the Noor Pass.

On his return when he was passing through the *Kullah Gosh* Pass, he was riding by a

beautiful brook, and was fascinated by its bright clear water gently playing on the stony bed, babbling along in soothing harmony. A few small fishes, now lurking in a sheltered cavity, and now emerging to swim with the current or to stem it, fully enjoying their undisturbed element, had given additional life and lustre to the stream. This simple beautiful play of naked nature, in which it indulges in remote sequestered corners, unhaunted and uninterfered by man, charmed him, and he ordered a halt for the night. After refreshing himself with a cup of tea he returned to the brook, and caught some fish. The poetry of the place affected him. When the fish was brought out of its element, and ceased to live, he dwelt on the shortness of life, and remarked, 'Thus man ceases to exist when the hand of death suddenly lifts him out of his element of life.' Perhaps he had a premonition of his approaching end.

The same night when he had slept after enjoying a delicious repast of the fish his hand had snatched out of its element, the hand of death crept unseen into his tent, lodged a bullet in his left temple, and slipped out of the tent with his life, as unobserved as it had entered. Hue and cry

was raised; guards ran to and fro; officers hurried to the spot; the princes were waked up and anxious enquiries made. The Angel of Death had departed, leaving no trace behind him save the body of Amir Habíbullah Khan lying undisturbed in his grim, motionless and lifeless Majesty. Peace be with him!'

Early in the morning the body was placed in a motor car without ceremony, and taken to Jalalabad. The sudden return of the royal party took the Amir's household by surprise. In every quarter there was bustle and stir. But all was hushed in a minute, when the news of the Amir's tragic end was whispered from ear to ear in one short, but sadly significant, word 'shot.' The courtiers and officials held a council, but none could put the question 'Who has done it?' However, it was discussed for a few minutes, but some one proposed, 'Let us first lay him in the grave, and this matter can be settled afterwards.' The burial followed, immediately after which the question of succession rose, and after some separate councils and whisperings the Crown Prince, Inaitullah Khan, waived his claim in favour of his uncle, Sardar Nasrullah Khan. In the meantime the news of the Amir's death

had been telephoned to Prince Amanullah Khan, who was accepted as Amir by the gentry and nobility of Kabul, and by the officers of the army there. Thus supported he rode out before the army, which had been mustered for review, and told them of the sad and tragic end of his father, and, in the midst of tears, asked them what they would do now. They answered in chorus, 'You have lost your father, and we have too lost our father. May his soul rest in eternal peace! Now you are our father, and our Amir;' and they gave him the royal salute. The new young Amir thanked them, and declared that the soldier's salary would henceforth be Rs. 20 per mensem. He unsheathed his sword, and told the soldiers that he would not put it back in the sheath until he had found out the murderer of his father, and released their country from bondage to the British Government. They thanked him, and promised to stand by him, and he returned to the court to be formally installed on the throne.

Now there were two kings in one kingdom, a condition which cannot exist. The heart of the kingdom was in Amanullah's hands—the capital, the treasury, the centre of the army, the arms

factory, the arsenal and the officials of the State; and the main portion of Kabul gentry and nobility supported him. Printed declarations from Kabul were sent to the Jalalabad army, and quietly distributed among them. This army was already restless, chiefly because they had heard that in Kabul the soldier's pay was raised from Rs. 12 to Rs 20 per month, and partly because they suspected their high officers, and some of the courtiers there, to be guilty of the Amir's murder. The excitement caused by the suddenness of the revolution in the existing state of affairs, and the expectation of consequent anarchy, involving hopes for personal benefits in the way of booty, were no less the cause of their restlessness. As soon as communication from Kabul reached them they held a purely soldiers' council, alienated themselves from Nasrullah's allegiance, declared allegiance and homage to Amir Amanullah Khan, and seized upon their Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Mohammad Nadir Khan, with his father, his uncle, and other members of his family they could lay their hands on, the Kotwal of Kabul, and the principal page-boys, who happened to be on duty in the royal camp on the night of the murder. They put shackles on their feet, and chains round

their bodies, and kept them under guard as regular prisoners. Then they invited the Princes and other notables there to pay allegiance to Amir Amanullah Khan. Jalalabad was in anarchy, and the order 'seize upon him, and bring him over' rang throughout the lines Nasraullah was forced to give up the throne, and his supporters deserted him, and fled up to Kabul with their lives. Inaitullah was in a queer and awkward position; he had supported Nasrullah, but now the game was lost, and their very life was in danger. Every moment they were in fear of being seized upon by the soldiers. After all they thought the safest course would be to swear allegiance to Amir Amanullah Khan, and to throw themselves on his mercy. So, first they wrote letters to the Amir, declaring their allegiance to him, and then got into a motor, and ran straight up to Kabul, where they were immediately put under guard in separate rooms.

Mirza Mohammad Husain was making preparations to fly to Kohistan, his native district, where he thought he would be safe among his people and the chiefs who had been under him, and who, he believed, would support him. The late Amir had made him the chief of all the Khans

of that district, who paid homage to him, as he was the most powerful man in the kingdom after the Amir. He thought, therefore, that in the midst of his numerous tribes, and in his own forts, Kabul would not be able to harm him. But suddenly some soldiers rushed into his room, and asked him to appear before the Soldiers' Own Council. He hesitated and made some pretence, but the soldiers would not listen, and sent a word to their council. At once a cavalry regiment with an artillery surrounded his house. He had some two hundred armed men in his service, ready for such an emergency, but now they refused to obey his orders, and he was captured without difficulty, bound up, and taken to the lines. His house and property were plundered by the soldiery and by his own men.

The officers of the army seeing the state of affairs joined the ranks for their own safety. The Mirza was brought, dragged by the soldiers, and subjected by them to every possible humiliation. They threatened him with pointed bayonets, abused and taunted him. They would have probably killed him after 'playing with him' as a tiger plays with his prey before tearing it up, but a shrewd officer effected his rescue in a curious

manner. He jumped on the Mirza's shoulder, sat astride and whipped him to run fast. This was a splendid joke and tickled the soldiers, who roared with laughter, and put him in irons with other prisoners. They telephoned their whole proceedings to the Amir, who, in order to check further anarchy, and to save the prisoners' life, commended them for what they had done, and asked them to bring the prisoners alive up to Kabul, where he would investigate the murder of his father, and give the culprits condign punishment. He assured them that they would be rewarded on reaching Kabul.

When the prisoners arrived in Kabul, they were consigned to the Arak. A committee was appointed to investigate the murder of the late Amir. The committee sat for over six weeks, took depositions of the prisoners, and others on duty, and drew up a report, which was read before the Amir's Council, and the actual deed seemed to have been committed by a Colonel of the army named Ghulam Raza. A general Durbar was held, and the whole matter placed before them. The Colonel was convicted, and sentenced to death.

His death was followed immediately by the

release of all Jalalabad prisoners except the Mirza The same evening we three brothers were released—about six weeks after Amanullah's accession to the throne. The Amir's own intention had been to release us on the very day of his accession, but when he referred the matter to his Council, some of his ministers remarked, " Sire, these are the very men who were alleged to have conspired against your martyred father ; and now, as he has been actually murdered, it would not be advisable to let them off. Who knows, they might have some connection in the matter." His Majesty smiled, and put off our release till his father's actual murderer or murderers were found.

A few days afterwards Mirza Mohammad Husain, our arch enemy, was hanged on a tree and his property, valuing several millions, was confiscated. When the sentence was pronounced against him, he made a request to His Majesty : (1) He prayed forgiveness, to which His Majesty rejoined, ' The list of your deeds is black ; probably God will not forgive your sins ; how can I forgive you ?' (2) He prayed that his children be provided for and educated. His Majesty answered, ' The cubs of a wolf will at last grow

into wolves ; to train and educate such cubs is trying to make them worse wolves, they cannot become human.' (3) He willed that his grave be by the side of that of his wife This part of the request was also refused. He was dragged to a mulberry tree in a corner of the Arak compound, where he was hanged, and his body was carried by a few convicts, and put in a hole dug in the ground, and covered with loose earth A guard was appointed there that the body might not be removed by any one

Thus ended the career of blackmailing and ruining thousands of families on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of duping the Amir by playing on his susceptibilities, for which conspiracies and crimes for killing him and depriving him of the throne were fabricated and manufactured only for the purpose of securing credit, and ingratiating himself in his favour.

Now began the reorganisation of the Government in earnest. Amir Amanullah Khan had learnt a great deal of the Turkish Government from his father-in-law, H. E. Sardar Mahmood Tarzi, and had read in the Press of subsequent Turkish revolution. As Mahmood Tarzi had imbibed democratic notions from the

Young Turkish party, with whom his reactionary tendencies had brought him in close contact, he instilled with great pain the same notions into the mind of his princely pupil and son-in-law. But the condition of the people of Afghanistan was not compatible with the democratic regime, which they had in view, so they now modified the absolute monarchical form, and introduced the ministerial system, as it seemed to them the first step towards democratisation after the strict regime that obtained before. The different departments of the Government were specified and each put under one minister, who, with the Amir's sanction, had sole authority in the internal administration of his department. Thus the following Ministries (or *Nazarats*) were created :—

1. Sadr-i-Azam, the Prime Minister ;
   H. E. Sardar Abdul Kuddoos Khan
2. Nazir-i-Kharijiah, the Foreign Minister ;
   H. E. Sardar Mahmood Beg Turzi.
3. Nazir-i-Maliya, the Revenue Minister ;
   H. E. Mirza Mahmood Khan.
4. Nazir-i-Tajarat, the Minister for Commerce ;
   H. E. Mulla Ghulam Mohammad Khan.

5. Nazir-i-Adaliya, the Minister for Justice ;
   H. E. Mohammad Ibrahim Khan.
6. Nazir-i-Harabiyah, the Minister for War ;
   H. E. Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan, the Commander-in-Chief.
7. Nazir-i-Maarif, the Minister for Education ;
   H. E. Sardar Mohammad Suleiman Khan.
8. Nazir-i-Dakhiliya, the Minister for Home Affairs ;
   H. E Ali Ahmad Khan (now replaced by Sardar Abdul Aziz Khan, formerly aid-de-camp to His Majesty).
9. Nazir-i-Zaraat, the Minister for Agriculture ;
   H. E. Azimullah Khan.

A Council was formed in which were included the Ministers of State, His Majesty's aid-de-camp, and some other gentlemen, whom His Majesty thought fit for the purpose. Some were permanently in the Council, others were sent for whenever questions involving wider issues were to be discussed.

Still there was a great deal of mixing up and confusion of functions, as it existed

before, but it is being gradually removed. In Afghanistan it has been customary for an official, whose duties had been clearly defined, to outstep the limits of his authority, extend the sphere of his activity, and draw to himself as much work from outside his authorised sphere as possible. The principle was 'the more work the more opportunities for emoluments, and the greater credit and respect among the people.' For instance, the late Mirza Mohammad Husain was only the Chief Revenue Officer, but he was so clever that he had practically become the Amir's Prime Minister, though actually there was no such post This kind of undue assumption of powers, not originally vested in the office, as defined by the State, had greatly alienated the sympathies of Turzi and his son-in-law with absolutism in Government, and they began to sweep it out as soon as they obtained power. Their dislike for such state of affairs had grown to hatred, because these self-assumed powers were always abused, and, worse still, they were assumed primarily for the purpose of being abused. The result of this abuse was the embezzlement of Government money, taking bribes from the people, and obstruction to justice and fairness.

Discontent with the Amir and his government was created among the public, and one, who seemed, and claimed to be, the the Amir's best friend and well-wisher, proved really to be his worst enemy. Such mal-administration had not escaped the careful observation of Mahmood Turzi and his royal son-in-law, and now they set to work to reform it.

But the circumstances of the revolution handicapped them. The general discontent which existed in the time of the late Amir, finding an outlet through the intelligent section in the work of affecting the revolution, became now restless. The well-informed, unselfish but inexperienced inteligence was for out and out democracy, but the uninformed public were only desirous of a better Government, whatever be its form. They were smarting under the late Amir's restrictions about neutrality during the Great War, when the critical position of Turkey demanded all Muslims of the world to unite and make a concerted effort to enable her to repel her enemies. But the Amir, who was the greatest Muslim Monarch after the Sultan, had kept quiet, while his mere threaten on the north-west frontier of India was quite enough to engage a large portion of the

British army in India, and the force of operations against Turkey would have lessened in proportion, and given her better chance of defending the Muslim sacred places from the Allies' attack. More than this, the Amir rejected the request of the Caliphate, and even broke the strict limits of his neutrality by actively preventing the Yaghistan tribes from molesting the Indian Government, while that territory lay beyond the pale of his political influence. This had produced a strong anti-British feeling. It happened that at this very moment India was smarting under Martial Law, and certain other repressive measures. Reactionary gatherings of Indian people took place, and the military was called out to disperse them by force. Reaction became stronger, desperate attacks were made on Government places, and the Government retaliated with vengeance. The old friendly relations between the Afghan and the Anglo-Indian Governments had not yet been re-established, and the new Amir had, in accordance with the prevailing tendency of the time, declared Afghanistan to be absolutely independent. Cries of the Indian public, and echoes of the British bombs on their subject people, who had already acquitted themselves

creditably in foreign fields, and won victories for the British Crown, crossed the north-western border of India. The Yaghistan mountains reverberated with them, and conveyed them, perhaps exaggerated, into the adjacent Afghan territory. Groups of men began to move towards India, and the Afghan frontier appeared restless. This state was reported to the Amir. It was enough to alarm him and his Council, for absolute quiet and peace had not yet been established in the interior of Afghanistan. Troops were told off to the Frontier to occupy the passes, and to close them to such groups so that peace between India and Afghanistan be not disturbed. The British Government was naturally surprised at this mobilisation, their Frontier officers misinterpreted it, and began to concentrate on the Indian Frontier. The cause of this misinterpretation was, I believe, the declaration of independence by the Amir, and the secret communications that were being carried on between irresponsible representatives of Indian public and the responsible authorities of the Afghan Government. These communications exaggerated the unrest in India; a call for foreign interference to liberate her from British yoke was believed to be real and solid, the

Afghan authorities seemed to be elated with a hope of territorial extension. In the meantime correspondence was taking place between the Foreign Offices in Kabul and in Delhi, wherein the Afghan Foreign Office assumed a tone of independence, and the Indian Foreign Office would not suffer it; and lengthy paragraphs were devoted to its formal assertion and repudiation respectively. The Afghans broached matters with independent self-respect, but aimed at coming to peaceful compromise. Alas, this occasion was missed by the Anglo-Indian diplomats in squbbling over forms.

The restless spirit of the Afghan public was also observable in the army. The troops despatched to control the passes knew more of the Indian unrest than those in the interior. Towards the Khaiber, where unfortunately the line of demarcation had been left unfixed by both the Governments, a part of the troops ascended a mountain on the boundary line, and began to make defences, which was looked upon with suspicion by the Lundikotal military authorities. A reconnoitring party was sent from Lundikotal side, aided by an aeroplane. The closing of the Indian reconnoitring party and the Afghan de-

fences produced misunderstanding on both sides, shots were exchanged, and war was declared. The Afghans began to bombard Lundikotal with only a couple of guns they had with them. The Afghan guns were bombarded by an aeroplane and silenced. The British officers ordered advance, and a fight ensued in the pass between the Sikh cavalry and the Afghan cavalry. The heavy and steady fire of the latter made the Sikh cavalry retire. The Afghans ran short of ammunition, for which they sounded back a message. This was understood by the retiring Sikh troops, which turned and repeated the attack, and routed the Afghans. The British army advanced into Decca, took it without much resistance, and encamped there. They spent some time in making defences round the Decca Valley.*

On the Khost (Waziristan) side Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan, then Deputy Commander-in-Chief, advanced into Waziristan, took

* This is the version of the Kabul Foreign Office. The Anglo-Indian view is that Afghanistan took the offensive, and began unprovoked attack. Either it was a mere bungling of affairs by Afghan agents in India, and Kabul was determined to make an attack, or it was only a misunderstanding. Their unpreparedness favours the latter view, but the troubles created by the Afghan busybodies in India confirms the former.

several British posts, and marched as far as Thul. He took the town of Thul, but his troops were not enough to attack the British post there, which was fairly strong. He had ordered more troops from the Khost camp, but they had delayed.

On the Kandahar side Sardar Abdul Kuddoos Khan had entered Belochistan, and threatened Chaman and Quetta without minding the advance of the British army into Afghan territory, and their having taken Kala-i-Jadid, an Afghan frontier post. It was captured by the British army after a desperate struggle and most gallant defence. The Sardar operated, and hoped to cut off these British troops from their connection with Belochistan.

In the meantime, when after the Decca skirmish the Afghan Council disgraced the Commander-in-Chief in charge of the Jalalabad army, they wrote to the Afghan agent in Simla to enquire into the matter of this misunderstanding, and to assure the Anglo-Indian Government that on the Afghan side there was no intentinn of war, as was evidenced by the total absence of any preparations there. The Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government was spoken to, and an understanding was arrived at that the war

should cease, and relations of mutual friendship be established.

The matter was discussed in the Afghan Council, a very hot discussion ensued, and the peace party prevailed. It was followed by a correspondence between the two Governments, resulting in an armistice and the settlement of peace-terms by their representatives meeting in Rawalpindi.

Armistice was communicated to the three bases of operations—Decca, Khost and Kandahar. In the last two the Afghan operations were proceeding successfully, when the royal proclamation of armistice, and order to desist from further activity, reached them. Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan and Sardar Abdul Quddoos Khan were both disappointed, the Council had decided, and they could not help. The Afghan Council selected from among itself the following members for the Rawalpindi Deputation :—

1. H. E. Ali Ahmad Khan, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, the President of the Deputation.
2. Sardar Mohammad Yoonus Khan, an *ex*-Governor of Kandahar.

3. H. E. Mulla Ghulam Mohammad Khan, the Minister for Commerce. (He belonged to the war party in the Council.)
4. Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan, the late Afghan Envoy at Simla.
5. Sardar Abdul Aziz Khan, a *ex*-Afghan Agent in Delhi.
6. Diwan Narinjan Dass, who held a high post in the Revenue Department.
7. Myself.
8. Munshi Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Chief Secretary to the Foreign Office, who was also Secretary to the Deputation.

The Anglo-Indian Deputation consisted of :—

1. Sir Hamilton Grant, Chief Commissioner of the N.-W. Frontier Province, the President of the Deputation.
2. Sir John Maffy, now Chief Commissioner of the N.-W. F. Province.
3. General Mowbray
4. Nawab Sir Shams Shah of Kalat, Belochistan.
5. Sir Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi of Rawalpindi.

Nawab Maula Bakhsh Khan was the interpreter.

We met at Rawalpindi in the end of July 1919, discussed the existing situation, and both parties agreeing that the abrupt rupture of former relations was due to misunderstanding on both sides, the position was cleared The war had come upon the British Government as unexpectedly as it had come upon the Afghan Government. The latter, on the other hand, had reason to fear that Great Britain might make use of arms to force Afghanistan back into her former position of dependence, but it was not expected in a near future, as just at that time the British Government was already sufficiently engaged. Afghanistan had long yearned for independence. A few days before his death Amir Habíbullah had addressed a letter to the Viceroy, expressing himself strongly on the matter. His demand was just, not only the self-determining right, which every nation must have, but because also Amir Habíbullah, as an ally and friend of the British Government, had done them signal service. He kept his hands off when all India had only a few thousand soldiers. He resisted temptations

offered by the Turkish and German Governments, and he set aside the request of the Khalifa of Islam, which, from a religious point of view, he ought to have obeyed. Afghanisan deserved a great deal from the British Government, but got nothing. Even the money promised was not given. The Great War had, of course, greatly strained the resources of Great Britain, but the claim of Afghanistan was more imperative, for she had saved her powerful ally not only millions of money but India, which a few thousands of scattered soldiery could not have defended. This had piqued the young Afghan, to appease whom Amir Amanullah was to a certain extent obliged to declare the absolute independence of Aghanistan. Besides he had to win over the young party for his own support. It was for this reason that we insisted at Rawalpindi on the absolute independence of Afghanistan—internal as well as external—as the cardinal condition of peace, otherwise hostilities would not have ceased, and Afghanistan would not have thrown down arms until her fate as an independent nation had been decided. As she was determined she knew that if the British Government insisted upon their claims on her foreign rela-

tions there was no better time for sword decision. Sir H. Grant understood the position, and wisely, though very reluctantly, gave in. The other point which Afghanistan gained was the evacuation of the places occupied by the British forces, and the restoration of the former boundary line between the two countries. War had nullified all former treaties and obligations.

Great Britain secured peace, and Afghanistan secured her independence. Both of them achieved what each one badly wanted at the time, but Afghanistan won the victory, for she could boast 'I have won my independence by the point of my sword;' while the British had nothing to boast of, for they achieved nothing by the war—nothing but mere peace. Morally also Afghanistan had gained a decided victory. During this great world-war no treaty has been made between any two Governments whereby one side would have gained like Afghanistan did.

But with due respect to British statesmanship I must say that I cannot understand the reason why the Anglo-Indian Government put off the final settlement of friendly relations between the two Governments for further six months. To me it appears to be a great

mistake The British Government did not like that Kabul should be made a hotbed of anti-British political jealousies, yet Great Britain would leave its nascent independence to play any freaks it liked. Afghanistan is wedged in between two great Powers, which have never been friendly inclined towards each other. It is a small kingdom, and cannot yet stand on its own feet. It must ally itself with one or the other. The very fact of its struggling for independence from British control over its foreign relations shows that it would naturally turn to Russia for future help But I was surprised to note the supreme indifference of the Agnlo-Indian Government in this matter. Yet a further period of six months was insisted on—for what? To see that if Afghanistan were desirous of England's friendship, let her have six months' term of probation, and show practically by her friendly attitude and good behaviour that *she was deserving of such friendship,* seems to me nothing but presumption under the peculiar circumstances of the time. It was only sending her into Russia's embraces, which is fraught with dangers for India-Anglia. Afghanistan declared through her Peace Party, which was predomin-

ant at that time, and was authorised to settle the affairs, that she desired England's friendsl.ip. It behoved England then to say,—'I will be pleased to befriend you, let us settle terms;' and the matter would have been decided there and then. The present awkward position of a probable Russo-Afghan alliance would have been avoided. Afghanistan has no special fondness for Russia, and a little Afghan polite colouring of international relations would have secured solidity to Afghan diplomacy in the Russian eye, and smoothed matters between them.

Another mistake which the Anglo-Indian Government committed last year was not to send a British envoy to Kabul after the settlement of peace-treaty, while an Afghan envoy was accepted by them, and allowed to sit in Delhi. At that time there was no Russian Legation in Kabul; as a matter of fact there was no foreign representation in the Kabul court, and British Legation would have been welcomed "First come, first served" would have secured special advantage for the British Government *

*Since this was written each alliance has taken place, as declared in the Press.

The result was that adjustment of new foreign relations has been proceeding there in camera, where anti-British tendencies must have prevailed, and strong inclination towards Russia would be the natural outcome.

The British Diplomacy, I am grieved to see, has failed in arranging a treaty of friendship and alliance with Afghanistan by not having taken opportune action, when the mere force of circumstances would have drawn. Afghanistan to such a relation with Great Britain. Afghanistan is fully aware of Britain's present strength and weakness, and her manifold entanglements. Great Britain has lost her reputation in Turkey, Persia and Arabia. Her jarring attitude of asserting her own supremacy everywhere in conquered lands has lowered her in the estimation of the people, whom she wishes to exploit; and the worst is that her representatives wherever they go, in spite of noticing such dislike from the people, insist upon continuing the same attitude, and will not come down to adapt themselves to the people and the circumstances. By this behaviour they are steadily losing ground, and bringing British superiority—at least in India— to a speedy termination.

The Amir Amanullah Khan since his accession has been steadily reforming the internal administration of Afghanistan.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

The greatest source of Afghan revenue, as I have remarked before, is land tax. It has had two defects. *Firstly*, the system of collection gave the collectors opportunities and excuses to fill their own pockets at the sacrifice of government dues, which were always left in arrears. *Secondly*, the system of taxing, and the nature of the tax.

The greater portion of the land under cultivation is not surveyed. So much seed, so much water supply, or the capacity of one plough, and various other indefinite methods determine the lowest unit of cultivable land. Different methods obtain in different parts of the country. The assessment is both in kind and in cash. In some places kind alone is taken; in others both. This system is radically wrong; therefore the first reform of His Majesty was to turn the whole tax into cash all over the country. The disadvantage of the tax in kind was the difficulty and complicacy of its collection, and the

lack of brevity and exactness in accounts. Before this government granaries existed in every part of the country. In each district taxes in kind were brought up to these granaries by the tax payers at their own expense When a certain tax-payer brought tax—say a few donkey-loads—he would wait upon the official in charge of the granary, who would keep putting him off on petty excuses, and when at last, after taking his 'tea and sugar' dues, in the shape of some rupees, he would be ready to receive it, he would first denounce the grain as bad, and then, after weighing it, would make it less than the due quantity, on which there was a little more 'tea and sugar,' bargain and the grain was recorded in the register 'excellent and of exact quantity.' The grain thus collected was kept in store for years, during which time it was spoiled by damp, giving to it bad smell and bitter taste, or was eaten away by moths. Now the official in charge takes it out, cleans it, and reports to the Government of the accident, and says it is reduced in quantity by so much. But he has also been selling it all the time for himself. If judges are sent by the Government, they generally receive their proper share of 'tea and sugar' from the official, and confirm his report. This

has been going on for years—waste of Government property, demoralisation of Government officials, extra expense and trouble entailed on the land-owner, the degenerating effect upon public morality at large, more work and more expense with inaccuracy of accounts in account-keeping, ill-reputation of the Government through the misbehaviour and moral lackness of officials.

Not only this, when such an official was dismissed, as often happened, and imprisoned for the purpose of giving accounts, it is more 'tea and sugar' for the Accountants' Office, whether the granary official could afford it or not. A few months' daily attendance of the man, and procrastination of the process of account-taking made him afford it, and his acquittal was signed and sealed. If he could not satisfy the accountants, it was shown 'clearly and beyond doubt' that so much money was payable by him, and the matter was referred to His Majesty the Amir, who issued orders for the payment, and a guard of soldiers was appointed to collect the money from him. The soldiers had their due share of 'tea and sugar' from him for giving him time, and the man would sell or mortgage his property, pay off the Government dues, and rest for some time. But soon he

became sick of sitting idle, went to the accountant's office again, offered a little more 'tea and sugar,' and got some appointment, recommencing the same routine chain of 'tea and sugar.'

The cash collection was made by special collectors, who also had their due share of 'tea and sugar,' and reported so much of the revenue as arrears, which, as they stated 'land-owners cannot afford to pay.'

The Amir Amanullah Khan has abolished the granary system and kind payment of the taxes. Tax in kind is reckoned at the current rate, and all land tax is made cash. Special collectors are dismissed, and the collection of taxes is a duty of the administrative head of each district, who has a special branch for this purpose in his office, and is responsible to the Governor of the province of which his district forms a part. '*Tea and sugaring*,' though strictly prohibited as a punishable crime, has not yet been given up altogether, and it will not disappear until education becomes general, and the salaries of Government servants are raised by the State to 'sufficiency standard,' determined by the official, position of the official, which again depends upon the nature of his office, and of his duties. It is, how-

ever, remarkably lessened, and it is hoped that it will receive greater and more serious attention of the Government, for no administration can be reformed without the purity of its morale

But the correct and just determination of tax necessitates land survey, and a uniform standard of land measurement throughout the whole country, which is a great and difficult task. The late Amir had ordered the survey of six miles round Kabul, and the unit of measurement fixed was the *jareeb*. A square *jareeb* is a little over the *bigah* of the Punjab, or less than an acre. Last year the Amir ordered the Kabul district to be assessed, and its tax collected in cash, as an experiment. When the tax was collected it was about Rs. 1,00,000 more than that of the previous year, with no arrears. The land-owners were specially grateful, because payment was made easy, and the people were relieved from the official pinch, saving them trouble and money. As the Afghanistan Government is not prepared to organise the survey of the whole country on an extensive scale so as to finish it in one short period, the Amir has ordered that a surveying party should be organised for each province, and the survey commenced from its centre, 'six miles round its capital' the first

year, gradually extending towards the periphery in the following years, assessing the surveyed land at the same time, and transferring the kind tax into cash tax.

Grain is no more stocked by the Government. It is now arranged that at times of emergency, when grain is wanted by the State, it will be purchased from agriculturists at current prices, and money paid to them in cash. The kind payment in places surveyed, until the survey and cash assessment are completed, will be sold in the market at current rates, and transferred into cash.

In the same manner cattle tax has been reformed. A percentage of cattle was taken from the breeders, and the live stock was used by the State. Such uses have now been abolished, and the State buys the stock required. The tax is transferred into cash at current rates.

Commercial tax forms a fairly large portion of the revenues. A new code has been formed, regulating the taxes of internal and foreign trade of the country. The taxes on internal trade are much lower than duties on foreign imports. The tax on foreign trade is regulated by the principle that import of luxuries and

unnecessaries is discouraged by heavy tax, and exports of manufactured material is encouraged by lighter tax (vide Appendix I.)

These restrictions have had their effect. The object is to keep the social tastes of people within bounds of simplicity, and not waste money or energy in luxury, and to develop the economic resources of the country by inducing home manufacture.

2. TRANSPORT.

The State owned thousands and thousands of pack-ponies, horses, and camels beside the special royal studs all over the country. Now Amir Amanullah Khan has abolished the system of keeping up of such animals by the State, and has very much reduced the royal studs. Some are kept for every day general use, but transport would be hired by the Government whenever necessary. Thus a great deal of unnecessary expenditure is cut off, and under these circumstances there is no need of storing oats in granaries. Cavalry horses belong to the soldiers, who are given allowance for their keep-up. Horses for the artillery are kept by the Government.

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3. ARMY.

A Military Council is formed under H E. Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, who is also the Minister for war. This council holds regular sittings in the week, and is forming regulations to put the army on an organised and efficient basis.

Conscription in the proportion of one out of every eight adult male Afghans is enforced now. The recruits are to serve the army for three years, and then retire to form a reserve, which can be called into the field at any time. The old units (each soldier drawing Rs. 20 per month) are being dispersed, and new ones at Rs. 14 per month each soldier are being created. Afghanistan will be able to call in the field 150,000 armed and trained soldiers besides militia, which can be estimated at 350,000 men, some with good up-to-date rifles, and others with old flint rifles, who can perform miscellaneous guard service, and do scattered hill-fighting also.

There is a Military Training School in Kabul, to which I have already referred, under the guidance and control of General Mahmood Sami, an officer in the Turkish army of Sultan Abdul Hamid's time. He is a clever man, but of

the old school. However, his training has been one step in advance for Afghan military service. But a leaven of up-to-date is being now imported by newly arrived Turkish officials. The young Afghan officials trained in this school have displayed great intelligence, and are active agents in creating a new and healthy *esprit de corps* in the army. They as a rule possess more strength of character, power of initiation and determination, with a good conception of discipline. If the Army Council attended more thoroughly to its work, and accepted, and profited by, instructions from whatever source they come, it would have a splendid future before it of remodelling and strengthening the backbone of Afghanistan, and securing it from foreign encroachment.

4. OFFICE WORK.

The system of office work in Afghanistan was the old Persian clerical system; for expressing the amount of money and weight they had the symbolic system, and not the numerical. Numbers were only used for enumeration and not for account-keeping. The account was not kept in ruled columns, but it was written in words, the sum total noted in the beginning, and the secondary

processes noted in the margin. Differentiation of headings was marked by a straight line across the full breadth of the page, sub-headings only in half-page lines under it, and items included therein in quarter page lines appearing in one column as under :—

(Space)

(a) For the description of case in words.

(b) The symbolic representation of the sum-total of all items included in the account, money or weight or both.

(Space) for sub-heading (1) Symbolic representation of the sum total of all items included herein, as written below :—		*(Space)* for sub-heading (2).
Space for item (1) description and the sum in symbols.	Space for item (2) description and the sum in symbols.	Ditto.
Space for item (3).	Space for item (4).	
Space for item (5).	Space for item (6).	

If the marginal notes be lengthy, half of the page would be reserved for them, and the sub-heading (2) would be noted below and after the sub-heading (1) when the latter is finished.

During the time of Amir Sher Ali Khan account was kept on separate sheets ; and if the account be too long for one sheet, several sheets were gummed together, and rolled into a scroll.

Amir Abdul Rahman Khan introduced bound registers, but let the system remain symbolical. Amir Habíbullah knew that the numerical system in ruled columns was better, and said he would like to replace the old system by it, but the clerical heads of departments opposed him and said the accounts would be upset, arguing also that the old system was preferable.

The present Amir has ignored these technical objections, and has established a clerical school under an Afghan officer, who studied the Turkish clerical system from a Turkish gentleman, and was for some time Principal of the military school. The Turkish system is an adaptation of the French system, nearly the same as we have in India, with some minor differences. In the Kabul school they have one year's course for the present, consisting of Arithmetic, Geography and clerical

بطور یادگار بخدمت جناب
اوستاد محترم مولوی صاحب تقدیم نمودم
عبدالحمید وزیر دارایی خدیو خانقاق
بهار سنه ۱۳۰۳

work. The headmaster of this school, Mirza Mujtaba Khan, is a very clever gentleman of the Young Afghan party. He is well acquainted with the old system of account keeping, and has easily turned it into the new system. He is a good teacher. Last year I was the first examiner of the school, and I noted his work with surprised satisfaction. The successful youths were given the new cash land-tax work in the Kabul District, and they are doing it wonderfully well.

It is hoped that in a very near future the old system will be entirely replaced by the new system, saving both time and money, and securing accuracy in work. This I consider a radical reform.

5. ADMINISTRATION.

It had a very incomplete organisation and control. Besides there was no law except the Mohammadan law. The district administrator was also a judicial officer. In both civil and criminal cases those belonging to the religious department were not clearly defined from those to be considered by the administrator. Some criminal cases were taken up by the police, and dealt with. So matters were rather confused.

The administrator had no code of law except a pamphlet of 68 clauses, which was nothing but a modification of, and a slight addition to, the pamphlet published by the late Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. In most cases the administrator had to use his own judgment. A good wise official would work satisfactorily, and the people would be pleased with him. But a bad official would be exactly the reverse. Very often there were disputes between the civil official in charge of the Province and the local military officer, who would not give way to the former, and would interfere in his control of the district.

To remove these defects the Amir appointed a Legislative Council (*Mahfal-i-Qanoon*) at the end of 1919, under the presidency of H. E. Ali Ahmad Khan, the Minister for the Interior. The Council consists of 21 members, out of whom four are Indian and the rest Afghan. The Indian members except myself are :—

1. Ahmad Jan Khan (Civil Brigadier) of Peshawar.
2. Mian Qadir Bakhsh Khan, of Lahore.
3. Maulvi Najaf Ali Khan (my elder brother) of Jalalpur Jattan.

Ahmad Jan Khan is an elderly gentleman, who has been in the service of Afghanistan for over thirty years, first as a compounder, then as a physician to the late Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, and then had miscellaneous posts, as head of an office, Assistant to the present Amir (when the latter in his father's time was the chief of the Identity Office for stipendiaries), Assistant to the Governor of Turkistan, a Judicial Officer in Kabul, &c., &c. Mian Kadir Bakhsh is the head of the Kabul Tannery, and was appointed in place of Mr. Thornton of Leeds. He was educated in America, and has also been in Japan for some time.

My brother has been the Chief Inspector of the Habíbia School and its primary branches, and tutor to the present Amir in his boyhood, as I have mentioned before.

Of the Afghan members the most notable are*:—

1. Sardar Mohammad Yoonus Khan, ex-Governor of Kandahar.

* Some members have since been appointed on other responsible posts, and are replaced by new members. The president Ali Ahmad Khan has been disgraced on account of some private offence to His Majesty, and Sardar Sher Ahmad Khan, Military aide-de-camp to the late Amir, has been appointed in his place, who now presides over the sittings of the Council, and is a very energetic and thoughtful worker.

2. Sardar Mohammad Usman Khan, ex-Governor of Turkistan and of Kandahar.
3. Sardar Fateh Mohammad Khan, ex-Kotwal of Kabul.
4. Sardar Mohammad Suleiman Khan, ex-Governor of Herat.
5. Sardar Sher Ahmad Khan (son of Sardar Fateh Mohammad Khan) Military aide-de-camp to the late Amir Habíbullah Khan.
6. Sardar Abdur Rahman Khan, the first envoy sent to India by the present Amir before the war broke out.
7. Mir Ahmad Shah Khan.
8. Azimullah Khan.

Four of them have had some education in India. The Council, in short, was composed of varied knowledge and experience in the different branches of Government, eminently suited for the purpose of miscellaneous legislation. The first work taken in hand was the administration of the country, for which the country was divided into certain areas, each comprising a few villages suited to be an administrative local unit. The man in charge of such an area is called Alaqadar.

Several such areas (or Alaqas) are combined in one district, and a number of districts forms a province or a territory according to geographical or tribal distribution. In such division other circumstances, like the tendency of traffic, accessibility, proximity to the borders, strategical importance, etc., were also considered. The village, as a communal unit was put under the charge of one headman, or more where it was necessary. The duties of the public towards the State and towards each other were specified; the duties of the headman, as the first link between the public and the State, were also clearly defined.

Afghanistan being a comparatively primitive country, it was considered that at present the heads of administration from the Alaqadar up to the Governor should have both executive and judicial powers, especially when a good deal of the judicial came under the province of the *Qazi* (the religious magistrate). His duties and powers were defined, and a code of laws* framed for settling various cases. The code has been read before His Majesty, when all the Ministers were

* I think that this code of laws first framed in Afghanistan will be of great interest to legists and general readers. I hope very soon to place its translation before the public, along with the present constitution of Afghanistan.

invited specially for the purpose, certain clauses partly modified with the consent of the majority, and finally sanctioned by His Majesty, with the order of its publication issued.

I need hardly say that the work has been most seriously and thoughtfully accomplished, and that it reflects a great credit upon Afghan brain, and its powers of organisation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Some branches of the royal family and certain other personages received cooked food from the royal kitchen, and stipends from the Treasury, appointed by the last two Amirs. The present Amir has dismissed some and diminished others, and thus curtailed a good deal of unnecessary expenditure. Besides he has ruled that no man will receive a penny from the public Treasury unless he works for it; that no man shall be taken in any service unless he is really qualified for the work trusted to him; that no family privilege should be recognised by the State, preference being given only to proficiency; and that in State service there should be no distinction of creed or caste.

There are several sacred places in the country, and the income from the *Auqaf* was

monopolised by those in charge of them. The Amir declared they had no right to it, and dismissed them. This income amounted to several lacs of rupees annually, which now form part of the Government revenues.

In domestic life extravagance is denounced by the Amir, and waste of money on marriages and deaths is strictly prohibited by him. He has divided the community into three classes—the upper, the middle and the lower—and has limited and prescribed the matrimonial expenses in each class. Dancing boys and all such fooleries are strictly forbidden by him. His idea is that the Afghans should live simply, moderately and soberly. He wants to discourage extravagant dresses used by ladies, and has, therefore, heavily taxed silk and other stuff used by the fair sex, and imported from foreign countries.

He has removed all restrictions upon Hindus and Shias in Afghanistan. They can practice their religions as they like. The Hindu community have a few places of worship, where they freely go and perform their rituals and other religious exercises. The Amir has shown his indulgence to both of these classes by personally

attending the rituals of both. The *Jazya* on Hindus is reduced to one-half, and they have no apparent distinction from the Mohammadan public except a mark (*Kashka* or *tilk*) on the forehead, which is ordered only for their special safety. The former distinction of yellow turbans and caps for the Hindus is removed. They have now equal rights with the Muslims. They are even taken in military service, and some of the Hindu youths are among the students of the military school. As far as State service is concerned, Mohammadans had no preference over them even before. Some of the highest posts in offices were occupied by Hindu gentlemen. The Hindus in Kabul mostly form trading class, but some of them learn clerical work and get engaged in offices on equal salaries with the Mohammadans.

The Amir has curtailed his kitchen expenses and those of formal courts.

EDUCATION.

I have already stated the progress of modern education in Kabul. Early in the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan, the condition of the Habíbiya School was not satisfactory, nor it could be attended to on account of the war cry which had disturbed the

سردار محمد سلیمان خان وزیر معارف افغانستان

natural procedure of all State affairs. Since then Sardar Mohammad Suleiman Khan, the late Governor of Herat, has been appointed Minister for Education, who is energetically attending to the work, and doing his best to reform the schools. There is, however, no educational expert in Kabul at this time. I have no doubt that he will soon recognise the necessity of expert educational advice and put education on a sound national basis, as is absolutely essential for an aspiring and progressive nation.

His Majesty the Amir Amanullah Khan, whose picture forms the frontispiece of this book, is a young man of nearly thirty years. He is of medium height, handsome, well-built, of fair complextion, dark hair and eyes, and strong healthy physique At present he is full and proportionate in person, but later on, when the Government of the country is better organised, and continues to work smoothly, he might be inclined to obesity. He is very amiable and polite in manners, and never becomes nervous. His education is not high ; but he has been mixed up with the work of the State since he was fourteen, and has sufficient working experience. My brother told me that he was always shrewd enough to pick up the gist of

every case that was brought before him, and showed, even in his boyhood, strength of judgment and of character. He was by no means a diligent student, but he always took genuine interest in whatever engaged his attention. He feared and respected his mother and he respects her still. He was greatly inclined to fun in boyhood as he is now. He has a good deal of humour, which he often displays in his after-dinner chit-chat, or among his companions while sporting. He is moderate in food and simple in dress. He wears one suit for three or four months continuously and keeps a very spare supply of linen. He is quite satisfied as long as he has a clean dress, whatever be the stuff. He prefers native manufacture to foreign imported material. He has a simpler food than his late father, and all the courtiers present dine with him at the same table. He wastes no time in cooking or other pastimes. He likes sport and riding, and has times fixed for both. He works very hard ; as a matter of fact he gets overworked. From eight in the morning till midnight he is generally hard at work, with only about three hours as intervals for dinner, prayers, and ride or motor-drive. He takes his afternoon tea while working. He likes

all State servants to work hard like himself. There is a small pond of water in the Arak compound, and occasionally in the afternoon before he goes out for a ride or drive, or in the morning before commencing work, he takes his gun, goes to the pond and has a few shots at the ducks just for a few minutes.

He is generally healthy, but is subject to cold and vertigo, and the strain of extra work always brings on the attack. He does not give up work unless the attack be very severe.

Like his grandfather he has a vast intelligence department, and is kept daily informed of what is going on in Kabul. Every person of note is spied on, and so are all those who might be suspected of party inclinations. There might be some case-manufacturing now but not much.

He has broad social and political views, and always declares in court, and in public, that he should be considered one of the people. He is proud of being an Afghan and satisfied with being a servant of the motherland. One day in the Council we had the question of decision and determination by 'majority' as it commonly prevails. Many members hesitated to vote in favour of majority, fearing that it would be creating a

power over the Amir, which he would not like and which, therefore, might subject them to his displeasure. The matter was respectfully referred to the Amir, who declared in favour of the majority. He would accept the defeat of his opinion by majority and he has often done so willingly. Addressing the Council he significantly said, "Supposing your majority voted for adoption of Bolshwik system of government, I would be the first man to offer my services to work even as a Bolshwik for what, according to your belief, might determine the welfare of Afghanistan."

شجاع الدوله خان وزیر امنیهٔ افغانستان

CHAPTER V.

Russian Advance into Central Asia.

Nearly five centuries ago Russian Government was no more than a Grand Duchy under the Mongolian yoke, which it shook off after a great struggle. Impatient after a long subserviency, its nascent independence and long pent-up expansive ambitions, not finding field towards Europe, immediately turned towards Asia, taking, one after the other, Perm, Viatka, Kasan, and Astrakhan, until a century afterwards their gradual and organised advance brought them close to the confines of Asia, both in east and south, and they settled on the rivers Ural and Terek. During this advance they had to settle with the Cossacks, who had colonised in various parts of Russian territory, not under the Tzar's rule, and whose means of subsistence were but robbery and plunder. How and when Cossackdom came into existence is not definitely known, but it is conjectured from their habits and their mode of life that they were originally sets of scapegraces, who either on account of the tyranny of their rulers, or for escaping the punishment which their criminal acts might have brought

on them, or through sheer destitution, had left their homes, and taken refuge in the immeasurably vast and sparsely-inhabited territories extending between the southern confines of the Sclavonian and the northern limits of the Tartar possessions. This large wilderness was vaguely known as the "plain." The surrounding despotism with its essential cruelties kept up feeding the streams of 'exiles' into the 'plain', and gradually their numbers swelled, and having been left to their own resources in the desert, the fresh exiles gathered round the old nuclei already formed of those who had arrived before them, and banding together they created centres of colonies, where they found safety and livelihood in co-operation. Such exiles into deserts from primitive communities, even if they be not confirmed criminals, by the mere force of circumstances, and by an inherent spite against the moneyed and powerful classes, finding themselves independent, lose control over their passions, and become energetic, bold and enterprising. In their common struggle for life with wild nature, and, finding no occupation for earning a livelihood, they at once take to that easy vocation of wresting by force whatever and wherever they get. They band together for

strength, forming organised parties and, wherever they are settled, they are ultimately developed into communities, with plunder as a profession, under the rule of cunning might and power, acknowledging no State except the rod of the mighty among themselves.

Thus the colonies of Cossacks grew and throve, developing the spirit of enterprise, independence and ability to rob as their hereditary virtues.

Such communities the Russian Tzars had to struggle against and subdue in order to satisfy their greed for expansion. Not only this but they handled the Cossack-breaking question with such wisdom and forethought that they took full advantage of their adventurous boldness and self-asserting spirit, and used them in their army as well as in the outposts of their country to hold and defend the frontiers. Thus in the end of the 16th century "Colonies of Cossacks encircled the Tzar's Muscovite Empire on the south and south-east, forming a far advanced, and continually advancing, chain of defensive outposts."*

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*The rival powers in Central Asia, by Joseph Popowski, translated by Arthur Baring Brabant (1893).

The Government finding Cossackdom useful began to organise their colonies, the area of each district being determined by local requirements, and by the number of Cossacks in the neighbourhood. Such districts were designated as "lines." If the number of Cossacks already in a district did not suffice, or if a "line" were required in an area without any Cossacks, the Government ordered forced transmigrations, and thousands of families were compelled to move. These "lines" consisted mostly of forts and villages about 13 miles apart from each other, and their task was the protection of the Empire from without, and putting down insurrection within, the possessions of the Tzar.

Some of the Cossacks settled in newly-formed or newly conquered towns of Siberia, and, becoming the pioneers of Russian rule in Asia, advanced to its easternmost corner with admirable energy, though their advance was not without the exhibition of Cossack lawlessness.

At the close of the last century there were ten Cossack "lines," or "hordes," as they were also called: those of the Don, Kuban, the Terek, Astrakhan, the Ural, Orenberg, Siberia, Semiretchensk, Transbaikalia and Amur. They

occupied a total area of 300,000 square miles, and were recruited from over two millions people. In war the Cossack community has had to furnish the Government over 400,000 men for military service in lieu of which they retained their freedom, and would not accept serfdom.

At the end of the sixteenth century Russia had taken possession of Siberia, which was considered a barren and thinly populated country, and had, therefore, only a prospective value. In the following two centuries Russia's advance eastward was continued until she reached the ocean, and crossing the Bering Straits she occupied Alaska. She proceeded further into north America, and came into immediate contact with the British Empire on land. At that time the War of Independence by the United States had turned the European Powers against the British Government, and the relations between Russia and Great Britain were rather strained. Russian possession in America being too far from the seat of Government, and not easily governable and profitable on account of the absence of railway connections, it was ceded to the United States as an act of courtesy, and as a bond of alliance between Russia and America:

Thus Russia stopped her advance in easterly direction, and brought all her forces of art and arm to expand in the direction of south, and in Central Asia. South, however, was not so easy a nut as Siberia. There they had to reckon with warlike tribes, and with extensive rugged and inaccessible mountains, besides the organised States of Persia and Turkey. Repeated wars against Caucasus, Persia and Turkey were waged. Caucasus was conquered after more than half a century's siege, and great bloodshed on both sides. Persia and Turkey ceded territories.

In Central Asia the operations had a more speedy, but not less bloody beginning. Ivan the Terrible took Kasan in 1552, and ordered all its male population with the exception of little children to be put to death. This was a truly terrible stroke, and justifies the title of the striker. Tamerlane's vast empire had long been split up into little states, and their Khans, who were always at war with each other, not being able to unite against their powerful enemy, were terror-stricken, and one by one sued for protection to the terrible Tzar on the payment of certain tribute. During the reign of Peter the Great expeditionary

forces were sent to Khiva four times, but each time they met with disaster; the first two were annihilated, the third did not reach its destination, and the fourth was encountered by the Khan himself close to Khiva, and routed after three days' fight. Some members of it were executed, and others made slaves, and Prince Bekovitch, their leader, was killed.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Orenberg line was completed, and connected with the Siberian line, which extended to the Chinese frontier. Thus Russia reached close to the Kirghis, who inhabited the vast tracts lying between the Caspian Sea and the Ural river on the one hand, and Siberia, Kulja and the Chinese Empire on the other. All this country had formed a part of the old Empires of Chenghese Khan and Tamerlane. The Kirghis at this time were divided into three hordes (the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, and the Lesser Horde)—*i. e.*, territories under separate rulers. They were often quarelling among themselves. All of them, one after the other, fell before the superior arms and diplomacy of Russia. Bye and bye the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand were taken and amalgamated and the

Amir of Bokhara was reduced to a state of dependence like an Indian Prince. Other tribes like the Bashkirs, the Yamuts, the Tekahs, the Calmucks, the Buruts, the Turcomans, the Uzbecks, etc., were brought to subjection, and they became subjects of the Great White Tzar.

It is not necessary for the purpose of this book to go into the historical details of Russia's occupation of the extensive territories of Central Asia. Suffice it to say that in the course of three centuries Russia has not only taken possession of Central Asia, but has tried to Russianise it, and in that work it has largely succeeded. The imperial States' usual means of conquest and colonisation—the plausible plea of civilising the barbarians in the interest of humanity, wholesale carnage, rapine and plunder in order to establish peace and security, sowing the seeds of dissension divide and rule—for introducing learning and art—in short all uncivilised methods, were adopted in the name of civilisation. But where is that civilisation now? And where are the conquerors? Annihilated by the volcanic outburst of vengeance from those of their own people who served and slaved them—their proletariat. Perpend, and take lesson, ye of

masters or slaves, who have eyes!

Russia's further advance in the southern portion of Central Asia, *viz.*, Afghanistan and Persia, was checked, because both of them were large, and more or less organised States, and because *both were supported by Great Britain.* British support was only diplomatic, and had moral effect, and that even slight, for British diplomacy there was unsupported by power, and out of the field of its activity, having all the disadvantage of distance and lack of information, which suffice to make any movement ineffective the more so when the opponent realises its nature, and is within the field of activity, with the full liberty of demonstrating his superior power. Still British diplomacy had an appreciable moral effect in checking the Russian advance. Yet whenever Russia wanted a piece of territory, or some concession from these two governments, she had it. The treaty obligations of England had no power except diplomatic protests and communications from Westminster, which always brought forth first denial of facts, then the issuing of orders to the local officials to abstain from such and such a move, then procrastination with long, delayed and evasive answers, until

the object was achieved, followed by an explanation of its absolute necessity for the safety of Russian interests, no British interests being directly involved.

CHAPTER VI.

Genesis of Bolshwism.

We have observed that Russia has been gradually and systematically advancing in Central Asia, and has annihllated nearly all the independent small and weak States, taken possession of vast, almost limitless, territories, and tried to Russianise and absorb them in her extensive empire. True, there are many deserts, sandy plains, hilly districts, and other barren areas in Central Asia, but at the same time it abounds in places that are inhabitable and exploitable, and therefore, colonisable. Russia has done her best to profit by her possessions in this region of the world, and if she has not developed its resources fully, it is her lack of aptitude for this tremendous task. The prospective value of this land is immense. In history governments over an alien people attempting to exploit them by making them adopt systems, methods and religion of the ruling class, have ultimately failed. It is profitable in the beginning when there exists a marked difference between the conceptions of civic life among the ruler and the ruled, and knowledge, physical power, progressive control,

determination, and outward glare of civilisation of the ruling race are far greater than the governed people. The weak nation then is almost devoid of national conceptions, and thinks they were made to work for others. Their life is another form of wage-slavery. But in order to keep them active, and make them efficient, the exploiters have to educate them, and education, however limited, must in course of time make them conscious and intelligent, and struggles between them and their employers begin, which end in open fights and revolution. The Russian policy of educating and Russianising the subject races of Central Asia failed in its object. Tzarism doled out the same measure of oppression to them which it gave to its Russian labouring population. Their condition was worse because they were not Russians. Those who received Russian education aped Russian manners. Drinking and debauchery prevailed among the young men, which disgusted the older generation. The educated young men began to be hated. Some adopted Christianity and they were looked upon as degenerates and renegades. But the people suffered, because they could not raise a voice. The educated young generation in spite

of their 'renegacy' saw in the European Russia signs of discontent among the masses, felt a bond of sympathy between them and their own people, joined their ranks, and imbibed revolutionary notions.

However, the question that directly concerns us here is how should India look upon Russia's advances in the direction of Afghanistan and the Pamirs. Afghanistan was a dependent kingdom, but now she is altogether independent, with a young, intelligent and ambitious king to guide and control her. He broke the foreign chains that had bound her, and is naturally anxious to include in her all the Afghani (Pushto) speaking races. He has pan Afghanic notions, which form the basis of his policy. His ambition is legitimate, though the present conditions of the world may not favour its fulfilment. The Afghani-speaking races are no acquisition to India. On the other hand, they are a burden and constant source of anxiety. The Afghani-speaking zone 'under the political influence of the Government' is practically independent, and always warring with the Government. Their example encourages refractory spirit among the Afghani-speaking tribes of the Government's 'administrative zones.'

Russia is simply revolutionised, with an extreme change in her political, social, economic and moral life. It is, therefore, necessary to have an accurate idea of this wonderful evolution of the Russian people, and their former system of government, which, through the influence of the growing and social and economic conditions of Europe, and by its own ambitions of expansion and power, created and fed by the Russian people's implicit belief in their national superiority over all other races of mankind, so determined the civic conditions of Russia that the working and the producing classes of the country revolted against the long and continued oppression of the ruling class The despotic sway of the upper and moneyed classes over the lower strata of humanity, which exists more or less everywhere, and which in Russia was heightened by her contiguity to the Asiatic communities, and by her adoption of methods existing in the old Mongolian Empire of which Russia formed a part, was repugnant to the expanding and aspiring minds of the working classes generally. Seeds of such revolt were sown early in this country, and were nourished by the social and democratic principles, which were evolving in the whole of Europe, and which had awakened

the proletariat of those countries, giving rise to definite labour and other organisations of various shades of social and democratic ideas

Plato's notions of democracy* did not find a favourable soil in the god-stamped autocracy-worship prevalent in his time and so ingrained in the common mind that the latter revolted against its consideration. The public thought it preposterous, and even philosophy looked at it with the spectacles of awful cautiousness. So his democracy remained practically in the philosopher's shelves until its spontaneous and natural growth and evolution in the public mind made it manifest Determined by the force of circumstances (the constant trampling of a man's natural rights by the privileged few, the repression practised by the ruling classes, and the capitalists' selfish ignoring of the labourers' proper share in the product of his labour), and first manifested in the form of a mild dissent, it grew into *strikes* in smaller national sections, and, fed by strong and constant resistance,

* The idea of democracy is perhaps older than Plato, who enunciated it scientifically. But the system practically existed in all communities in their primitive conditions, when every communal problem had the sanction of the whole community. Our old Punchayat is an illustration of our defunct democracy. This simple co-operative system gradually drifted into patriarchal, and from patriarchal into feudatory, and from feudatory into kingship, which was no more than artificial privilege in the highnest degree, and destructive of all individual rights.

it burst into open rebellion and revolution In Russia Carl Marx gave it a practical shape acceptable to the common masses. The dogma expounded by him, and supported by his colleagues, Engle and others, includes in the conception of socialism both economic and political aspects of human society. The State according to them whether bureaucratic or autocratic is an organised propaganda for exploiting labour for the benefit of the few. Therefore their cry is '*down with the champions of privilege and capital, down with the system of exploitation of man by man.*'

Such notions found full support in the Russian proletariat. But the regime of the government there being despotic, and a great deal under the guidance and influence of landlordism and capitalism, no satisfactory solution of the economic difficulty was arrived at, and the condition of the labourers and peasants showed no amelioration. Every scheme of social and economic reforms had to be based on, and determined by, the interest of the capitalist and the landlord. In every civilised country one word 'capitalism' sums up all the prevailing economic and social systems, the dominant feature of which is the production of goods for profit.

All the people, high and low, are consumers. They are divided into two main classes *:—(1) those who own capital, and lay it out in production and distribution, (2) and others who own no capital, but spend their whole energy in mere production. The interests of these two classes clash—one for the sake of profit, always anxious to secure the longest and most efficient labour with the least expense, and the other ever struggling to shorten the hours of work, and still have the highest wages to enable them to live better, or at least to save something for evil day, and provide for their children. In addition to this the capitalist, again for the sake of getting more profit, would endeavour to produce as cheaply as possible, and would, for this purpose, be continually introducing machinery, and thus produce more goods in less time, and dispense with much of manual labour, and materially reduce his expenditure. As a result many hands are thrown out of employment, for in machinery children and women can replace men. Industries are developed ; more profits are

* There is another class of men who do not own capital, but who are engaged in the administration of the country. They are helpers of production and distribution, and are classed with the capitalist and landlords with whom their interests are largely associated.

brought to the capitalist, with the rise of prices and wages, but the employer does not raise the wages in the same proportion, and therefore, the condition of labourer becomes worse—at least it remains the same, and far below the minimum standard of living for a man with family obligations, because the refining influence of growing civilisation must also tell upon the labourer, who naturally desires more comfort and better lodging. The rise in his wages cannot meet such demands, and he remains discontented. Moreover, the rising intelligence of the age gives him better understanding of the general condition of the community, and of the rôle he plays in the national struggle for independent life. He adds brain to his physical capital, and becomes anxious to free himself from 'wage-slavery,' and struggles for a better remuneration in some other capacity. If he succeeds, his place is occupied, but the creation of similar anxiety in the *class* makes discontent dangerous.

The power of capitalism and landlordism in Russia was so great that it would not suffer the voice of socialism and communism to produce any effect upon legislation. Socialism was interpreted to be anti-imperialism, and anti-imperial-

ism was made synonymous with anti-Tzarism. The capitalists and landlords either formed the ruling class, or held the ruling class under their thumb, therefore legislation could not remedy labour troubles. On the other hand, socialists of the Extreme Wing were brought under a heavy pressure from above. Even the Church, in obedience to the Great Tzar, had to play the part of an eavesdropper. The Father Confessor in his sacred garb in the sanctum of his closet became the detective officer, and thousands of useful human lives were either sacrificed on the altar of 'justice and equality,' or transported to Siberia, where many of them pined away What did these poor martyrs, the exponents of social communism, demand? They simply said "Ye who hold the power of money, and have an army at your command, ye who in your grand palaces enjoy every blessing of life, forget not the poor wretches, who toil and sweat for you, and whose labours make you what you are. Give them a due share of the blessings which their hands have secured for you, and they will work for you more efficiently, and help to multiply the blessings of your lives." But no, they turned deaf ear to all these entreaties, committed the supplicants to jail or to

banishment, and insisted upon the sole exercise and unshared enjoyment of their privileges.

Labour has an undeniable right to respect from capital, and, if intelligent and efficient, has an absolute right of control over it. Therefore, capital must give way to intelligent labour, otherwise labour would refuse to produce such a rebellious scape-grace, as Russian labour with one revengeful blindman's grip has strangled her ill-behaved and selfish off-spring, buried its disgraceful remains under its own wreck, and debarred her future conception of that inhumane species. Now in Russia most of the capitalists and landlords are stripped of their wealth and their lands, and are forced to become human, and by grace of the very proletariat whom it was their benevolent condescension even to employ as slaves and treat as beasts of burden, are given the chance of making themselves worthy of living. Otherwise as criminals of nature and humanity, in the eyes of communism, they deserved much severer punishment than mere death with the confiscation of their ill-earned property.

The subtly selfish wealth-hunting capitalist, even under the garb of democratic humanitarianism, may fool the poor helpless toilers for some

time, may be for a few generations, and exploit them for his own welfare, but he cannot fool them for ages or for ever. The same is true with every form of tyranny. A government, whether alien or not, howsoever it may covers its interests under the loud professions of public weal, supported by a plausibly enlightening and civilising activity, and strengthened by an armed host of hired slaves, only lengthens her lease of life. It can never be secure. A government may be partially likened to a tree, with the people as its roots. If the roots draw up the sap from the soil the tree grows, but if they refuse to perform their function, the tree is bound to wither and die. You may dress and prune the shape of the tree in any way you like, but to make it grow well, and bear fruit, you must improve the soil, and provide ample nourishment to the roots. The tree must give equal shelter and comfort to all the travellers of life's long journey, who came under its spreading branches. If it does not do so, some angry saint or sage might, with the sharp-axe of his maledictions, inflict a deep wound all round the bark, lay bare the wood underneath, and cut off the sap-supply. The tree will become irretrievably dry above the

wound with all its profuse and gorgeous foliage strivelled up—now fit only to be felled, hewn, cut and used up. New branches will spring forth from the remaining trunk. Each might become large enough to be a tree in itself, but all growing on one firm and united basis, and drawing their sap-supply from the same roots.

Thus class-struggle between the owners of production—the dominant class—and the producers grew in Russia. The latter would watch the products of their labour pass through their hands with the eyes of daily increasing jealousy, with the suppressed sense of revenge and self-assertion, and with the consciousness of their helplessness expressed in a sigh and a groan—'Oh, if I had the power.' The struggle went on becoming more and more acute. The predominant section, too confident of their strength, repressing every attempt of the working class at self-assertion with measures more and more oppressive, and the working class, conscious that they would not, and could not be annihilated, undaunted in their demand for just rights. At last they were exasperated, and made secret organisations to use violence, and *waited for an opportunity.* Such internal struggles in a nation are natural

during its evolution. They would form its history. The desire for growth and national independence among a nation is equally felt in all its sections, and each section vies with the other. The glories won must be shared and enjoyed equally. The lower classes, who always play much greater part in every field of activity, at home or abroad, expect an equally great share of their national glories. But the economic adjustment of capital and production on the part of capitalists and landlords, based only on the increase of profits for themselves, does not suffer any improvement in the general condition of the proletariat. So the toilers begin to understand that 'national welfare,' as explained by bureaucrats and autocrats, does not embrace the working section, but includes only the privileged minority. Therefore they reject the words 'national' and 'nationalism' from the political, social, and economic vocabulary of their country, and use the terms 'communism' and 'communal' to embrace and apply to all the inhabitants of their mother-land.

Side by side with this internal economic warfare there is another social struggle, *viz.*, one between the capitalists and the autocracy, which has taken the form of social and red-tape rivalry.

The capital has at last won from the titled class the privilege to ascendancy, and has become a much more dominant factor in guiding the destiny of nations. Autocracy is being gradually dissolved and absorbed by capitalism, and what remains of it is only a reminder of the romance of 'past glories.'

In Russia also the same twofold struggle continued, but the autocracy had not yet altogether succumbed, when suddenly the European War broke out. The regime of the Tzar's Government was antiquated and corrupt. Autocratic selfishness had prevented it from keeping pace with the rapid march of other nations. Socialist views had infiltrated into the producing and the unbiased intellectual classes. The labouring masses had already secretly vowed vengeance. The weight of war fell upon all sections of the population, but much more so upon those who digged and delved. They not only sweated for production to maintain the war, but it was they who also constituted the fighting units in the front. Hundreds of thousands of unwilling souls, wrenched from their hearth and home, were hurled into the roaring fields of battle, and sacrificed to the interests of infuriated and impatient

capitalism and Tzarism (Imperialism). At last both were exhausted. The crash came, the whole superstructure of greed and selfish ambition collapsed, with the almost total consumption of all the resources of the country, leaving behind nothing but fallow lands, factories without hands, and banks and treasury almost empty, commerce cramped, business unhinged, for lack of material, both manufactured and raw.

The capitalists, who still had some power and influence, were anxious to recover their position, for they were threatened with absolute economic collapse, which would have ruined them. The rage against autocracy was universal. The social democrats found this opportunity the most befitting for the introduction of their schemes. Tzarism had lost all influence ; it was left alone with the autocracy. Both had plunged the country into war, and both had insisted upon continuing the war to the bitter end. So, both were responsible for the terrible disaster which had overwhelmed the country. The social democrats declared open war against the Tzar's regime. The capitalists finding no other alternative, and seeing the army on their side, supported the new form of government. They wanted

control over Russia's economics, no matter what might be the constitution of the government. Besides they thought that by propping up the government of the country, and giving it an appearance of stability they would throw off the responsibility of the war on the shoulders of the defunct imperialism, and prove themselves to the public as the real champions of their country's welfare The Tzar and all his family together with grand-dukes and all other Tzar-worshippers (all the paraphernalia of Tzarism) were swept away, and a Russian social Republic under Karensky was installed. Everything was promised to the working classes—equality of rights, justice, short working hours, and higher wages. Imperialism, alleged to be the sole enemy of the body-proletariat, was ruthlessly murdered, and committed to the grave. A new Republic built upon that grave would save the country from chaos and ruin, lift the lower classes, and safeguard all their interests. Promises were given, declarations announced, gigantic efforts made. There was an apparent calm. Great Britain hoped, the world hoped. But no scheme of organisation would succeed. The capitalists' main concern was profit, on which every scheme

was founded. Monoply of profit would allow no betterment in the condition of labourers, to whom mere lip-comforts were no consolation. Their demands were not sentimental, but substantial. They wanted share in the profits, and immediate relief. Therefore they demanded proportionate representation of the whole proletariat in the administrative machinery of *their own* country, so that they might have control of its manufactured material, and adjust the proper shares of labour and capital. Such adjustment would have naturally resulted in the diminution of profits to the capitalists, and much greater remuneration to the peasants and factory-workers. The capitalists would in no way accept such conditions.

In the meantime the stores and granaries were being rapidly consumed. The war had not yet stopped The rich parts in the south of European Russia had been occupied by the German Imperial forces. The unsatiable monster of war devoured everything, even stores of seeds were eaten up.

The wounded and the unfit soldiers, who returned from the field, found their hearths cold, their homes more or less empty, and their lands dry and untilled. Saved from the German artillery

they had to face the worse enemy—privation in their own homes, and callous indifference from government officials in helping them Urban labourers were out of employment. Trade had stopped, no home production, no foreign import, the moneyed classes holding their hoards with miserly grip, the Republic incapable of doing anything in the midst of this utter deadlock. An awful spectacle, more grim than carnage in the battle field What would the working millions do under these circumstances? What could they do? They had patiently waited for full eight months. They could bear no more. Now was the moment to act—the *opportunity for which they had long been waiting*. So they fell upon the rich, and began to rob them with vengeance. The rich would not submit without struggle. The hungry mob could not be stayed. Had the rich yielded without resistance they might have saved their lives. Those who accepted the terms of the assailants were allowed to walk out of their houses unmolested, but with empty hand, and empty purses. The pious eyes of Reuter were horror-stricken with this brutal exhibition of humanity. The all-virtuous Imperialism poured forth righteous denunciation and condemnation. Philanthropic

capitalism was shocked at the foul barbarities perpetrated by the very people who had lived on its charity and on its suffrance. Sociology could not understand *'the survival of the unfittest.'* Was nature playing freaks? It was inconsistent with itself. The strong went to the wall, edged out of the road by the weak; nay even the wall was taken of them, and they knew not where to go. They were trampled on. A strange inexplicable, and seemingly law-subverting phenomenon this, a very pandemonium, the reign of man's arch-enemy.

While this chaos prevailed the sane and intelligent among the masses sat together, and began to organise. The capitalists, on the other hand, called out their forces, and began to crush these risings with an iron hand, shooting them pell-mell, as if they were mobs of an alien race. On both sides it was life-and-death struggle. The capitalists knew that their defeat would be their death for ever, so it was their last stand. The labourers were convinced that if they allowed themselves to be beaten, they would be doomed to eternal slavery, more degrading than before, which now for them would be worse than death. So the fight was hard neither side spared any-

thing. It was to be their final and decisive struggle. The intellectual champions of social communism knew from the founders of their doctrine that nothing but sword would release them from their social and econmical bondage, and, therefore, they organised their operations both offensive and defensive. Their task was as difficult as it was great and extensive. The world was watching with awful interest. It was a huge storm. A vast ocean of foaming and fuming humanity seemed to be struggling with the iron-clads of capitalism, that had long been ruling its waves, and rending its breast. These giant invincibles, though tossed about, went on boldly and proudly tearing the waves that threatened to swallow them. They cleft them and rode angry and swift over their surgy crests, but exhausted they sank at last to swell the very waters they were striving against, and dragged each other down into the abyss, where all the maddened and furious currents of heated revengeful blood, rolled them about with vengeance, and shattered and scattered them.

Communism was no more an abstract conception, a mere utopian ideal, but it became a stern reality. It was baptised in blood, and

was designated Bolshwism as contrasted with Menshwism—a state of society in which, as defined by this new communism. Privilege strikes at the root of Equality, plants Injustice, and strangles the wholesome struggle for the common national spirit of independence and gives rise to unnatural class-strifes, and morbid racial prejudices. Bolshwism inherited the debris of Imperialism, and became involved in a confusion which threatened to nip it in the bud. The condition was most embarassing and complicated. Bolshwism looked round, and all was chaos, beset with insurmountable difficulties.

First of all the huge carcass of capitalism still showed in certain of its limbs signs of life, which, though ebbing away, was yet enough to put Bolshwism on its guard. The votaries of Imperialism still dreamed of reviving and reinstating their old Mammon, and began secret conspiracies with foreign imperialists, who sympathised with them and were anxious to support their cause. Some secret inefficient efforts were made, but they became known and were met with reprisals. Secondly, the capitalists, who were obliged to become converts for the sake of their lives, made all possible attempts to thwart the efforts of

Bolshwiks in making new economic organisation. Thirdly, the old capitalist Press was loud in denouncing Bolshwism as a system of barbaric cruelties, until it was suppressed by the Bolshwik Government. Fourthly, the process of lawless robbing and plundering of irregular and unauthorised bands of labourers was still going on. This lawlessness did not form part of the Bolshwik system, and, therefore, had to be put down. It was a stigma on Bolshwism, and gave rise to misrepresentations and misstatements in the Foreign Press of Europe. It required cautious handling because the use of violence against them would have evoked sympathy with them from their brother proletariat in other quarters of the world, and that would have made confusion worse confounded, and rendered impossible the process of remodelling the State. Fifthly, to establish order and peace, and build up a new social, economical and political system in a vast, disorganised and starving community had its own inherent difficulties. Sixthly, to meet famine and hunger, which were feeding disorder and plunder.

CHAPTER VII.

The Nature and Constitution of Bolshwism.

First let us review dispassionately what the Bolshwiks—in other words, the communists—did to gain equality, justice, and brotherhood, which they preached and demanded in Russia. At first they could do nothing but speak and write, and when their tongues and hands were coercively tied by the Tzar's government, which considered an enlightened public a serious menace to its despotism, then they began *to whisper*. They bound themselves together *whispering*; they made a strong ramified organisation *whispering*; they vowed vengeance *whispering*; they laid out their future plans *whispering*, they taught each other *whispering*, they sighed, hoped, and waited for an opportunity *whispering*. The best thinkers of socialism thought and worked for and among, them. When the World War hastened the dissolution of the Russian Empire, and the Autocracy even with the help of capital, was incapable of commanding the public, the social democrats denounced the Tzar's regime as one intended for devastating the country, and they completely overthrew Tzarism. The communists (subse-

quently Bolshwiks) joined their ranks. Kerensky's new democratic government kept on dilly-dallying. The European Press was confident that they would relieve the economic deadlock. But their new regime was fundamentally selfish, nor were they mentally strong even to secure moral public support. The Bolshwiks, however, knew that such social democracy would never determine the state of society which they desired, but their union with the Republicans at that time was merely diplomatic. When all the intellectual resources of Kerensky's socialism were exhausted, and no remedy was found to establish peace and order, when even the members of the new Republic and its moneyed supporters found it proved to themselves, as well as to the public, that their shibboleths of 'justice,' 'liberty for all,' 'welfare of the nation,' were mere platitudes and hollow expressions, and could no longer charm the labouring public into deception, the communists asserted themselves, and taking possession of magazines and other army stores as well as large banks and factories, &c., gathered sufficient power to overthrow the snob effete Republic of Kerensky.

The most arduous task of throwing off the

yoke of Capital and Privilege began in February 1917 A. D.—an unparallelled experiment of social construction and reorganisation, and one of the most wonderful magnitude, altogether new in the history of the world. The fundamental idea of Bolshwism was that all social and political system, which breeds man's exploiting his brother man, should be overthrown at once and for ever, and be replaced by a system of absolutely equal privileges and rights of all the composite individuals of a nation.

The underlying principle of social and political framework of society in accordance with this Utopian idea was the equalisation of wealth, and the method conceived for its achievement is the *nationalisation* of everything in the country—land, mines, rivers, production, consumption, industries, distribution—in short, all the branches of social system. One cannot expect that even a collaboration by the best intellects of the world could successfully accomplish this task on such a gigantic scale. But the Bolshwiks were determined to do it. The difficulties, however, by which they were beset must be borne in mind, for it is only then that we can "give the devil his due." The first and foremost difficulty was the War,

which must cease before internal problems could be handled. Even before the war Russia was far behind other countries of Europe in economic development, and was, therefore, much poorer. After three years' continuous depletion of its material wealth now it was brought to the verge of total ruin,—industries were at a stand-still, famine was raging, and a large number of maimed soldiers, deserters, and the unemployed had filled the country. All these added materially to the privation and sufferings of the people. Continuance of war was impossible. Beside, from the beginning the very idea of war had been abhorrent to the people, from whom it had no moral support, because they implicitly believed that the war had been undertaken for the sole benefit of capitalists and other monopolists, and that even if the war had been successful, no improvement in the condition of the people would have followed it. They felt, moreover, that in the present impoverished state of the country they would not be able to rebuild it without foreign help. Materials were required for repairing railways, locomotives, waggons, etc., capable engineers and instructors were needed for putting the broken down and spoiled mines in working order, agricultural

machinery was required for the untilled soil. In various industries repairs and even machinery were needed. Many of the former skilled and other capable men had practised sabotage (non-co-operation). So there was a dearth of men and material. For all these requirements, and for the cessation of war, overtures were made to other Powers with an offer of raw materials and certain mining and railway concessions in return, but they received no response. The powers would not recognise the present anarchy as a government, and they combined to work against the Bolshwik movement. America and Japan also joined them, and they commenced open and secret anti-Bolshwik operations in Siberia and Slavonia, fomenting counter-revolutionary risings within the Russian territory, and inducing its bordering states against the new self-styled Russian Government. Their object was, according to Bolshwiks, to thwart and frustrate its constructive programme. This produced serious complications for the working-men's government, whose hands were already full, and largely hampered their peaceful reorganisation.

The fact is that the lawless proceedings of the working—men and the anarchy they had

produced, could make no one think of the working men as a government, in the very conception of which peace and order are essential. The responsibility of their not being recognised as a government, therefore, wholy rests upon themselves. When peace, order, and security of life are established and guaranteed in the new Russian regime, no power will grudge them the title, and they will be admitted as a government.

In the midst of such untoward elements and hostile surroundings the Bolshwik Government —or its intelligent organisers—did not lose heart, and began to work single-handed. They put down robbery and plunder, which was carried on by their ignorant bands, thus removing from their proletariat the stigma of "gang of robbers," as they had been represented—and not without reasons—in the European Press. They boldly faced the attacking and opposing forces put forward, and maintained, by foreign Powers. The fate of Koltchak and Dennikin is only too well known. They raised a 'Red Army' of a million soldiers, which would have risen by this time to one and a half or even to two millions.

The Social Republic is established on the basis of free union of free nations as a fraternisation of Soviet national republics. The present stage, they say, is only a transition for which they have established a transitory Government, which is practically the experimental stage of the Bolshwik theory of communism. The fundamental task thay have set before themselves is to put an end to all exploitation of man by man, to remove the division of society into classes, to suppress the exploiters by all means in their power (fair or unfair is out of question), to establish a social organisation of society, and to secure thereby, the victory of Communism (*i. e.*, the Bolshwik conception of Socialism) in all the countries of the world. Therefore every kind of property is socialised, or nationalised.

Private ownership in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared the property of the people, and is made over to the toilers upon the principle of equalisation of land allotments. The property of the Tzars as well as the estates owned by the royal family, by other landlords, and by the church and the church dignitaries have all been confiscated and declared to be the property of the new State. All land is divided into areas

consisting of allotments, not less than a certain measure, sufficient for a small self-governing colony. Large villages are similarly portioned out into such communal units. Each unit is under the control of a representative committee, elected by the colony from among themselves, called a Soviet. A certain number of such units form a large area, which is again under the control of a committee, consisting of members (deputies) representing all its component units. The same arrangement is extended up to provinces and larger territories, which, through their representatives, are linked with the central controlling and executive bodies.

Each peasant works his allotment, and the produce is collected in the common stores, which is a branch of the central national supply stores. All such branches are connected with the Central Stores in a system of centralisation beginning from the periphery. Each peasant is provided with food, clothing and other necessaries of life from the State Provision Stores and Kitchens. The education of his children also belongs to the States, as they are all considered to be children of the State. When they are old enough for work, they are given work, and are provided for like their parents.

As there is no cooking, washing, mending, etc., in the house the wife is also given work, and is provided by the State like her husband. No man can get food or clothing without a ticket confirming his attendance and work. Provision is, of course, made about sickness and other excuses. There is no land revenue or assessment.

All forests, mineral wealth, water power and water-ways of public importance, as well as all live-stock and agricultural implements, factories, mills, railroads, and other means of production are declared national property.

The loans contracted by the government of the Tzars, which they believed to have been the government of the landlords and the capitalists, have been repudiated, and all banks have been transferred to the property of the Workers and Peasants' State thus dealing a severe blow to international banking and financial capital, and emancipating the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.

Universal obligatory service has been established to do away with parasitical elements in society, and organise the economic affairs of the country.

In order to completely disarm the property-holding classes, the principle of arming the toilers has been adopted, and a social Red Army has been created, thereby excluding the propertied classes from bearing arms, and putting the task of defending the State only upon the toilers themselves. Each toiler is intended to be a soldier, and arrangements are made for the accomplishment of that intention. Therefore military service has also been made universally obligatory. The defence of the socialists' Fatherland is made, and recognised, to be the bounden duty of all citizens of the Republic.

The Church is separated from the State, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is secured for all citizens of the Soviet State. So the church is no longer maintained by the State as it was before. The creed of the government is Bolshwism, which is not a religious doctrine or dogma, but a purely social and political system, which not only excludes spiritual and religious element, but openly and boldly denounces and opposes any form of religion—Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Budhism, Taoism, etc. Bolshwism absolutely denies the existence of God, and maintains, on the other hand, that the

conception of godhood, forming the basis of all religions, has retarded social development, and kept mankind from conquering nature

Bolshwism is, therefore, a system of pure and absolute irreligion. The conquest of nature by humanity, it asserts, is the ultimate goal of social and intellectual development of mankind. So, a part—and an essential part—of its mission is to eradicate religion by all possible means. For this object Bolshwism, in its infancy, would not (because it cannot) use force. At present it would be only contented with an anti-religious propaganda, for which freedom has been legally secured. The communists hold that Bolshwism is the real, natural and universal creed of mankind, and should be adopted by the whole world. For this reason their ambition extends to the conversion of all countries—*i.e.*, of their proletariats—to their creed, and to strike at the root, not only of religion, but of all the existing social systems, which give rise to, and maintain, class difference, special privilege, and exploitation of one man by another, all limiting the benefits of human labour to few. Though the Bolshwik government professes no religion, yet at present, out of policy, it recognises and respects those

creeds which exist in the Russian territory. Christians, Jews and Muslims are not ordered to denounce their Faiths, but the anti-religious propaganda, under the plausible cover of freedom of conscience, use all peaceful means of conversion to Bolshwism. To Christians they present the example of Christian States of Europe which, they allege, fatten on Christian blood in Christendom, and on their extension abroad by subjugating non-Christian backward nations of the world, and exploiting them to their own benefit. To Muslims they say: "You and we stand on the same platform of Equality; therefore join hands with us to establish equality of mankind all over the world."

The press has also been transferred to the common property of the public; and schools have been separated from the church, which exercised a great control over education during the times of the Tzars. Full and general education, free of charge, has been placed at the disposal of the workers and the poorest peasants. The principle of education now introduced is national, from their own point of view, education not intended for the service of another class having different interests, but to raise the general

intelligence of the society, and to produce young-men, who would materially help to promote common progress.

On principle they completely repudiate the colonial (called by them barbarous) policy of the Capital and Privilege social regimes, which enable the exploiters in a few chosen nations to prosper on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the toiling population in Asia, in colonies generally and in small countries, and they maintain that the government of each country and nation must be entirely and exclusively in the hands of the toiling masses of such country and nation, and in the hands of their authorised representatives

The right to elect the members, or be elected to membership, in the Soviet State is enjoyed, independent of religion, nationality, right of domicile, &c., by citizens of either sex, who, before the date of election have completed the age of eighteen years. The electorate consists of the soldiers and sailors in the Soviet Army and Navy, and of all persons obtaining their means of livelihood by productive and socially useful labour, as well as persons engaged in domestic service, who, thereby, enable the former to carry

on their productive labours, such as workmen and servants of all kinds and categories engaged in industry, trade, agriculture, &c., peasants and Cossack—cultivators, not using hired labour for the purpose of securing profit. If such citizens happen to have lost in some degree their working capacity, they are not debarred from this right

But the following persons, even if they should belong to any of the above-mentioned categories, are excluded from the franchise; they may neither elect nor be elected :—

(*a*) Persons using hired labour for the sake of profit.

(*b*) Persons living on unearned increment such as interest of capital, income from industrial enterprises and property, etc ;

(*c*) Private traders, trading and commercial agents ;

(*d*) Monks and ecclesiastical servants of churches and of religious cults ;

(*e*) Employers and agents of former police, of the special corps of gendarmes, and of branches of secret police department, and also members of the former reigning house of Russia ;

(*f*) Persons duly recognised as mentally afflicted or insane, as well as persons placed in charge of guardians;

(*g*) Persons sentenced for crimes of peculation and bribery to a term fixed by law, or by a judicial sentence.

Practically there is no commerce in the country except foreign. Private traffic is carried on in a concealed manner, and not recognised by the government. Total abolition of private trade could not be immediately affected; therefore the government has thought it advisable not to use repressive attitude against small private traders. It is, however, succeeding in gradually suppressing them. Foreign transactions are conducted by a special department, where full information is kept of the spare products, and of what is needed, raw, or manufactured. There is a separate office for the State requirements, which are also communicated to the same department. Thus foreign commercial department of the State alone makes and completes business arrangements with foreign countries. Raw and manufactured materials and machinery are purchased either in return for cash money (gold or silver), or other similar materials

produced in the country, not consumable in Russia but required in other countries, or what remains surplus, over and above that which is required by the country itself. No unauthorised Russian citizen can enter into foreign business transactions, and if any one did so, he renders himself liable to be punished by the State.

Within the country at present paper currency is used, but the Soviet Government aims at dispensing with money and paper currency altogether. As there would be no buying and selling in the country, the State taking charge of all production and distribution, and undertaking to provide all the requirements of life to each and every member of the community under its administration, money would not at all be needed. Use of paper currency was necessitated by the incompleteness of organisation, and by small traders still continuing to traffic for the sake of profit. The new system of co-operation was foreign to the ignorant masses, and to the lower unintelligent stratum previously engaged in the traffic of distribution. They could not understand it, and, therefore, could not adapt themselves to it. As these difficulties were natural in the beginning, they were compromised by the temporary use of paper currency, which, in the end, would

be of no real value to its possessors, when the State after completing its organisation stopped issuing further currency, and declared that currency papers had no value any more.

There are eighteen departments of administration called the People's Commissariats :—

1. For Foreign Affairs ;
2. ,, Military Affairs ;
3. ,, Naval Affairs ;
4. ,, the Interior ;
5. ,, Justice ;
6. ,, Labour;
7. ,, Social Insurance ;
8. ,, Public Instruction ;
9. ,, Posts and Telegraphs ;
10. ,, Nationalities ;
11. ,, Finance ;
12. ,, Ways and Communications ;
13. ,, Agriculture ;
14. ,, Trade and Industry ;
15. ,, Supplies and Provisions ;
16. ,, State Control ;
17. ,, Supreme Council of Public Economy.
18. ,, For Public Health.

These departments are what go under the name of Ministries in other countries of Europe.

They are conducted more or less on the same lines as in other civilised governments, with the only difference that there is no difference of gradation of salaries. The living requirements of various functionaries, without the distinction of high or low, are provided by the State on an equality-standard basis, just like factory hands or tillers of soil. The distinctive official perquisites in connection with every function are separately supplied. All men in the State, from a common peasant to the President of the Republic, are simply workers, comrades and co-workers of the commonwealth.

The Bolshwiks claim to be all equal brothers with no class distinction. Every man is represented in the central controlling and governing bodies and there is no voting privilege, or bribery of voters, as exists in other constitutional countries. The candidates have nothing to give, the voters cannot expect anything from one who has got nothing. Merit is the only consideration and the only passport.

Railways, Telegraphs, Postal Service, &c., are all national, and have, therefore, no separate and special income. There are no personal journeys and no personal messages. All healthy

men and women of the country above a certain age must work, for without work there is no food or clothing. Labour is ordained to be the duty of all citizens of the Republic, and the motto: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" has been proclaimed their sacred law. The sick, the decrepit, and other incapables and inexcusables, are provided on medical certificates. The former lords would now be starved if they did not do the work assigned to them by the State,

Bolshwism holds territorial conquest of other nations to be a crime, and therefore, the Bolshwik Government declare that they would not lead their armies into any country outside Russian territory for the purpose of conquest. On the other hand, they would help the weak and oppressed nations to throw off foreign yoke, and secure their freedom.

With their social creed they aspire to morally conquer the whole world.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bolshwism Reviewed and Criticised.

In the last chapter I have given my readers a brief idea of Bolshwism. Now I propose to expound it still further, though at the risk of repetition, for "What is Bolshwism ?" is a question which the after-effects of the Great European War have thrust upon the mind of every thinker. The intelligence of the modern world must probe and analyse this curious legacy of the mad struggle for supremacy, which led the Great Powers of Europe to deface her beautiful countenance, and besmear it with blood—I say we must analyse it well before we venture to criticise it.

Bolshwism is the extreme form of Socialism. Socialism has many forms varying from Owenism or Fourierism up to Marxism, or democratism in its primitive conception, up to the complex system of absolute communism the underlying notion in all these modifications of social thought being an economical, political and social organisation of mankind on the conception of commonwealth, based on the principle of universal brotherhood, equity, justice and equal chances for all. The central controlling machinery in such an organisa-

tion should represent all interests of the community included in its sphere. The degree and nature of this representation determine the various forms which thinkers of different ages have enunciated as practically leading to popular share in the control of all affairs of an organised community. Thus we have Plato's Republic democratism, the idealistic socialism of Owen in England, and of Fourier and Saint Simon in France collectivism, communism, nationalism, social democratism, anarchism, syndicalism, guild-socialism, religionalism, diarchy of political and social organisations (working separately from each other in the same community) and others.

The idea of democratism originated in the discontent of the people with the purely selfish attitude of the autocratic form of government (monarchy or oligarchy), which alienated its interests from those of the people (assuming divine right, etc.,) and centring in itself mastery over all of them. The evolution of society woke up the people, and restrictions began to be placed upon the absolute authority of the king or the ruling body. Gradually people's rights in their own country and its institutions began to be recognised, leading to the practical adoption of the principle

of democratism in various countries, thus either largely curtailing the authority of the ruling power, or doing away with it altogether. With the progress of civilisation industries grew, and the toilers became more and more intelligent.

This process continued rapidly in the latter half of the last century, and public opinion assumed a certain power in the moulding of national affairs, and their demand for better conditions found expression in the formation of labour societies under different names all over Europe. The problem of satisfying labour and its adjustment to the expanding political and economic conditions of progressive countries drew to itself the attention and thought of all economists and political thinkers. Theories were advanced for its solution. The ruling powers took very cautious steps in reforming the conditions of labour, but they could do no more. The toiling masses were under the ban of popular ignorance, and their views, however reasonable and useful for themselves, could not be credited with accurate, intelligent and unprejudiced grasp of the various pieces of the complex state mechanism, and of their functional adjustment to each other for the proper working of the whole. This mechanism being

largely in the hands of the privileged classes, landlords and big capitalists, the labouring classes naturally attributed selfish motives to their tardiness in the settlement of their affairs. The introduction of machinery to displace manual labour piqued them to the quick. Efficient labour fell into discredit. Smarting under this hesitance on the part of those who had the power of relieving their difficulties, and conscious of their own physical and material weakness, they began to form secret organisations against the powers that be. Thus Fenianism in Ireland, and anarchism in Europe sprung up with the avowed object of annihilating those who held the power, thereby coercing the State to accept the demands of the toiling population.

The struggle between capital and labour became sanguine, and the State, being more under the influence of capital, became involved in it.

Let us examine the claims of these three struggling parties.

The labourer says :—

(1) " I sweat the whole day and tire my limbs. A certain good thing is produced, which, as it is, or transformed into money, forms the capital of

my employer. Out of the proceeds of my labour he lives in comfort, nay, in luxury, and puts something by to increase his wealth, while I, although using all my physical strength as well as brain in the performance of the work, neither get comfort, nor can I save anything for a rainy day. On the other hand, my family has poor food, poor clothes, and poor lodging. Why should my family live in ragged misery while I work myself to death?"

(2) "I have given capital to my employer, and he obtains power through that capital to make the work for me too hard to bear. He enters into the legislation of the country (and that through the capital I have secured for him) and there he takes care that no material improvement be made in my condition. Their joint committees dole out blessings to us with Jewish stinginess, disregarding all the time that we have materially helped to make him."

(3) "I have made his industry. No doubt he brings better brain to improve his concern, but who has put him in a position to use such brain? Who practically carries out the suggestions resulting from such brain work? Who sustains the full weight of the hard work on which the very exist-

ence of his concern depends? Yet I am starved, my physical strength is being sapped, my brain is not allowed to be developed."

(4) "When I am a principal partner of the concern, and my intelligence securing more efficiency in my work can bring to him more profits, why should he not give me the chance of improving my mental energy which would ameliorate my condition, and enable me to enjoy good food, good clothing, and comfortable lodging."

(5) "I am a citizen of my country just as much as he is, with equal rights in the management of its affairs and in its resources. Why does he help the State to withhold my birthright, when I sweat the whole day in developing its resources?"

The Capitalist says :—

(1) Manual labour is the lowest form of work required in my concern, and I pay for it accordingly. I seek a fit market for what my capital has produced no doubt with the help of Labour. I have the trouble of taking the proceeds of my industry into the market.* I have to

*The capitalist ignores the fact that carrying the proceeds of his industry into the market requires manual labour. Everywhere he has to load and unload, there are labourers in railways and shipping hardly any part of his transaction is without mannual labour, more or less.

engage brain-work, which is much superior to manual labour. I have to make many payments before the ultimate profit comes into my pocket. With this profit I improve my position in life, and save something to improve my work. All the steps in my concern subsequent to the use of manual labour, when the thing is finished, depend upon myself, which I have to work and be paid for. How can I give greater share to the labourer than what I already give him ?"

(2) "I have brought science to be applied to industry. It is not higher science alone, but highly improved organisation, and marketing and exchanging facilities that have multiplied my profits. All these resources require large expenditure. The work of inventor and organiser is of a much higher quality than that of a manual labourer, and the latter would admit it himself if he had any sense. Fluctuations, the great events of the world, special needs at home or abroad, the whims of fashion and taste, daily increasing needs, and various other accidental causes, in which the labourer plays no part at all, and some of which are fraught with risks, bring unexpected wealth to me. To such gains the worker with the hand has no right. Still I have attempted to mitigate the evils of the

present system, and tried to do all I can to increase the comfort of my workmen. *But they demand much more than I can give or they deserve.* They become revolutionary and begin strikes, unpleasant and coercive methods. The more I yield, the more they strike. Their greed is insatiable, their demands unreasonable. Their leaders ought to think calmly, and surely they would know better. They should lay their complaints before me, and discuss with me all the points, and then see what can be the workmen's share. I have no desire to deprive him of what he is entitled to, but I certainly *cannot* listen to demands arising from mere jealousy, such as 'I have very little and am starving, you have much more than you can want, therefore share your wealth with me. If you do not, I will use force.' Even the sensible among revolutionary leaders would not support such a position."

The State claims:—

We have restricted the hours of labour, allowed free combinations and associations of workers for determining and carrying out the schemes of their welfare, checked the free control of female and child labour, sought to put in practice the principle of "fair wages," adopted schemes of

taxation calculated to lighten the burden of State maintenance from the shoulders of the poorer classes, enacted laws to protect the workmen against accidents, and tried in various ways to alleviate their misery. We have given them representation in our administrative and legislative assemblies, we have given them freedom of press, freedom of speech, and freedom of organisation. We have facilitated for them the ways of progress, and we will do all in our power to give them further assistance, but we cannot force the hands of the employers to give larger share of their profits to the labourers. The State depends on the wealth of the country, and wealth, when concentrated, can consummate what scattered and distributed wealth cannot. Concentrated wealth only exists with the capitalist, therefore the progressive capacity of the State is closely connected with the preservation and prosperity of the capital-holder. If the labourer genuinely desires the prosperity of his country and the State, he must not grudge the intimacy of our relation with the capitalist on whose welfare rests the welfare of the State much more than it does on the distributed wealth among the masses.

Such is more or less the respective position of the three parties concerned in the great economic conflict of the present day. We can leave in the labourers' claim a little margin for exaggeration which generally accompanies a statement of grievances made by the party in trouble. Such exaggeration is either due to an exaggerated notion of self, or it may arise from a wish to produce an idea of one's importance in the minds of others. Or it may be that a person, unable to find a way out of his troubles, keeps perpetually harping upon it, and is always prone to exaggerate it in order to induce sympathetic help, and at last he actually begins to believe his misery to be greater than what it really is, and, out of sheer disappointment takes a sudden action which might end his life, or utterly ruin him. But apart from the labourers' own claim, let us review their condition, and see what they deserve.

The natural and just claim of every man in average health, who uses his physical and mental powers, is food of quality and quantity enough to sustain his strength and energy, with clothing and lodging descent enough for a human being for himself, and for his family. Some of the family

members might be earning factors when old enough to do so. But their rearing and training, when young, is also a natural demand to be met. Each member of the family has to become a nucleus of his or her own family development. The mother is generally occupied in bringing up her children, and in general household work. She might save a little time for earning work. But all earnings have to combine for the necessary family object of marriage, and giving the newly married members a start in life—let it be of a very modest scale. Mind you, I am not speaking of the new Bolshwik system of the procreative and generative function of a community, but I refer to the old, and what I believe to be the natural, system of multiplication of humanity, in which this function is performed by separate family units, each with its own certain and definite responsibility. Now supposing a man works for himself, and not for an employer, he struggles to make the return sufficient to meet all the demands I have mentioned. In proportion to his strength of character and brain, and to his opportunities, he might earn more, and thus give himself more comfort—may be to the highest degree. The very fact of employment for some one else puts

a limitation on his natural qualities, especially on his opportunities. Therefore a little increase in his wages, above the natural standard referred to, might perhaps not be unreasonable. However we may confine our observations only to the standard, *viz.*, the fulfilment of the necessary demands referred to.

The other factor we have to consider in this connection is the general tendency of commodities to rise in prices. Fluctuations are of temporary character, and we might safely disregard them. All over the world the present rate of wages is far below the standard of decent living. Wages should, therefore, be reasonably determined by the *necessary requirements* of a family's life, and their current expenses. An Indian labourer, for instance, as I have calculated, ought to have, *in these days*, Rs. 68/- per month, or Rs. 2/10/- per day, leaving one day in a week for holiday. On this amount he can live a poor but decent life and give secondary education to his children. To keep below this margin, wherever labour is employed, would be to breed discontent, and sooner or later face a strike. In other words *it would be training the people for revolution.* If it were necessary to raise wages

on account of rise in general prices, the labouring class being also consumers, some of the rise in wages will naturally come back to the manufacturer or the employer. As a matter of fact the rise of wages, and the rise of profits, interact on each other, and thus maintain the standard for both the labourer and the employer. The refining of the labourer, and the rise of his standard of comfort would be the index of higher civilization, which would bring about a corresponding improvement in the economic condition of the community. The real measure of national prosperity is not the centralisation of nation's wealth among a few, as some statesmen would argue, but it is the general distribution of wealth and the higher standard of comfort among the whole nation.

Now if the employer withholds from the common labourer what is his just and natural right, he does wrong, and disturbs the economic equilibrium. To produce discontent and revolutionary tendencies among the toiling class is upsetting the organisation of the State. Therefore I venture to say that all those great employers of labour, who insist upon keeping their wages lower than the natural limits, *are not well-wishers of the State, or of their country.*

They might, on the other hand, be classed among its ill-wishers. It is really these capitalists who are responsible for revolution, and not the poor toilers, who are suffering under inhuman oppression, because the system which keeps low the condition of labour is the capitalist's creation. He insists upon the centralisation of wealth, and goes to extreme; the labourer demands more or less equal distribution of wealth, and when the capitalist does not fully yield to his demand he strikes for revolution, and goes to another extreme.

The makeshifts of the 'amelioration of the labourers' condition,' which the capitalists have adopted, or have made the States to adopt, from time to time, are inadequate, and have, therefore, failed to make the labourer contented with his lot.

The labourer believes that the capitalist and the capitalistic State can better his condition permanently if they will, and, as satisfactory result has not been achieved by them in spite of their repeated efforts, and the measures introduced by them have only partially succeeded, avoiding as it were to approach radical reform, he has begun to distrust them, and firmly be-

lieves that now they are befooling him again as they did for ages before.

Now, is this state of affairs desirable? Certainly not. What would it naturally lead to? *Revolution.*

And this awful word means blood and murder, total absence of peace and order, no safety of life, no security of property—all anarchy and confusion. Peace and order may follow, but who knows? Even if peace and prosperity were sure to follow, would any community purchase it at that frightful price—destruction of life and property?

What is urgently—most urgently—needed at this moment is the harmonious co-operation of Labour, Capital, and State—all concerned in production and distribution. The State being the responsible head of the community and the possessor of its best brains must work out such co-operation. The State is the *trustee* of the public, and *the public weal demands it.* The capitalists form a part of the community, and a minority of it. Is the minority to be respected and the majority alone to be brought under pressure? The capitalists must be forced to accept the conditions of such co-operation

determined by the State, and it is the duty of the State to rectify this want of balance. Otherwise it is sure to become intolerable, and the majority is bound to assert itself.

To the labourer of to-day his work is hard toil, and devoid of any interest for him. Increase of wages to the "decent living" standard would secure efficiency and appreciation of labour, and thus put interest to the labourer in his work, however hard it be.

A community is a social organism, which in healthy conditions is always growing and developing, and this development without the use of violence would be its evolution. Evolution may be rapid or slow; in an healthy organism it ought to be naturally rapid. Of course its excrescences and overgrowths must be pruned away, and it might require occasional use of force. No part of the community should get tired of its condition; that would be stagnancy, and would retard wholesome, uniform, interstitial and intellectual growth of the system.

The States have been shelving the solution of labour problems, the result of which is the production of an enigmatic phase—the greatest progress nurses in its civilised lap the most awful

poverty and misery. If the States did not, or could not, foresee this condition before, the present labour revolution of the world has warned them now. After this they have no reason to neglect it, otherwise they would prove themselves incompetent to grapple with the situation, and give the masses a plea for taking the affairs in their own hands. The State of Russia has confirmed it, and proved such conclusions to be inevitable facts.

CHAPTE IX.

Bolshwism reviewed and criticised.

(continued)

From the foregoing account of Bolshwism we conclude that it has sprung up as an entirely novel experiment, and highly interesting.

Most of us by our innate conservatism are always prone to look askance at a new problem. We examine it with a dubious bias. After fully probing it from every point of view when we find no argument against it, our very conviction of its soundness is but a cautious negation of its unreasonableness, and not an affirmation of certainty. Communism, as expounded by the new order of social organisation in Russia, is not theoretically inconceivable, but I firmly believe it is not practicable. It is conceivable because in theory it is sound, and because it has been encompassed. Such a notion used to be called utopian, heavenly blissful, characterised by the presence of every blessing and by the absence of everything considered undesirable. But all the same we dismissed the idea as one that cannot be carried out in practice. Yet communism has been put in practice, and is working. When I call it impracti-

cable I mean that this state of equilibrium of right is not permanent, and sooner or later will end in failure, because I believe it is inconsistent with the order of nature. In many instances man has controlled nature, but he has done so by the very laws of nature. The nineteenth century has achieved what might have been considered unimaginable in the eighteenth century. Science has made some of our fairy tales fairly tally with nature by leading us to the discovery of its laws. We have achieved much, but that much is very little compared with Nature's infinite vastness.

'Men are born equal' say the advocates of Communism. Yes they are so as far as they come under one species "man," as distinguished from other animals. They are born equal—same in bodily structure. But variety in the members of the same species included in the organic world is also an undeniable character of nature. A rose will be very equal to another rose, and if two of them happen to be equal in size and general outline, they would differ as regards their component parts. All the petals of one flower will not be the same as those of another. A few petals in one rose are sure to be different from those of the other, at least in size or general configuration. One cow

may be equal in size to another cow. She might have the same colour and the same build, but they may not both be equally sweet-tempered, or give equal amount of milk. We cannot say to a Bolshwik, 'God made men, and He has made them differing one from the other,' because he does not believe in God. He alleges that all existing inequality in men is their own creation through selfishness. So according to him man is selfish; or he has the capacity of being selfish. If he has once become selfish, he might again become selfish, and revolt against any system which puts a check upon his selfishness. Let privilege and monoply be wrong but they do exist as the result of human action, and their very existence proves his capability for such anti-communistic "evils." The Bolshwik might put forward the plea that man has two-sided nature; he may become absolutely good, or absolutely bad; and that he should become absolutely good, but the preponderance of bad side has led to the present undesirable state of society. So, he says 'let us purge the community of all its existent social evils, and cut off their very roots to check their further growth and to make ourselves good, then let us begin from the beginning with all interests of life commonly

felt, and commonly worked for, living like brothers, not each for himself, but every one for every one else, with equal enjoyment of all the blessings of life. Individual self will be lost and absorbed in the whole of body-community; individualism will be replaced by communism, and everybody will be happy.'

Well, let us be good for once, and begin from the very beginning. But we begin with the same stuff of humanity which we have inherited from our "selfish" forefathers, with all its innate passions and desires, with all its capacities and capabilities, with all its intellectual supremacy, and moral excellence—in short with every desirable trait or attribute. But all along we have to reckon by the side of it with what we have only hushed and quieted by forced effort, and not rooted out. We have not changed our nature, and our past experience, the bitterness of which has brought us to this revolution, plainly and forcibly tells us that we will never achieve the goal.

Setting aside, for the sake of argument, our duty to God, we have our duty to ourselves, and our duty to others, which no communist can deny. However we may be absorbed in the community, we cannot forget ourselves. Our duty as parents

is different to our duty as brothers to our brother men. Parental instinct cannot be banished from man, nor marriage tie can be made loose. A few human beings might sink to the bestial level, but a community of men, especially educated and civilised men, cannot make itself a herd of beasts. A family is a co-operative unit, the natural basis of communal co-operation. No communism can break up this natural and instinctive, primal, fundamental organisation of man. As a matter of fact it is from this that all organisation in man's work emanates. All such units have natural functions to fulfil, for which they have certain duties imposed upon them by nature. In addition to this each unit has duty to other units as members of one community. Though linked together, yet each must have freedom of action to develop itself; each must have free access to opportunities for creative and constructive work. Co-operation between and among the units must be voluntary, and there must be no force or compulsion except the law of the community, which is intended for the common good of all the units. Obedience to such law would not be considered compulsion, but duty voluntarily and readily performed, for all units would be equally interested in the result.

Every father and mother desire their children to be possessors of all possible accomplishments and blessings, and such desire stimulates their energies to the utmost. They emulate each other in this respect, and have a singleness of interest, which is essential for the uniform growth of society. Life is not all toil, and even toil can be made a pleasure with freedom of action and elevating motives. Man has not his physique alone to look after. Body and its comforts are not our sole consideration. We have something more than belly to satisfy. Belly requirements are limited, and they can be provided with a little exertion. It is the brain, the intellectual development, the high-soaring inner soul of man, his ambitious and creative genius, which must have ample and free field of opportunities.

In the Bolshwik organisation every individual becomes a slave of the State, with no independent action, just an automaton in human form and dress. He has no ambition, no incentive to initiation, no separate energising self-interest, no inducement for greater exertion, no opportunity for special activity calculated to bring to him more gratification. He sinks in the whole, works for the whole, and only works as much as would bring him food and

clothing. He has no children, for his children belong to the Commonwealth. He has no centre for love, no soul to elevate, no high and noble object to aspire to. The material progress of the Commonwealth is a noble goal; he may be thoroughly genuine in his work for it ; but all through there is a halo of something beside his own person, something not his self, something foreign to his interest, surrounding the atmosphere of his activity, and determinining and limiting his mental energy and development. He was a 'wage slave' of capitalistic bureaucracy before, he is the 'cage slave' and 'age slave' of Commonwelath now, with the additional loss of his home and his children.

Now if labour is differentiated as to its kind and its quality, *e.g.*, membership of Soviet Government, work in its various offices from highest to the lowest, Administration, Police, Army, Education, the Laboratory of Science, Agriculture, manual work in factories, and so on, classification of men is established. Those classes whose occupation requires more brain-work will hold themselves superior to ordinary labourers, and each brain-work class will hold itself superior to other brain-work classes. The State also will have to make some official distinctions, and give certain

powers to those at the head of various branches of the organisation—those guiding and working the administration of this complex machinery of the new social order. Those who are the repositories of power will use it more or less despotically. Liberty, individual liberty, will be shattered. But this condition, say the advocates of Bolshwism, is only temporary as long as dictatorship lasts, and when they finally succeed in revolutionising the whole world, and make the world-proletariat annihilate Capitalism with all its powers, and establish local soviets under a central comprehensive soviet of each country, all red-tapism with its despotism will disappear.

First of all I submit to the theory of equal distribution as a noble ideal, yet I believe it is only beautiful on paper or on pulpit. However desirable it may be, practice does not, and cannot, bear it out. Of course if human nature were changed, and became altogether purged of evil tendencies, we could have a sweet harmonious social order in such angelic community. But if man remains what he is, then it would be better to let such beautiful ideals remain as our socia! and economic poetry, and as such they might perhaps be more powerful in working good than when they are ushered

into the thorny field of practical experiment, and have all their charms pricked out.

Secondly, supposing the communistic order to be absolutely good, let us see how it could be achieved. It can be achieved in two ways, either by evolution, or by revolution. Revolution is generally understood to imply blood-shed, anarchy, destruction of property with all their concomitant horrors. This state is only possible when the masses are powerful enough to be sure of success. In Russia the War brought about a condition of special weakness of the government, and exhaustion of the resources of the country, with defeat and disorganisation of the army. It happened that immediately before the War the Labour problem had assumed an acute form, and socialism had been modified by Marx into a practical system acceptable to the masses and workable by them. The toilers in factories and tillers of land had been reduced to worse slavery than in other countries of Europe. The rigorously watchful and oppressive attitude of their government had kept on feeding their passions of hatred and vengeance. Circumstances favoured them; the disasters of the War relieved the tension; pres-

sure over them became less. All the big proprietors of land and factories were anxiously attentive to saving themselves from the threatening ruin. The army was discontented, and joined the ranks with great alacrity. The party of the people grew stronger, and, gathering strength, took advantage of the position, and possessed themselves of factories and war materials wherever they could lay hands on them. So the social problem, which was already in an evolutionary stage, suddenly assumed a revolutionary phase, and all that remained of the wealth and the resources of the country fell into the hands of the revolutionists.

In other countries of Europe such favourable conditions for a similar revolution cannot be expected in a near future, much less so in Asiatic countries.

The other mode of reorganising society on just and equitable basis, in which poverty be marked by its absence, and economic adjustments secure a decent and comfortable life for the labouring class, and every man in a community be represented in its administration, is *evolution.* Evolution is necessarily a slow process, but its pace can be quickened by a regulated quick

march of the united community A quick evolution I would call *peaceful revolution.* But the Russian communists said that it is impossible to reorganise society according to communistic principles without open war with the capitalist and the privileged class, who hold actual sway over the State, and over millions of workmen. Wealth is a sweet power, and those who possess it will not give it up voluntarily. If matters come to the worst, they will defend it with arms, and will not hesitate to crush the poor who dare to be rich. Yes, and so would a poor man if he happen to have wealth; perhaps worse, for a man of old wealth might relent, but an upstart would never. The Russian labourer, therefore, from his point of view, appeals to his oppressed brethren—'After all you will have to fight for liberty; fight now, and have it over. The sooner you strangle your oppressor, the better.' Although I do not support his appeal, yet I say without the least hesitation that there is a great deal of truth in his argument. There is no doubt that Capital and Privilege determine the social position of the proletariat. The producer hardly gets half of what he deserves A material coming out of the producer's hands reaches double (often more than double)

its cost price before it comes into the consumer's hand. Remuneration for the labourer must, therefore, be such as to enable him at least to live the minimum standard of decent life, as I have explained before. The weight can wholly fall upon the capitalist and the manufacturer without making the consumer feel it. The State can rightfully interfere in this matter, and control the capitalist's greed without considering its own interest. Is not the labourer's welfare a business of the State? In the economic adjustment for this purpose the all-important point should be kept in view that the common mass of labourers are to be made to emerge from the depth of degradation in which poverty has kept them, and that they have to come out as fit citizens of the State, with all the various fields of opportunities laid open before them. It is only then that a nation can be entitled to be called civilised. The sooner the difference between the two classes is settled the better for the interest of peace, for it will be only hastening constructive evolution, while delay in settling the dispute makes destructive revolution not only inevitable, but hastens it. The spirit of revolution is hovering over the earth, and there is no knowing where

and when it might settle. The only remedy to checkmate it is the lifting up of the masses, giving them comforts of life, and due share in the administration of the land where they live.

In the next chapter I propose to consider the position of India in the present world-wide revolutionary struggle,

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CHAPTER X.

India and the present revolutionary struggle of the world. Russia's designs on India.

In India these raging problems of the day are rather perplexing. It would have been to the great credit of the British rule in India if it could have been said without fear of contradiction that the ruler and the ruled, though alien to each other, look at these struggles from one and the same point of view. It is quite plain, and I believe the members of the British ruling class are painfully conscious of it, that the gulf of alienation between the Indian Government and the Indian people has been gradually, and is now violently, widening. To-day it seems to me that if the British Crown were to hand over the reigns of the Government of India into the hands of the Indians, India and her sons would be much more friendly inclined to the British Crown, and Indians would show genuine respect to the Englishmen, and not the forced respect which is snobbishly exacted and snobbishly accorded. The high-minded noble attitude characteristic of a civilised nation is ignored by the

one—perhaps intentionally and diplomatically,—while the other observes mute grovelling flattery and subservience—perhaps as a necessary and unavoidable compromise. But both sink low from their natural positions, and create a misunderstanding between themselves, leading to serious consequences. Both have been working against their own national interests, the one with the mistaken idea of superiority and pride, and the other through ignorance of nationalistic conceptions. However, the fact is there, though we regret its existence. The Indian has now partially awakened to his responsibility, and is beginning to understand why he is put in the false position of compromise. The Anglo-Indian does not relax, apparently too confident of his material power, partly yet unconvinced of the efficacy of leniency, partly afraid that leniency might be mistaken as the result of successful intimidation, and might thus create a greater spirit of defiance and self-assertion in the subject race, and partly because—and I sympathise with him fully in this respect—his prestige in India, and perhaps abroad, might suffer. A lion must always be leonine, though he become aged and weak. From a true English point of view the idea of

'home rule,' not to say of absolutely throwing off the foreign yoke, should have never entered the Indian mind, and from the mode and nature of Government education, and the lines on which it is imparted and being extended, we can hardly make any other inference. But persistence in the highty-tighty treatment accorded to the Indians—even to the nobility of India—, in the marked and unfeigned partiality wherever there has been a legal dispute between an Indian and a Sahib, in keeping back able and worthy Indians from high posts of responsibility, in flouncing at experienced and honest advice, in ignoring the use of the charming binoculars of equity prescribed by Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, in draining India's resources by an admirably devised political system before and during the Great War, and still continuing that system, in inconsiderately putting aside the rights of those of India's sons who stood by the Sahibs, shoulder to shoulder, in the blood-fields of Europe, and gave signal proofs of their mettle and stuff, and in various other ways, has unfortunately proved to the world the extreme selfishness of the Anglo-Indian representatives of His Majesty and of the British nation, and has

brought home even to the simple believing and trusting mind of the Indian that home-cooked simple Indian food is far better and more congenial to his system than the hotel-manufactured dainties of Europe.

The present position brings before us another phase of Indo-British relationship. Is India in need of Great Britain, or is Great Britain in need of India? India's plain and definite answer seems to be 'I do not stand in need of Great Britain.' Great Britain says 'What a foolish question? Can I do without India? Surely not.' I do not think India is right in saying so; both need each other, but her brave sons would have it, some of whom are so thoughtlessly naughty as to handle anarchist toys. Others think that their pens and tongues are far more dreadful weapons than machine-guns and aeroplanes, and without fearing the displeasure of Great Britain they go on wielding both, and trying to effect a peaceful revolution by such innocent and effective means. A novel experiment this, more wonderful than Russian communism. I wish them long patience and sweet visions. I have no brief for England, but let me assure them that Great Britain shall neither be

charmed away by their magical speeches, nor frightened away by revolutionary toys of violence. They have to deal with a great Power, great in intellect, great in policy, and great in resources. A Power that outwits the whole world will not be easily outwitted, and least of all by the easily deceivable Indians. Non-co-operation is a very effective remedy, but its administration requires tact. *Hijrat* was non-co-operation, but how was it accomplished? A disgrace to Muslims and Indians, and a sad spectacle of the foresight of non-co-operation leaders, and of the self-determining powers of the Indians The sun and the moon and the stars witnessed the miserable but buoyant train of thousands of noble self-sacrificing souls trudging up and down along the sinuous stony road from Peshawar to Kabul, and then turning back on their heels without shame and remorse, attempting with barefaced impunity to throw the blame wholly on Afghanistan—complete victory for Anglo-Indian diplomacy. Now the educational non-co-operation seems to be sharing the same fate. If the leaders do not look out they will soon lose confidence with the public, without any near prospect of its restoration. Every step they take should be well

premeditated, and firmly established before the next step is begun. All the work done up to the present moment, though taken in hand with the sincerest motives, seems not to have been fully thought over. For the genuineness of the public leaders I have the greatest respect and sympathy, but I hope they will not brand me as an undutiful son of India if I were to point out that what they have already accomplished, or begun and left unaccomplished, proves that their plans had not been, nor they are, matured on practical side. Modern history presents instances of reforms accomplished without bloodshed, but Indian circumstances are altogether different, and success-promising efforts require quite a different *modus operandi*. I would not be so bold as to make a suggestion, but I am sure if they bring an experimental and practical thought to bear on this matter, their activity would be turned in a useful direction. They lack proper organisation, self-determination, patient perseverance, and foresight. In these virtues they have to educate the public, and inspire them with their own examples.

The expenditure on India's foreign political relations requires our special and careful attention. We Indians, I believe, have no fear from

our neighbours. India-Anglia has subsidised Afghanistan for a long time, and has lost no less than fifty millions of her money. From a purely Indian point of view we have gained nothing. Still millions and millions have been, and are being, spent on the North-West Frontiers, the lavishness of which is another item for a serious consideration of the Indians. At this moment the new Bolshwik Government has become a bugbear in India, and in some quarters a source of hope. In this connection I want to point out that Russia's political advance towards the south of the Amu and the Pamir is out of question, at least for a long time to come. It might advance into Afghanistan, which is not strong enough to meet the Bolshwik propaganda, and which the Anglo-Indian Government through their supreme indifference and lack of political forethought left at the Pindi Conference of 1919 to be exploited by the Bolshwiks. However, that is Afghanistan's look-out and Anglo-Indian interest. We Indians must clearly bear in mind what Russia is to-day and what are her aspirations. Tzarism with the Tzar and its autocratic bureaucracy and their ambition of territorial extension is now laid under the ground, never to rise

any more. The new order is altogether different from the old, and the internal conditions of the country have also altered. The Bolshwik Government declare that not only they have no desire for territorial gain, but on principle they are opposed to it. On the other hand, they say it is their duty—their first and foremost sacred mission in the world—to help those nations which are under foreign yoke, whether they be oppressed or not, and to liberate others which are suffering from the despotic oppression of Capitalism, even if they be not under an alien rule They look upon such governing power as foreign, because its interests are opposed to those of the people it governs. Why should the toiling masses—the majority—in a good well-organised State live in miserable holes where inanition reigns, and a minority for whom they work, live in palaces of plenty? *Why should prosperity live upon poverty, and not have the decency to lift it up?* Is prosperity afraid that the disappearance of poverty would be its own death-blow?

In other words, the Bolshwik Government has imposed upon itself the task of revolutionising the regime of all the countries. It has

commenced work in Europe, where in countries contiguous to Russia economic conditions of labour, and the development of social phenomena, are something like what they were in Russia, and where, therefore, the proletariat are sufficiently intelligent and apt to accept communistic views. In Austria, Germany and Italy, according to European Press, they are succeeding in their propaganda Great Britain is better organised than other States, and its labouring population well in the Capitalists' organised and systematic grip, so it is least affected, but sufficient to embarrass the Government. After Europe has been conquered by Bolshwism, its next objective is proposed to be America, followed by Japan and other Asiatic countries. Thus the programme of Bolshwiks is nothing short of world-conquest.

What is the present power of Bolshwik Government, and its future possibilities? At present the Bolshwik Government is no more than an extemporised hut erected from the debris of Tzarism—a State already exhausted by a prolonged destructive war, which had used up all its constructive resources. Poverty and all its attendant miseries were raging, and there was practically nothing even for the new State-

makers to live on. Truly they began from the very beginning, but under the most inauspicious conditions of disorder and anarchy within, and seriously threatening destruction from without. Under such circumstances their organisation, as far as it has been accomplished, is a miracle of human effort, but they have not finished their work; as a matter of fact they have just commenced it and commenced well. Financially their condition is deplorable. Their home transactions are carried on by means of a temporary paper-currency, and coin is very little used as referred to before. Whatever money they have is used in their foreign concerns. The railways bring them no money. Mines were mostly spoiled, and out of order, and so was the machinery in industrial works. Land had to be prepared for cultivation, and seeds to be procured, for seed granaries had been eaten up. What material resources of the country can be expected to have remained back to be exploited in such a state? It would be surprising even if they managed to survive the aftermath of war. What power can they have then to revolutionise the world? *At present they are absolutely unable and unprepared for armed offensive.* They have more than a million

of their Red army which is to be maintained and equipped. A victory over Poland, or over small armies scattered and cut off, does not signify much. They are increasing their army, and as long as England and France keep their military strength on the present standard Russia will continue raising her strength until it reaches the two-power standard, or even above it, for she has Japan and America also to consider, and is afraid of strong Imperialistic combination against her. Beside that there is another limit to their military strength, and that is—until the whole world becomes Bolshwik, and the Capital-nurturing Imperial States completely collapse. This is vague, and the chance for it, if any, very remote. It follows that Russia's resources will be largely, and for a long time to come, spent on her Army and Navy. This is a necessary condition of her existence. Moreover she will take sufficiently long time to develop her resources, on which the immediate strain is the completion of her internal reconstruction, and providing every member of her community with the necessities of life according to the average decent-life standard, which they have fixed for themselves, and which is far above the common labourer-standard,

somewhat approaching the lower middle class of Europe. Now every Russian is a gentleman.

Russia's present revolution emanated from the greivous lack of proper economic adjustment in her industries and agriculture. The new spirit which prompted, and is still prompting, them necessitates new industrial and agricultural developments. For instance they are already introducing the geographic and climatic selective principle. As all the land belongs to the State, such portions of it will be selected for the growth of raw materials as give the best crops. Cattle will be reared in territories abounding in pasturage. In the same manner industries connected with the special raw material required for them will be established in the districts where the latter grow best. Factories for various ores will be set up on the very mines of such ores. Such arrangements cannot be made in a country where the distribution of industries and factories is in the hands of the Capitalists, and the land belongs to a separate class of landholders. Russian industry and agriculture are thus beginning under a new system, and will, if Bolshwism thrives, develop under a treble impetus. Firstly, Russia is woefully lacking in manufactured material.

Her own people want it badly, and will work hard for it. Secondly, she wants to come out into the world-market, and beat down other commercial countries in the markets easily accessible to her (this ambition is based on her new economic conditions and hopes). Thirdly, the new spirit has thrown off the lethargy of the working-men, who have been just released from the bondage of 'wage-slavery,' and who will, no doubt, put their whole energy in the work, which belongs to no new master with interests foreign to them, but belongs to themselves. The very joy of being occupied in one's own work is sufficiently invigorating, at least for some time.

Russia's future possibilities being very great the Soviet Government is exerting to lay solid foundation for the developments it has in view.

What she needs in material and capable men has been already referred to. So she wants a great deal, and has to accomplish a great deal, before she can even dream of taking military offensive. But will she ever do so? My answer is—she will not, I mean the Soviet Russia will not. Why? She is so engrossed in her internal reorganisation, which is a constructive work of the kind and magnitude never known in the history of

the world, that I believe it would take her an age to accomplish it if Imperial States allowed her to do so in peace. Therefore she can spare neither time nor attention for territorial extension by armed offensive, for her prime interest is, and must be, to accomplish a firmly consolidated federal union of her own soviets into one homogenous and harmoniously working State. She knows she is watched by the whole world, and she will do her best to come out of this struggle victorious. If, in the meantime, she were forced by an external encroachment aiming to hinder and prevent her reconstructive work, she might do anything she is capable of in order to defend herself. She has declared that she will no more follow the Tzar's colonial policy, that she has given liberty to all her former dependent States, not inhabited by the Russian people, and that she not only denounces the principle of colonial policy adopted and worked by all the great Powers of Europe, but that in future she would use her power and influence for the abandonment of such a policy by every civilized nation, and help the liberation of all the oppressed peoples under alien rule, by all the means she can command *except armed intervention.*

Will Russia fulfil this pledge? If so, what is the position of Bokhara and other small Mohammadan States that had formerly been amalgamated into Russia, and now first declared free by the Soviet Government, but subsequently retaken, as reported in the Press?

The answer to the first question is in the affirmative with a proviso. With regard to the Great Colonial Powers she will, and must, keep her word. It is her interest, and, as Bolshwism claims, her prime mission. That is the only charm she possesses at present to induce and invite the proletariat of Europe to join hands with the Russian labourers, and wage a deadly war against Imperialism, which follows and pushes on colonial policy solely at the dictation, and for the benefit, of Capital, as additions of vast colonies have added nothing to the comfort of the labouring population, which forms the majority of the Colonial States, and which largely helped those States, both with men and material, in the acquisition of their colonies.

About Bokhara and other minor States of Central Asia, I dare say, little is known outside Russia. At the outset of their reorganisation the Bolshwiks declared the complete freedom of these

States, offering them the chance of being federally united with the Soviet Russia by adopting the soviet system in their internal management. But they did not accept this offer, and preferred to remain free under the management of bodies selected by, and from among, themselves. The Soviet Government did not interfere. But subsequent happenings in them invited Bolshwik interference.

The position of Central Asian States in Russia is very much like that of our Indian States Supposing the Indian Government were to make Indian States quite free, would it mean that they were free to establish their foreign relations with any power they chose outside India, *e. g.*, with China, Japan, Afghanistan, Russia, etc.? No constitutional stretch of political distribution of the earth would allow it. Perhaps such States would not be allowed to have relations even among themselves. No sooner the Central Asian States became free than Afghan Councils were sent to them simply as diplomatic agents. The Soviet Government made no protest. But when some of these Councils, perhaps misunderstanding the foreign policy of the new Afghan Ministry, or deceived by their diplomacy, began to persuade

these nascent free and disorganised States to ally themselves with Afghanistan, the Soviet Government raised a voice of protest, called these diplomatic nuncios out of the States, and brought them together in Tashkand to await the result of settlement with Afghanistan. Let us fairly judge the Soviet Government in this matter. Although I dislike that Government yet I confirm their action. The Afghan Councils were wrong in what they did ; they had no right, because these States were within Russia, and surrounded on all sides by the Russian territory. In spite of this all the minor States were left practically free in their internal administration, except their treasury and foreign relations which are controlled by the Soviet Government. Still Farghana, one of these small States, has its Council in the Court of Kabul, and he has not been recalled after the adjustment refered to.

Bokhara has a different history. It was semi-independent even in the Tzar's time. After the war the Soviet Government gave it complete independence. No sooner its independence was declared than overtures of alliance with certain promises and gifts were made to it by the British Government, whose representatives were received

with favour as I heard in Kabul. Soon afterwards the Kabul Court sent a Council to Bokhara, friendly relations were established between Bokhara and Kabul, and the British representative was outwitted. The Kabul Government supplied Bokhara with military officers to train and organise its army. This closing in of the two States put up the back of the Soviet statesmen, but they could not at that time afford to lose the good regards of Afghanistan.

Bokhara was not without its 'young Bokharans,' whose number was swelled by students. At the close of the European War when they observed the star of the Tzardom waning, and 'young Russianism,' *ergo,* Bolshwism with which they were already in secret league, sprouting up they gathered together, and, forming a large assembly of 3,000 men, waited upon the Amir, and respectfully requested him to introduce certain reforms in his government. The Amir's Chief Minister, knowing that the reforms demanded, if granted, would materially curtail his authority and his emoluments, prejudiced the Amir against the leaders of freedom-seeking deputation, which was, therefore, cursorily dismissed. But the leaders' polite insistence

made the matters worse for them. They were ordered to be apprehended, swords and shots were exchanged, some of them were killed on the spot, some arrested and punished with rigorous imprisonment, while most of them fled away, and got safely out of the country. They were waiting for an opportunity, when hesitance and uncertainty in the new conditions of Bokhara, and its anxiety for allying itself with a foreign State more powerful than itself, to be protected from any future possibility of being again subjected to Russia, obliged the Soviet Government to protect its interests there. Bokhara is like an island in the ocean of Russian Empire, hemmed in by Russia on all sides. Its insular position necessitated the limitation of its foreign relations. The Soviet Russia could not brook its alliance with any foreign Power, least of all with Great Britain. Its relations with the Kabul Court were not without the possibility of dangerous complications. The Soviet Government could not, in conformity with its declaration, achieve its object by direct armed interference, therefore it favoured the request of 'young Bokharans,' who wished to be helped against the Amir and had already been waiting for an opportunity. They

were anxious to revenge themselves upon the Amir, who had inflicted death and imprisonment upon their fellow-workers, and who was the only barrier in their way of reforming the government of their country. The Soviet Government now readily helped them with arms. The leader of the young party, who was a millionaire young merchant, had plenty of money to purchase arms with and he also hired trained men (Mohammadans who had formed part of the Russian army). So he fitted out an expedition and marched on the town of Bokhara. The Amir's irregular and untrained soldiery resisted, a fight ensued, the soldiery was routed, but resistance was met here and there in the town, which lasted for a week. The Amir ran away hurriedly bag and baggage, taking with himself as much of the treasury as he could. He made for the south, crossed the frontier, and evading Russian posts, crossed the river Amu, and found shelter in the Afghan territory. He had left seventeen *yakdans* (leather boxes) full of gold, which were all handed over to the Soviet Government in recognition of the help rendered to the 'young Bokharans.' The young party took possession of the town, restored order, and began to organise a republic. The

Soviet Government granted it full independence, with authority to have diplomatic relations with any foreign power it chose. The Afghan representation in Bokhara was recognised, and so was that of Bokhara in Kabul.

The word 'republic' applied to Bokhara might give rise to misunderstanding. There is no election by public voting as in European countries. An assembly is raised from among the young party, representing various interests in the country. Election is made by the party itself, and they have chosen as their President Khawja Faizullah, son of Khawja Obeidullah, a very wealthy merchant of old renown. Faizullah was educated in Moscow. He not only presides over the sittings of the Council but is also in charge of Foreign and Military affairs.

The civil work of the country is managed and controlled by Abdul Qader Khan, son of Mohy-ud-din Khan, a banker. There are twenty-two men working under them.

This assembly is busy organising the government and its various departments, and adopting measures for developing the resources of the

country. They will adopt the principle of soviet as far as they can.

There is no doubt that this administrative assembly consists of those newly educated men, most of whom received their education in Russian schools which were at that time under the influence of Tzarist Public Instruction. Though the spirit of that instruction was Tzar-worship and a high degree of reverence for the Tzar's regime of government, and imbibing such spirit they ought to have been Amir-worshippers in their own country, yet they did not prove to be so. Though they read in such stereotyped schools, and moved in Tzar-worshipping society, still it cannot be denied that by freely going about and mixing with all sorts of people they came to know that underneath the pressure of despotism there was a strong current of revolutionary thought, and as they must have read socialistic literature, they could not help admiring those who wanted to throw off the shackles of despotism. As despotism in Bokhara had had a very retarding effect upon the country's development, their hearts revolted against the Amir's system. So they made a secret organisation, worked like the 'Young Turk' under socialistic guidance, and waited for an opportunity.

When the occasion came they took the country as has been referred to.

From this it is evident that the governing body, though Bokharan, must be under the guidance of the Bolshwik Government, though not necessarily under the influence of Bolshwism. Very likely their government will be a boon to Bokhara and the Bokharans, but Bokhara cannot get out of Russian hand and, therefore, will always remain friendly to Russia, and under her influence and protection. Bokhara as such will make steady and perhaps better progress than Afghanistan. Whatever relations Bokhara may have with other foreign Powers, they can never be against the interests of Soviet Russia, her liberator, and might be, her regenerator. On the other hand, it will be Bokhara's duty to guard, defend and protect Russian interests. If Russia did not swallow it, Bokhara might become a fairly strong and progressive kingdom in the future.

Would any Great Power of Europe, however benignly and justly disposed, do to Bokhara more than what the Soviet Government has done?

I have explained the proviso of Soviet Russia's liberating the minor States of Central

Asia. It must be admitted that the Soviet Government had no other alternative. These States, educationally and organically, are in a very backward condition, and are too primitive and powerless to hold an independent position in the midst of a comparatively highly organised communistic State.

With regard to helping the proletariat of civilised States, or the oppressed nations under alien governments, the Bolshwik Government carefully and clearly exclude armed assistance from their programme. I say they would fulfil this promise *without* armed help, firstly, because armed help goes against the principle which they have declared; secondly, because they cannot afford to ignore it until they have attained Two-Power military standard, which will take them a long time to reach; and, thirdly, because now they have a much more powerful and effective weapon in their hand, *viz.*, *propaganda*, which they use with masterly skill. They have no necessity for armed assistance, for propaganda is much less expensive and troublesome, and promises greater and surer success than war. The common masses are everywhere underpaid or oppressed, and, therefore, discontented with the conditions in

which they are, and ever ready to fall in with secret conspiracies and combinations. This strong weapon they successfully wielded in their own country, and are wielding in other countries, and will wield everywhere at any cost. They will do so in India if they could, but they cannot, partly because the Anglo-Indian Government is too vigilant, and partly because the Indian mind is not prepared to receive their social and economic education. Politically India has already chalked out her line of action which, as already mentioned above, does not make it possible to be practically followed out to any realizable goal.

CHAPTER XI.

The probable future of Russia and Afghanistan.

It is not easy to prognosticate the future of these countries, for it greatly depends on the possibility of an Asiatic War, which will be determined by the Asiatic policy and attitude of the British Government. The imperial policy of Great Britain in Asia is being hampered now by the general awakening of Asiatic races, and especially by the developments in India. The probability is, I am afraid, that the Anglo-Indian rulers of India will not meet the demands of the Indian public, and that estrangement and friction between the rulers and the ruled will continue to increase, giving rise to greater unrest, and more secret organisations and combinations than exist at present. There will be open rupture between them, more declared and more universal. Indian efforts for self-determination and self-assertion will become more organised and more united, and of mutual trust not a vestige will remain.

If the British Government see their interest seriously menaced by a Central Asiatic combination, and think of destroying it before it becomes

mature and strong, they would, sooner or later, project a severe attack upon Afghanistan. For this attack, under the present circumstances of India, they will be obliged to import at least two millions of purely British and Colonial army into India—one million for maintaining internal order and enforcing British demands in India and in the North-West Frontier Province, half a million for offensive operations against Afghanistan, and half a million more for retaining Afghanistan after its conquest, and for guarding its northern boundary including the Pamirs. India will have to bear the burden of maintaining two millions army *on active service*, and she will demur. The Indian Government will adhere to their pet policy of 'might and force,' and will compel the pauperised public to bring forth their hidden hoards and treasures, which, however, do not exist. They have been swallowed up by the Great European War. Forced confiscations will bring about an industrial and economic dead-lock, followed by extreme poverty and starvation of the people, developing universal anarchy and disease, which even the British army will not be able to escape.

Supposing Great Britain were to succeed in bringing Afghanistan back into her imperial chains,

she would have to make the northern boundary of Afghanistan together with the Palmirs a strong and close-connected line of defence in order to limit Russia's activity towards India. But it would not hinder Russia's internal developments. She would double her armies on this side for emergency, and, supported by the new Republic of Bokhara, there she will always be strong—strong enough for the British army posted at those defences,—whether she remains Soviet, or returns to imperialism.

Such a move, I think, is very remote, and out of the question.

In Central Asia Great Britain has had several diplomatic tussels with Imperial Russia, but has been worsted in all, and has no better prospect with Soviet Russia. Therefore in regions beyond the tribal zone on the north-western border-land of India there is very little chance for Great Britain now to achieve victory, either in war or in diplomacy. A sudden rush to Kabul will be no victory but a preamble to a disastrous retreat. The wisest course for Great Britain, as I have already suggested, would be to avoid matters being brought to war-point, continue to manage diplomatically with Afghanistan, and

wait till Bolshwism comes to its natural end.

In Russia, I believe, the strict Bolshwik system will ultimately fail, but its leaders will continue to alter and modify it according to newly rising circumstances, and, in the end, a Soviet Democracy, with a mixture of bureaucratic despotism and red-tapism, with discrimination of privilege and right will be established. Such modified Soviet Government, which will have no propaganda programme, might come to an understanding with the British Government. Both will be imperialistic and capitalistic regimes, and will have similar interests.

Afghanistan will thrive, but most probably its monarchy will cease, and a form of democracy, something on the lines of communistic government but not without privilege and capital, will be set up, determined by the combined brains of Afghanistan and Russia. His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan himself will be the promoter of such a regime. Imperial Democratic Afghanistan will be another power with which it will be easier to deal, as it will then be freed from the propaganda influence of Russia. There will be no war between labour and capital there.

In case the British Government were not to

wait till the natural disintegration of the Bolshwik Government, and might soon put *all their fingers* in the Russo-Afghan pie, they would have a very strong combination to face. The Bolshwik Government will readily help Afghanistan with money and material. They will organise the three hundred thousand warriors of Yaghistan under Turkish Officers, and furnish them with plenty of arms and money. In spite of their peace declarations they might cross the Hindu-Kush and give solid support to Afghan forces, thus completing a triple combination. That is why I said that a sudden successful rush to Kabul, if it could at all be accomplished, would probably be followed by retreat and disaster.

As British statesmen will most probably avoid this catastrophe, which might bring them face to face with the problem of '*British existence in Asia*,' therefore, Afghanistan, Bokhara, and the other minor States of Central Asia, will form a strong combination under the Bolshwik guidance. Turkey and Persia will join them, and there will be a great regenerative and progressive activity in all these countries, whose alliance with each other will be useful to other Great Powers as it would be a menace to them.

Their strength will indirectly aid unrest in India, and is very likely to make her impatient, and hasten her evolutionary development. The political thought of India is now wide-awake and cannot remain behind the backward States of Central Asia, which she has already far surpassed in progress.

India-Anglia need not be afraid of any Bolshwik propaganda within India, as has been hinted before, but its striking and spreading roots in India's border-land is undoubtedly a matter of great anxiety for India-Anglia. However, it cannot be helped. The question is reduced to lesser or greater bid. Give to the borderland tribes more than the Soviet Government does, or can, give, and they will be your friends; give them less, and they will be your enemies. It is a matter of purely British interest, and undoubtedly Great Britain is rich enough in wealth as well as in intellect to settle it satisfactorily.

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CHAPTER XII.

What should be done?

For some years past the repeated demands for just rights by the Nationalists have been persistently rejected by the Government, and occasionally they have met with only partial responses, thus discontent with red-tapism has grown apace in India, and it has been annually gaining in extent as well as in depth. Sane thought has, however, kept it within limits; but some raw impatient minds have become so tired of hoping against hope that they have run riot, and resorted to revolutionary measures, which served as a safety-valve for their pent-up feelings. Not finding these measures effective, they have even cherished a fond hope for some foreign helper or liberator, forgetting Sadi's couplet —

With neighbour's aid the paradise to gain
Is just like tortures of hell to sustain.

Some have looked to Japan, others to Afghanistan, and others even to Russia. Pitiable souls! Nothing but work—an organised and well-thought out work—succeeds; empty hopes will lead to nothing. We must not trust anyone except ourselves. We can depend upon no help except

that of our own. First we ought to be able to help ourselves, and then the world will run uninvited to help us. I am firmly convinced that if we make ourselves worthy of the noble object we have in view, we shall get it. It is our birth-right, and no earthly power can stand in our way. But unless we create in ourselves resolution, perseverance, coupled with intelligent self-determination, and sound political grasp of how and whither the world-affairs are tending, we had better not waste our energies in cherishing vain hopes or uttering empty threats. We should set to work in the right direction, and sooner or later we will surely achieve the goal of our national aspirations. To put high ideals before the public is right enough, as far as it is instructive and inspiring, but for emotional and easily inflammable people, when immediate action is neither meant nor desirable, it is extremely dangerous, nay, fatal, if it is done in an exciting and incendiary spirit. The slow inculcation of such ideals, with the education of self-control, and inducing natural development in the minds, and bringing mental depth and energy to maturity so as to properly judge the suitability of opportunity for action—action determined and

organised—would be the real statesman's method. Therefore it is necessary that after the propagation of such ideals the high road, which leads to its practical achievement, be clearly cut out and marked, on which the expectant, and mentally prepared, masses, should commence an organised, adequately provided and united march.

Look at Japan, for instance. Private socialistic work, unorganised, began there early in the eighties of the last century, but in 1889 a Society for the study of socialism was established, and they gave regular lectures on the European founders of socialism, as Saint Simon, Fourier, Marx, &c. They went on working until in 1901 the Japanese Social-Democratic party was formed, and their leaders assumed the following programme :—

(1) To extend the principle of Universal Brotherhood.

(2) To enforce disarmament for the sake of Universal Peace.

(3) To abolish the existing system of class-distinctions.

(4) To establish public ownership in Land and Capital.

(5) To establish public ownership in means of communication, such as railways and ships, etc.

(6) To equalise distribution of wealth.

(7) To equalise distribution of political rights.

(8) To make the State bear the expenses of free education for the people.

Capitalism could not bear such a programme; so the Society was dissolved by the Government. Later on they renewed their activities, and started a campaign against the whole policy of the Government, which took up the matter seriously. On such occasions Imperialism and Capitalism become nervous, and, stricken with panic, lose their head, and know not what to do. They are irritated, and fear that secret societies might be formed. But they have power; so they begin to trample such a movement and crush out its life by enforcing repressive measures, such as imprisonments, suppression of newpapers, official persecutions and condemnations. Hangings follow in their train. The same mingling of unnatural and natural phenomena happened in Japan. Some of the socialists—'madmen'?—fled out of the country to America, others to Europe. Apparently the movement was

suppressed. A few that remained kept quiet for the time being. Capitalism was happy; the enemy was killed. "The idiots," it cried, "they did not know me, the lion, and began to play with my tail. One roar, and they run into their holes like so many mice. Dare they be so impudent!

"I'm monarch of all I survey;
"I rule the land, I rule the waves.
"My right there is none to dispute;
"Kings, Presidents, are all my slaves;
"No fowl but dreads my aeroplanes;
"My submarines the sharks defy;
"My wireless heedeth not the storms;
"How dare my kingdom clowns deny!"

But his arrogance played him false. Men were lost; the movement made steady progress, more quickly than it would have otherwise done. Today the Socialist labour party is playing an important role in the affairs of Japan as it does in Europe. The Capitalists' kingdom *is* being denied.

Persecution failed in Japan, as it does everywhere, to check the propagation of ideas. Capitalist States have no other weapon but might, which they use mercilessly, and by its use they help nationalism.

The bloodless way of solving this great problem is, therefore, impossible, unless the States undertake to solve it by dissolving themselves. If they resist it will be violently solved, and then no State can impute unfairness and disloyalty to the people. My very loyalty makes me request the Government to avert that dreadful catastrophe. Blood-letting in high fever is an old, and now obsolete, method of lowering the temperature; nor would the experienced doctor of statecraft prescribe an overdose of morphia to soothe mental worry and pain. A temporary relief would be followed by a fatal relapse, with no hope of restoration.

An Imperialist Englishman of note says:—"Indians themselves have only to refuse work for Europeans, and the whole white Empire would be brought to an end within a month."

It is perfectly true. Construction takes ages, destruction hours. No organic structure is more perfect than that of man—of all animals in their respective gradations of structural development. It is built up, and maintained in working order, with a world of trouble and care. Yet when the mighty hand of death comes the whole system stops in a minute, the structure falls to the ground

workless, and is deposited under the earth as worthless, living only in memory. Kingdoms come and kingdoms go. Systems and regimes of Government change in a day. The late Amir Habíbullah slept as a king, and woke no more; in the morning he and his regime were both laid under the sands. Indians refusing work for Europeans is one day's work and does not require a month. *All* Indians united to refuse work for Europeans is not a day's work, nor a year's; it may be the work of ages. It is difficult, very difficult, but *not impossible.* A night of happiness for all Anglo-Indian homes, a night of rest after a day's hard work on the apparently flawless administrative machinery of the Government, and the economic and industrial system of India, might be followed by a day when the whole machinery stops and refuses to work. It seems a dream, a vision, but it might become a reality. Why not reckon with that possibility, and try now to make it impossible! Why wait for the hand of death to appear, and then rise to stop it, when rising would be out of question. Europe—material and active Europe—blames the East for belief in pre-destination. Why does she wait now for the inevitable to happen, when premonitory symptoms

give a clear and unmistakable warning? Why not do now what is best to avert that tragedy?

To my over-impatient brethren I give the reassurance that the Red Army, as I have already explained, will not and cannot, bring about their rescue, and this fact they must clearly know; nor Afghanistan, single-handed, can help us. Except the Soviet Russia there is no other power whose combination with Afghanistan is possible or worth considering. Persia and Turkey can do nothing. May they prosper! But as far as India is concerned they can neither give us hope nor fear. One is absolutely without vitality; the other is pulverised, motionless and distant. As to the Bolshwiks I know for certain that for years to come Russo-Afghan military combination, offensive against India, is not likely, or even possible. They may join hands even now, but their position will be 'Are you ready? Yes, quite, only if you do so and so,' and there will be great evasive and putting off virtue in that 'if'

Would the Indian public hold out a hope to them, and encourage them? I think certainly not. Can the Indians expect that if such a combination ever crossed the Indus, and succeeded in rescuing the radicals, would it leave India to the

Indians, and return satisfied with mere thanks? It would be like the lamb in the fable, which, rescued from a wolf, was slain by the rescuer himself. What victorious Power would do it? What was the state of Egypt? You have also Japan to reckon with. She is politically allied with Great Britain; one beautiful and just condition of the alliance is that she would help Great Britain to retain India.* Great Britain is right to ask help in retaining the land of gold, for it has been, and is, a source of untold treasures to her, which modest additions to her exchequer she would like to continue. But, bravo Japan! you will help in tightening foreign chains round a sister nation! India does not wish you to be bound in foreign chains. We wish all eastern countries to be free and friendly to each other. Did you not feel a prick of remorse when you signed the treaty? You would not have done so, if your conscience had been alive. It is not only shameful, but degrading. You dare bring your dreadnoughts! You might land your forces, for that we cannot prevent under the present circumstances, but on land in our homes we will give you a very warm host-ile reception.

* Since I wrote this I have read in the newspapers about the probable renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty out of which the condition referred to here would be ex-punged.

The Anglo-Indian Government would defend India from quite a different standpoint, but defend they will with might and main. They have always a fear of Russian advance. The appearance of a Bolshwik somewhere on the Frontiers is enough to make them nervous. Bolshwiks, I repeat, are not to be feared. All that they can do in India is propaganda, and the main item of their propaganda is *labour* versus *capital,* which appeals to the working classes, and raises strikes or other forms of non-co-operation with the capitalists and the employers. In India the question of labour *versus* capital is still a minor problem, nor is it vast enough to materially disturb our economic equilibrium, *i.e.*, compared with America and the States of Europe. Therefore the Bolshwik appeal to our labouring population, which is mostly agricultural, cannot produce any effect. By the general economic forces operating in the whole world, requiring natural adjustments, our labourers have already been introduced into the primary step towards revolution. Not by Bolshwiks, for Bolshwism did not exist when strikes began first in India, but through the European labourers demanding shorter hours of work and 'fair wages' from their employers.

Since then strikes have been of frequent occurrence, not only in factories, but the infection has spread into some departments of administration. Railway workers and Post Office peons have struck. There are signs of the same spirit even entering the Army. Our merchants could not stand the strain of Exchange fluctuations, through which much larger payments were forced upon them by factories and firms in England which had brought many to the verge of ruin. So, they have struck and would not deal with the all-grabbing capitalists in England. Mr. Gandhi has struck a note of general non-co-operation with the Government. Did he learn it from the Bolshwiks? No. It is the spirit of the age, the spirit of revolution, which rose from the civilised soil of Europe, and is now spreading all over India. It is not originally an Indian problem. Europe is India's instructor and guide in this as in many other respects India, therefore, as I have observed, does not require any lead or lesson from others, and, I believe, we could not have better teachers than our Anglo-Indian rulers. Their whole system of dealing with the Indians breeds discontent and their ways suggest corresponding and appropriate methods of opposition. The

C. I. Department, for instance, is the greatest promoter of revolution The Intelligence Department of Russia under Tzarism was similarly a very complicated and extensive organisation, spreading its roots into every household. The result was strong reaction. To repress a pent-up naturally expansive force is to expedite its bursting. Coercive action to be effective must be absolutely destructive, otherwise it creates a tendency to revolt, which, if coercion were maintained, would soon become open and boldly assertive, ending, perhaps, in the destruction of the coercive power. The Anglo-Indian Intelligence machinery is so complicated a net-work that lies and baseless charges are manufactured *ad libitum*; the most honest-intentioned criticism of a Government measure, or of the action of a responsible Anglo-Indian officer, is considered seditious. Among Muslims the early Caliphs were criticised most minutely, but no criticism was ever taken in the light of sedition, nor sedition was ever meant by criticism.

Has the Government gained anything by repressing the liberty of Speech and Press? What is the tone of utterances wherever and whenever they are allowed? Has it improved from the

Government point of view ?

So, it is the spirit of the age, aided by our considerate rulers. Bolshwism need not take the trouble of travelling all the way from Russia, and teach the Indians what right they possess in their motherland. It is not Mr. Gandhi alone, but all the Extremists have caught the same spirit. Our own Government is helping, as a matter of fact forcing, the people to know what they want, and what they must have. Perhaps there is no better organisation than the Indian Government, and by its example the people are made to learn how to *organise*,—a great need we Indians have. The greater pressure from above will lead to the more rapid growth of such organisations.

The hue and cry in Government circles about the Bolshwiks is not only not useful, but strongly deterimental to the Government as well as to the Indian public. Undue importance is given to them, and curiosity is created in the public mind. Bolshwism is no more a secret organisation but an open system, which is examined and criticised all the world over. It is published and discussed most in those countries where it is most dreaded. It is a problem which all statesmen and economists are studying and criticising. I would say let

the Bolshwiks come into India without any restriction; let them go about freely mixing with the people, and there will be no harm done. A drum (from a distance) sounds pleasant, as our Punjabi proverb goes. Let it beat nearer, and its distant soothing music will be properly evaluated even by the uncultured Indian ear.

India from the purely Indian point has no other interest in Central Asia than that in the progressive development of Asiatic sister nations of all religions and denominations, to be free, self-organising, self-determining, and progressive in every phase of social, economical, and political development We would like them free from the bondage of alien systems and dependent upon themselves. We would readily help them if we could, and willingly receive help from any eastern quarter if we stood in need of it. A greater and freer intercourse among the Asiatic nations, and closer relations of one with the other, will surely produce a united effort in our continent to rise in progress and education, which would gradually transform it from a field of non-Asiatic exploitation to a land of independent and progressive nations. That is our only interest in Central Asia. We have no *red* fear; we are sure the

Bolshwiks have no idea of territorial acquisition. The Russian policy is changed with the new order of community and their new system of organisation. The one chief desire of the Bolshwiks is to bring their social regime to a successful end, and unless they accomplish it they cannot expect other nations to follow their example, or even to respect them. If they failed, they would be cruelly left alone—a target for universal reproach and condemnation. They, who rescued themselves from the clutches of Capitalism and of oppressive governmental regime, and are now just at the initiatory stage of their great work of reconstruction, will not be so foolish as to put their fingers in every pie, and come to grief.

Therefore all defence against the Bolshwiks in Asia or in Europe is a matter of purely British interest, and should be undertaken on British resources alone.

For us Afghanistan has a similar position, with this difference that she can help us in time of need, if she were disposed to do so Her resources, though undeveloped, are great and full of many promises. We have the same good wishes for her as we have for other Asiatic countries. We should like to have close relations with her,

and help her in her development. The war with Afghanistan last year was Anglo-Afghan in character, as I have observed before, and not Indo-Afghan. As the British rulers of India, in spite of our repeated requests for our rights in our own country, are insisting upon withholding them from us, simply because they happen to hold India by force,—as it has been repeatedly declared by responsible British statesmen that India was taken with the sword and must be kept with the sword,—and that as it has to be bled the lancet must be inserted wherever it is most congested, and as the practice of our rulers has closely followed that precept, thereby assuring us in the most matter of fact way that we were quite wrong in believing that the interest of the rulers and the people was one and the same, we are obliged *now* to look to *our* interest, *i.e.*, *the interest of India-Propria.*

During the last European War India was most inconsiderately bled and lanceted even in a non-congested portion; still we seem to be as far removed from each other as Delhi from London. The gulf between us has been widened to an Ocean, nay, half a dozen oceans. How can it be bridged over, *i.e.*, if the Government ever

thinks it ought to be, is the business of our rulers whose interest in holding India is predominant. We are not able to throw a bridge even across a stream, whereas they have political engineers of extraordinary ingenuity. Make a bridge, not necessarily on monster pillars, for that may not be possible, even for you, but of boats, if you please, hundreds of thousands of solid English living boats, on which Delhi and London could come closer to each other, and talk freely as friends. Let the world know what miracles your great political engineers can perform. If the Government feel reluctant in this matter, my good wishes for them force me to repeat my view, although I run the risk of being tabooed by my own countrymen as a traitor to India, that the prolongation of British lease in India wholly and solely depends upon removing the estrangement the ruling class have created between the British Crown, which they represent, and the Indian subjects of that Crown. Passing rigorous measures on one side, and demonstrations of protests from the other, is not the way of candid and sincere reconciliation, which is absolutely essential, even if it may involve some temporary loss to the Government. To admit into the Legisla-

tion those gentlemen, whose personality fails to represent the interest of the Indian public, whom the very public they are supposed to represent denounces, and whose only qualification is prostrating before those whose nods can give them loaves and fishes, is nothing but a sham representation. When the matter of election is placed in the hands of the public, the method I have witnessed, and the returning of a hair-dresser or a confectioner, is an eloquent irony upon the character of representation that exists or might exist under the Reforms Bill, which does not seem to be intended to give predominance or expression to true Indian opinions in the councils of its administration. True they are elected by the people, and if they are unfit, it is the people's own fault. But what had led to the irregularities of election?

The best thing under the circumstances, in my opinion, would be a *frank* and unceremonial meeting between the representatives of the British Crown and the real representatives of the people's advanced opinion, invited and arranged by the party most concerned in the reconciliation. Let the Crown ask the leaders of the people—leaders whom the people would have

selected without any interference from the representatives of the Government, "Please tell us clearly what your demands are?" Let their demands, however extraordinary they might appear, be discussed in a friendly and conciliatory spirit. There should be no stickling and no insinuations. Both sides must be clear in their statements, and if no compromise were arrived at, the leaders of the people should be told in clear unmistakable terms "We can give you only so much; these are our final limits, beyond which we will not yield an inch. We are here to rule India, in order to get out of her what we can, and will have no limitation to our right (or our power) to do so, and such right we will enforce at the points of our bayonets." Let these gentlemen fully realise what the point of bayonet, or the bomb from an aeroplane, means, and then decide what line of action would be best for them to adopt in the interest of their much beloved country—*revolution* or *evolution* (be it rapid.)

To the leaders of the extreme public thought, and their young followers if they do not take offence at my moderate suggestions, I have a few words to say:—

You are doing noble work; may it be crown-

ed with success. But if you do as much as you say, or say only what you do, you will be well on the road to your goal. You are building castles in the air. Yes build them, but build them like Count Zeppelin. You talk of self-government: pray learn to govern yourselves first and show to the people how to govern themselves. As soon as you and your people accomplish this governing and controlling of yourselves, you will surely get self-government. You talk of Home Rule. How noble! But first rule your homes. Your housekeeping, the tending and training of your children, the spending of what you earn by the sweat of your brow, your food, your dress, your births, deaths and marriages, your social customs, your gathering, your dispersings; your household economy requires your first and immediate attention. No sooner you have completed the management of your homes, you will get Home Rule. There is a world of work in these your little homely kingdoms. Just look round, and see what your youth eat and wear, and live in, and watch how they live. Regulate their food: make it simpler, more nourishing and more easily digestible. Reform their clothes: simpler and plainer material will do, as long as they are

clean and comfortable. Cut off unnecessary foods and dresses. Years ago when sugar became expensive the Persians gave up tea-drinking, and saved themselves great worry and trouble. Japan adopted European system, European methods, and European education, but retained her own mode of living—wore what she wore before, and avoided chairs, tables and other household European furniture. How much she gained, and saved!! Must your youth wear an English cut suit; must they have the material for their dresses manufactured in Manchester; must they wear English—and hand sewn English—boots? Do English hats send an electric current into the brain, and make it more energetic and more acute? Must they have English collars and shirts beautifully stiffened and polished—with neckties to boot—neckties! those little silk lashes of slavery to Europe? And then must some of you, not youths, but men of position who know not what to do with their wealth, get your shirts and collars dressed in Paris or in London! Thomas Brown, Esqr., sends his shirts and collars to London to patronise a London laundry; why do you not follow his principle, and patronise your Hyderabad or

Patiala or any Indian laundry, and let your own Indian washerman be the richer by a few coins! What is the stuff in you that you take so much pain and spend so much money—to look like a European? Will your homely dressed, and homely shod limbs and homely-fed brain refuse to work? If you are so anxious to make yourself look like a European, first make yourself like him in the solidness of character. He is educated, loyal to his country, and to his nation, patient and persevering, full of self-determination, not wasteful of his time, ever busy doing something, always thinking for the welfare of his nation, lives for his nation, dies for his nation, self-assertive, free and independent in airs, not bearing to be overcome by anything, and undauntedly and bravely overcoming every difficulty that comes before him. Be like him *in these virtues*, my young friends, and I will bear any dress you like, in any fashion that might please you for your sake. Just for a moment think of your position. All your hopes of the future—your own future, and that of the country you say you love-rest on what you do, and how you do it. If you are thoughtless now, you prove yourself unfit for the work that lies before you till death. Be grave,

earnest and thoughtful, for every change in the future of India hangs on your judgments and decisions now. Learn to make the best use of your feelings, your emotions, and your opportunities now, and train yourselves for the great work that lies before you. Make your lives simple; it will save your time, thought and money, which you can spend better. Make yourself independent of foreign manufactures. We grow cotton, yet our people are naked and poorly dressed. We grow wheat, yet our people are hungry and starving. We give money for education, yet our youth, of all the youth in the world, are not properly educated. See what your education has brought you to. Your Bachelors and Masters of Art go begging at every office door, and 'not wanted' is the answer they generally receive. Those who are granted a salary, say, Rs. 70 a month, consider themselves fortunate, yet that is hardly the minimum decent-life standard of what a common labourer's wages should be in India, and that is after fourteen and fifteen years of school and college life! That is the end of your education, the reward for your fifteen years' hard work. India is practically shut out from the possibility of

receiving sound education, which would fit her youth for the work of progress. Out of the total revenue in British India (excluding the States) one penny per head is spent on education ; and only 1·9 per cent of the population go to schools. In Russia, the most backward of European countries, 7.5 per head was spent in public instruction (now education has become free and compulsory), and the number of school-going children was 4—5 per cent. of the population In Baroda all boys of school going age receive education, while in British India only 21·5 per cent. of such boys are in schools.

Therefore, Leaders of the nation! Take the education of your children in your own hands, and do not blame Government. They taught you what they wanted, and not what you wanted. Now teach yourselves what you want. Spinning wheel is right enough; but why not spinning machinery and mills? Make your own machinery, improve your industry, and do not send your cotton and wool to Manchester. You have plenty of corn in the country; do not send it out, but keep it for your own starving millions. Do not feed foreign industry, and foreign labour. You find a market, and it pays you; but mark

it, you lose doubly and heavily. Compare what comes in your pocket for a pound of cotton or wool, and what goes out of it for a pound of manufactured material. Contrast what you get for a square foot of raw hide with what you pay for a pair of boots. And all for this, that you should look like a European !

Muslims and Hindus ! Unite in the great work of regenerating your country. Forget your differences, and do not rake up bitter memories of the past. Think for the present and the future. You have lived together for centuries, and will have to live together till the end of the world Drive away fears from each other. Both of you are internally afraid, that if you gain the object with joint efforts, a quarrel between yourselves will upset the balance and hence you suspect each other. It is a cowardly notion and foolish fear. Neither party can crush the other. If both of you drop away such scruples, and trust each other like brother countrymen, the phantom of quarrel will disappear, and with it the fear. Know that civil war is ever suicidal.

You must not ignore the benefits of your association with England, if her representatives show sincerity in action and readiness to meet

your just demands. Bury the past, and let there be no more frictions with them. Your resentment is righteous, but let your expression of it be as noble, dignified and highminded as the ideals you have before you. Do not harp on the injustice of British occupation of India, nor criticise their misdeeds. Be firm and resolute in your demands, and when you have fully developed your capabilities, you are sure to get them,

In the end I would say—educate, organise, give up foreign co-operation, work and improve your own industries, and you will soon become a great nation.

APPENDIX I.

His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan's New Customs Tariff of Afghanistan.

In the name of God.

We have come to know that the Customs Tariff of Afghanistan in operation ere now was not satisfactory. In different parts of the country different kinds of duties were levied both on imports and exports as well as in its internal trade. This large number of duties not only confused tradesmen and the public, but it defied system in account-keeping in the revenue office.

As we are always desirous of the welfare and comfort of our people, and of the progress of our State, and as we are anxious that our subjects should have no worry in the conduct of their affairs and should live in ease and happiness, especially the tradesmen whose business is a source of revenue to the State, we desire that the customs tariff be placed on a good system, so that tradesmen and the public might be relieved from the trouble of paying manifold duties, and in so

many ports, and might know definitely the dues they have to pay on their goods.

We have noticed that dues were levied on merchandise under different names some of which we mention for example :—

A—*Chahil Yaka—one out of forty.*

1. Per load.
2. Per weight.
3. Per cost price.
4. Per number of articles.
5 Per piece (of cloth).

B—*Miscellaneous.*

6. The price-judge's commission.
7. Ten Shahi (anna) per cent.
8. Agency Commission.
9. Lamp duty.
10. Safety duty.
11. Escort duty.
12. Additional Shahi (anna).

We have carefully gone through this tariff and adjusted the dues on commodities according

to the principle of high duties for luxuries and low duties for necessaries of life. We consider that use of luxuries, as articles of fashion and miscellaneous knick-nacks, is absolutely unnecessary and is injurious for the public as well as for the State. We have raised their tariff in order to discontinue their use and prevent their import into Afghanistan. We have reduced duties on those commodities the use of which is harmless for the public, and is a source of revenue for the Government. So we have fixed dues as so much per cent. of the price of commodities at current market rate, and we have ordained that such dues should be paid in one port only, and the merchant after he has paid them up and obtained receipt for the same, may freely carry them anywhere he likes within our dominions, and the Customs officials of other ports would give them no further annoyance. As soon as the receipt is shown to them, they would let the merchandise pass. The tariff now fixed and its regulations are explained as under, and the merchants and our officials are both ordered to observe them.

A TARIFF.

Section I.

Imports *via* Decca, Tootgai, Gomal, Bajour, Chitrar, Kurrachee, Shikarpur, Nushki, Chahar Burjak, Chakhansoor and other ways from India to Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Kataghan, Badakhshan and other parts of Afghanistan or from Yazd, Kainat, Mashhed, Khawaf and other places of Persia, or from Bokhara or Russian territory-all divided into three categories :—

1. Exempt from all duties :—

The holy Quran, commentaries and religious books, rifles, revolvers, ammunition—all war-material.

2. Articles the use of which has been looked upon as injurious to the public, and therefore wrong :—

a. Duty 100% of the current price :—

Artificial flowers of all descriptions.
Powders and paints for face.
Imitation gold face.
English carpeting.
Handkerchiefs—silk, cotton, linen, etc.
Dressing boxes and bathing materials.
Gentlemen's English collars.

English Shirts (with stiff fronts, cuffs, and collars), white or print, or silk.
Albums of all kinds.
English hand sticks of all kinds.
Artificial pearls.
Fancy collar pins.
Rubber and other artificial play things, such as dolls, animals, etc.
Water-bottles, for keeping water hot or cold.
Photos, pictures, cards, and magnifying apparatus used for showing pictures.
Paper weights of all kinds.
English biscuits.
English cheese, butter and condensed milk.
Coffee.
Cigars and cigarettes.
Playing cards, play-balls, of stone or glass.
Toy motors and other tin things.
Black sugar, and red powder sugar, imported from Peshawar to Kabul.
Honey, poppy seed imported from Peshawar to Kabul.

Vegetable dyeing powders—red and black imported from Peshawar to Kabul.

(*b.*) *Duty at Rs.* 50 *per cent.*—*

Ready made gowns of good silk, and other parts of ladies' English dress, silk or cotton.

Ladies' hats.

Silk stockings, combinations, etc.

Silk gloves, ladies' artificial hair, ladies' waist-bands, ladies' overcoats, and all ready-made English things used by the ladies.

Ladies' mufflers of all descriptions, feathers for hats, etc.

Gold thread woven materials.

Gentlemen's neck-ties, safety pins, mufflers.

Hair dressing toys and pins, etc.

Knives and forks of all kinds.

China vases.

Gentlemen's night suits.

Wall-paper of every description.

Gold-woven cloth of Benares of all descriptions.

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*Since I left Afghanistan in October last year I have received information that the duty on articles under this heading has been raised to 100 per cent.

Shawls, etc. of Kashmere, Amritsar, Mashhed and Kirman.

Couches and chairs with silk, velvet or fancy cushions, etc.

Cabinets for photos.

Japanned enamelled tin boxes.

Vasellin, glycerine, brilliantins and other materials for hair dressing.

Table cloths, silken, woollen, etc., English and Chinese.

Chinese boxes, tables, almirahs, etc.

Russian and English sweets.

Sets of buttons for shirts.

Scented soaps.

Snuff.

Paints of all kinds.

Charas (imported).

(*c*) *Duties at Rs. 40 per cent*—

Tea of every description imported and consumed in Afghanistan.

3. *Useful Commodities*:

(*a*) *Duty at Rs.* 25 *per cent*—

Mull, fine and thick muslins, cotton, fine silk, with fancy work.

Ladies and gentlemen's English and Russian boots of all descriptions.

Cheap chair—With cane or wooden bottom, or made of iron.

Sugarcanes—Cawnpore and Russian.

Kerosine oil, petrol, etc.

Curry root or powder imported from Peshawar to Kabul.

Loaf, sugar.

(*b*). *Duty at Rs. 20 per cent.*—

White sugar powdered or crystallised in India.

(*c*). *Duty at Rs. 15 per cent.*—

Piece-goods of cotton, wool, linen, tussar silk, and pure silk, as well as Amritsar dyed silk.

Retail goods, like thread, needles, fancy, borders, buttons (brass, horn, leather).

Cheap pearls, cheap hosiery,

Soaps (rose, Pear, antelope mark and other kinds in common use), brass-wire, combs, boot-polishes, locks, knives, scissors, caps, looking glasses (small or large).

Ready-made leather goods, as plain and gold slippers, goloshes, such saddles, bridles, waist-bands, etc.

Indian carpets, Peshawar and Ludhiana turbans, and second-hand dresses.

Second-hand English and Cawnpore boots.

Multan indigo pieces and powder.

Chinawares and window glasses.

Drugs, Indian and English, and miscellaneous things sold by eastern druggists.

Match-boxes, stationary, other kinds of paper, white or coloured cotton thread.

Copper, sheets, or made utensils of German silver, brass, aluminium, and iron.

All kinds of iron sheets, tubes, wires cases, or digging or agricultural implements, or other things made of iron.

Wire nails, fixed locks, files, etc.

Cow hides and leather.

Indian fans, etc.

Washing soap.

Bicycles, tongas and all kinds of vehicles.

Lamps and lanterns of all kinds.

Bokhara and Mashed overcoats, prayer mats, bed covers, tray-covers, hubble-bubble, etc.

Horses, camels, donkeys, mules, cows and other animals imported.

Feathers of all kinds used for beddings and pillows.

4. *Duty at Rs. 10 per cent.*—

Cotton ropes and newar.

Tents, etc.

Lead-carbonate, zinc carbonate, red-oxide of mercury used for painting.

Thick brass and iron wire.

Fine wool used for shawls, and ready-made shawls.

Carpets of all descriptions, Turkoman, Aqchah Yarkandi.

China, Persia, and Persian, felt carpetting, etc.

Imported furs of all kinds.

5. *Duty at Rs. 5 per cent.*—

Brass sheets, thin or thick.

Tin and zinc.

Books, literary,—stories, poems, novels, etc.

Cotton wool imported from Russia, Persia, and Bokhara for sale in Afghanistan.

6. *Duty at Rs. 2 per cent.*—

Raw silk in various forms imported from Bokhara, Persia and Russia for sale.

7. *Duty at Rs. 1 per cent.*—

Gold or silver thread, Indian rupee, Russian rouble, tanga of Bokhara or Urganj, Russian tanga, gold minted or bullion, jewels.

Section II.

Exports from Afghanistan by different ports and routes.

We have reduced their duties to encourage export and stimulate closer commercial relations with neighbouring countries.

1. From Kabul and its vicinity, *via* Decca, Tutgai, Bajaour and Chitrar to India.

(*a.*) *Duty at Rs. 80 per cent.*

Pomegranates.

(*b.*) *Duty at Rs. 50 per cent.*

Dried grapes.

Pistachio nuts and kernel.

Almond nuts and kernel.

Asafœtida (from Khurram, Saikan and Kamard).

Dried plums, rose petals, mushroom, fir nuts, melons.

(*c*) *Duty at Rs. 40 per cent.*—

Badakhshan caraway seeds from Badakhshan to Decca or *via* Chitrar.

Caraway seeds from Koh-Daman.

Fresh grape boxes.

Dried mulberies.

(*d.*) *Duty at Rs. 30 per cent.*—

Dried apricots, Iholang, clover seeds, Shaqaqal (a wild carrot), Saresh-i-kahi (gum-herb).

(*e.*) *Duty at Rs. 20 per cent.*—

Hyssop flower, dried, white Bahman root, manna, Berberries.

(*f.*) *Duty at Rs. 25 per cent.*—

Raisins, sheep fur-coats, goat hide, sheep hide, cow hide (all raw), pistachio wood, etc.

(*g.*) *Duty at Rs. 15 per cent.*—

Fruit stone kernel (generally from apricot). Ammoniacum, dried curds, tobacco, water-melon.

(*h.*) *Duty at Rs 10 per cent*:—

Carpets of all kinds.

Opium.

Furs of all kinds exported from

(*i*) *Duty at Rs.* 5 *per cent*—

Heelless slippers.

Kabul kanawez (thick silk, piece), and silk handkerchiefs.

Raw intestines (animals) ?

(*j.*) *Duty at Rs.* 2 *per cent.*—

Fine wool for Kabuli shawls, and ready-made shawls.

(*k.*) *Duty at Re. 1 per cent.*—

Raw silk.

2. From Kandahar and its neighbouring districts *via* Takhtah-pul, Kala-Jadid and other routes exported to India.

(*a.*) *Duty at Rs. 80 per cent.*—

Dried grapes, melons, water-melons, pomegranates.

(*b.*) *Duty at Rs* 65 *per cent.*—

Sheep wool from Herat, Pusht-i-Rod and Farah, and from the districts of Kandahar itself.

(*c.*) *Duty at Rs.* 50 *per cent.*—

Pistachio nut and kernel.

Almonds nut and kernel
Plum, fresh and dried.
Peaches.
Large raisins.
Quinces.
Madder.
Cereals.

(*d.*) *Duty at Rs.* 45 *per cent.*—
Buzghanj (a kind of pistachio)

(*e.*) *Duty at Rs.* 40 *per cent.*—
Caraway seeds. black raisins

(*f.*) *Duty at Rs.* 35 *per cent.*—
Dried grapes, called abjosh.

(*g.*) *Duty at Rs.* 30 *per cent.*—
Grapes (fresh), ordinary raisins red and green, wild carrot, dried jujube fruit, apples, pears, sheep.

(*h.*) *Duty at Rs.* 25 *per cent.*—
Gum-tragacanth, dried curds.

(*i*) *Duty at Rs.* 22 *per cent.*—
Figs and dried apricots.

(*j.*) *Duty at Rs.* 20 *per cent.*—
Dried hyssop flower, white Bahman root, manna, coriander and anise seeds, tobacco, black plums, Berberries,

yellow dying wood, liquorice root, gum-herb, cotton wool, quince-seeds.

(*k.*) *Duty at Rs.* 15 *per cent.*—

Kernel of apricot stone, fur-coats, hides of goat, sheep and cow, clover seeds, afarak.

(*l.*) *Duty at Rs.* 10 *per cent.*—

Carpetting of all kinds (felt carpets included), fine wool for shawls, silk turbans, woolen cloth (kurk, burk, bushroya, etc).

Good furs, opium, mushroom, dried violets

(*m.*) *Duty at Rs.* 5 *per cent.*—

Raw intestines, silk handkerchiefs, thick silk pieces, caps, heelless sllppers.

(*n.*) *Duty at Rs.* 2 *per cent.*—

Kabuli shawls.

(*o*) *Duty at Re.* 1 *per cent.*—

Silk-thread (raw).

Articles from Herat and its adjacent districts exported to India, Persia, Bokhara and Russia, like (3).

5. From Turkistan, Maimana, Kataghan, Badakhshan exported to India (*via* Badakhshan),

Russia and Bokhara.

a. *Duty at Rs.* 40 *per cent.*—

Dressed hides.

b. *Duty at Rs.* 30 *per eent.*—

Sheep, Opium, linen, linseed, rape seed.

c. *Duty at Rs.* 20 *per ceut.*—

Sheep-wool, pomegranate capsule asfarak.

d. *Duty at Rs.* 15 *per cent.*—

Hides of sheep, camel cow and goat, green and red raisins, sheep fur coats, etc.

e. *Duty at Rs.* 10 *per cent.*—

Furs of various kinds, dressed hides of sheep and cow, opium, nuts, cotton wool.

f. *Duty at Rs.* 5 % *per cent.*—

Gholang, potash (crude), onion seeds, dried mulberry, Jujube-fruit, opium capsule, gram, raw intestines.

g. *Duty at Rs.* 2 *per cent.*—

Tobacco.

h. *Duty at Re.* 1 *per cent.*—

Pomegranates.

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SECTION III.

Foreign merchandise which passes through Afghanistan and carried for sale to other foreign countries.

1. *From India for Bokhara and Russia.*

a. *Duty at Rs. 20 per cent—*

Tea of all kinds.

b. *Duty at Rs. 10 per cent.—*

All piece goods and other articles of commerce.

2. *From Bokhara and Russia for India*

a. *Duty at Rs. 5 per cent—*

Sheep-wool, Astrakhan fur, fox-fur, sheep and goat hide.

b. *Duty at Rs. 2 per cent—*

Cotton wool.

3. *From India for Persia, or from Persia for India.*

Like (2)

SECTION IV.

Internal trade of Afghanistan consists of Afghan merchandise carried from one place to another within Afghanistan. Duty at Rs. 5 per cent of the current price.

B. Regulations regarding the duties of the Customs official.

1. The Customs officials knowing that they are answerable before God and that the Omniscient knows and sees what they are doing, must keep in view the welfare of the State, and the right it has on them, and must be always watchful, and not let any merchandise pass without the payment of duties on them as ascribed. Nor should they overlook the rights of the public and the tradesmen by exacting from them more than what is due, or put them to unnecessary annoyance.

2. As we have shown due consideration to the trading class, and removed all extra troubles from them, relieving them from manifold annoyances at every customs port, they ought to keep in view the increase of revenue to the Public Treasury, and the welfare of the nation and the State. Therefore they should be honest in their dealings with the State, and not smuggle their merchandise. If they do so, and are found out, the whole of their merchandise thus smuggled, together with the transport animals, will be confiscated by the State.

3. We have graciously exempted merchants from the further payment of custom duties for the merchandise they have imported before our reign (and for which they paid up import duties, as fixed before) if they carry such goods now from one place to another.

4. Previously merchants were given four months' time for the payment of duties after the day their goods were checked and dues estimated at the Custom-house. After these four months they were allowed to continue payment by instalments within two months. But it has been found out by experience that such concession involves a loss to merchants as well as to the State. A merchant has been occupied in the interest of his business, and has not made payment at the proper time. Arrear after arrear has been heaped up until the amount has become too much for him and the matter brought to the notice of the Government. Men have been appointed to force him for payment, and all his property has been exhausted in appeasing and satisfying such men, until he has become bankrupt, and the government dues have not at all been paid up. During the last five or six years many merchants have been granted

further concessions and long intervals for payment of dues, and from some of them government dues could not at all be collected.

Therefore we have abolished such loan-concessions of the State dues. The Customs official is ordered to collect the dues as soon as he has checked and passed the goods, and settled the amount of dues. After receiving the dues in cash he should give proper receipt for the same.

5. Merchants ought to have their goods passed through the custom-house of the locality where they have their dealings, or where they purchase the goods. After that they can carry their goods wherever they desire. For instance, a Jalalabad or Lamkan merchant should pass his goods imported from India through the custom-houses of Jalalabad or Lamkan. Similarly a Herat merchant should pass through the Herat custom-house the goods he imports from Persia, Russia or Bokhara. The State would not allow a merchant of Turkistan or Herat to carry straight to the Jalalabad custom-house the goods he means for India, because they would be comparatively cheaper in Jalalabad, and so he would have to pay less dues there.

The State, however, allows such procedure only in case if the merchant sells his goods at the place where he has passed them through the custom-house. Supposing he has sold part of his goods there, and he desires to carry the remaining part to another place, where he expects better profit, he ought to pay up at the same custom-house the difference of dues that might have been payable at the latter custom-house, obtain proper receipt for that, and remove his goods as he likes.

6. The customs officials should give proper receipt for the dues they collect, with entries therein of the name, parentage, locality, etc., of the merchant as well as of the kind of merchandise, with the number and other details of the loads. The merchant is to produce such receipt at every custom-house he passes, and the official there will check the goods according to it. If there be no difference and the loads bear the custom-house stamp, the official would let the goods pass without demanding any further dues. Neither should the merchant be worried if the goods were less than the quantity specified in the receipt, for he would have disposed part of them on the way. If, on the other hand, the

goods be more than the quantity specified in the receipt, and some of the loade bore no stamp of the custom-house, it would show that the merchant was smuggling extra goods. Such extra goods, for which he has not paid dues, should be confiscated so that he should not repeat such practice, and his punishment might be a lesson to other merchants.

7. A merchant who has once paid his dues properly, and obtained receipt for the same, can carry his goods wherever he likes, and nowhere further dues will be demanded of him. But if he sells his goods to another merchant of that place, and the merchant No. 2 might think of carrying them to another place, he should also take the receipt for custom-dues from merchant No. 1, who should confirm it, and the official of that custom-house should satisfy himself about the transaction, and confirm it in the receipt, adding the names of the seller and the purchaser, and stating that proper custom dues had been paid up, and that no more dues were to be demanded anywhere. If the latter happens to sell the same goods to merchant No. 3, or No. 3 to No. 4, the same rule will hold good. The rule is applicable even if merchant No. 1 sells part

of his goods, and the part thus sold were to be carried by the purchaser to some other station.

8. In case of an article or articles of merchandise, not named in categories under the heading (A), the Customs officials should put them under allied categories, and, if any doubt or difficulty arise in this respect, they should refer the matter to the Minister for Commerce, who would settle it himself as far as he had powers. If it exceeded his powers he would lay it before us.

9. The articles, whose export was prohibited before us, are still positively prohibited. They are recorded in every administrative office of the country. If they were exported in spite of the prohibition, they would be confiscated by the State when found out and proved. Minted or unminted silver and gold were not prohibited before, but they are prohibited now therefore no silver or gold minted or unminted is allowed to go out of the country. Made up jewellery and precious stones are not prohibited.

10. If Customs officials or other persons appointed for the purpose of watching the routes and preventing smuggling discover some person carrying articles of commerce without having paid

proper dues, such articles will be confiscated, and the tenth part of what remains of them after the fixed dues are deducted from their price will be given as reward to the person or persons who have discovered the smuggling.

11. All the previous dues, as referred to before, have been abolished. But if a tradesman had local rates anywhere he shall pay them as they were paid before now.

12. As all the custom-houses and ports and various departments of income (excluding land revenue) are under the control of the Commercial Ministry, officials in charge of such places and offices, requiring further instructions in departmental matters, should refer to His Excellency the Minister for Commerce, who will give instructions in matters within his power, or lay them before us if they were beyond his power. The Minister's instructions are to be obeyed and carried out.

13. In case of smuggling discovered by any custom-official or person in charge of some port, if it were found that the smuggling party was too strong, and could not be detained, the said official should at once communicate the matter to the nearest administrative centre, obtain

necessary military help, and seize and confiscate the goods that were being smuggled.

14. The whole staff of a custom house are under the official of that custom-house. No member of that staff should consider himself independent of the official in charge, and all should fulfil under him the duties assigned to each.

15. Keepers of caravan-serais and other persons appointed for carrying and opening merchandise cases and bales ought to be watchful that, when the goods of merchandise are being inspected by the Custom-official for noting and reckoning the dues, the goods should neither be lost nor damaged, and they should take every care to protect merchandise from rain or snow. The said official has power to punish or fine them for neglect of their duty.

16 If the Government receive a report about dishonesty or fraud of any custom-official or servant, persons will be immediately appointed to investigate the case and check the accounts of the official reported against. If the report be true and the case be proved, the culprit will be punished in proportion to his guilt. If, on the other hand, the report turned out to be false and

could not be proved, the reporter would be given the same punishment to which the other person would have been subjected in case of having been proved guilty.

17. No custom-official should take bribe. If any one took bribe, and it were proved against him, or if fraud or embezzlement were proved against him, he would be at once dismissed from service, and at the same time punished according to his guilt, so that it might be a lesson for others.

18. Importation into Afghanistan is prohibited of all kinds of intoxicating liquors. If any person disobeyed this law, and imported such liquors openly or secretly, his imported property would be destroyed, and he would be kept in prison for three years, and a fine equivalent to half the price of the said property would be imposed on him.

19. The work of every custom-house has been carefully estimated, and a sufficient number of clerks and servants has been appointed to carry on the work under the official. No addition to this number can be made without our permission. If some customs official deemed an addition necessary he should apply to us through

the Minister of Commerce, stating how many more men were wanted, and fully explaining reasons for the same

20 The customs officials are ordered to remit to the Public Treasury the whole amount of dues received every Wednesday of the week, and obtain receipt for the same. They should not keep such revenues with themselves for more than a week If it were proved that anyone had done so, he would be dismissed from service.

21 We have changed the clerical system in all offices, and every customs office is provided with properly ruled and lined registers, receipts and reports. No erasing or scoring out should be done in these books and papers. Mistake or error should be struck off with only a line across it so that it might still remain legible, and correction should be noted over it, which should be initialled by the official in charge. In case any clerk did not show his mistake or error to his official and, scored it out or erased it, if such an action did not involve any loss to the Government, one-half of his one month's salary would be deducted on the first fault, full one month's on the second fault, and he would be dismissed the service on repeating it for the third time. After that he would

be for ever debarred from Government service. If, on the other hand, his scoring out or erasing involved a loss to the Government, he would be fined double the amount of such loss, dismissed and debarred for ever from Government service.

22. Previously in connection with customs additional officials under the name of Kafila-Bashis were appointed in all places. Such appointments were a loss to the Government, and a source of great annoyance to the public. A duty called 'Kafila Bashis' dues was levied. We have abolished these appointments throughout Afghanistan, in lieu of which tradesmen willingly agreed to pay one and-a-half as much of the same dues previously fixed, which we have accepted and ordered to be henceforth collected. It is a separate duty even now, and is equal to one and-a-half of what it was before. The officials in charge of custom-house are ordered to levy it. This duty does not concern merchants, but it is charged on those who own transport animals, and use them for hire, whether they drive such animals themselves, or keep servants to drive them, or whether they use them for loading their own merchandise or use them on hire for other merchants

23. All servants of the Customs Department will be given their fixed salaries every two months from the Public Treasury in the usual course of procedure, and their signatures in pay-books taken.

24. After his goods have reached the Custom-house the merchant is allowed one month during which he might have them checked for dues-reckoning, and removed from the Customs premises But if he delays and does not settle up the dues within a month, he is charged one rupee per bale each month as rent until he settles the dues and removes the goods.

25. Men in charge of customs ports are to send their reports regularly as they did before to their customs officials.

26 In every custom-house for the purpose of accurately judging the price of commercial goods a certain number, according to the requirements of the local work, of good, honest, respectable, reliable and propertied merchants will be appointed. Such gentlemen will be called judges. They should be very polite and courteous, and should judge prices exactly at the current market rate, neither more nor less. If the prices fixed by them were below the market rate, thereby involv-

ing loss to the Government, on first occasion a fine equivalent to the amount of loss to the Government would be imposed upon the judge, and remitted to the Publlc Treasury, on the second occasion double of such amount, and on the third occasion three times as much will be taken from him as fine, and remitted to the Public Treasury, and the delinquent will be debarred from any place of trust under the Government. If, on the other hand, the prices fixed were higher than the current market rate, thereby involving loss to the owner of goods, some other judges should be appointed to judge the prices. If the difference was proved it should be stated by the new judges in writing and signed by them and confirmed by the customs official, and allowance for it would be made to the owner of the goods.

NOTICE

The rates of duties on merchandise specified in the foregoing pages, and the regulations for Customs officials mentioned therein, have been approved and sanctioned by us. All officials in the Customs Department, and all merchants of the God-granted Kingdom, are to obey and observe them, if it please God.

Sunday 1st Hamal
1299 Shamsi

Bearing the Great
Seal of His Majesty
Amir Amanullah Khan

APPENDIX II.

'Revolt of women' and 'revolt of the young' have been familiar phrases.

Women kept under perpetual bondage, and lorded over by men, when they are enlightened and come to know better the important role they play in the progress of the community, become awakened to their rights of natural freedom, and aspire to be helpmates, not only of their husbands, but also of their community. They begin to encroach upon what man has long claimed to be his sole privilege and domain, to assert their rights, to take part in public affairs, and are said to have 'revolted'

In the same way foolish parents exercising undue control over their children, or thoughtless elders not making due allowance for the free expanding minds of the youth, try to keep them strictly under their own guidance. As soon as the young become educated, they realise their position and their natural right of free self-determination and free judgment, which has been selfishly held from them, and they rise and assert themselves. They are called 'disrespectful' by the elders, and are said to have 'revolted.'

All this is the expression of 'natural tendency to Conservatism' and 'natural tendency to Liberalism'—the struggle of new evolutionary conditions against established restrictions, which become unsuitable and unbearable.

Everything human changes, and is perpetually changing. Our wisdom is not only to acquiesce in, and adapt ourselves with, every new change, but to understand the natural and healthy tendency of affairs, and continue moulding ourselves along with their trend. No friction will take place between the inevitable conditions and our desires, and things will go on progressing smoothly. We might lose, according to our standards of 'benefits,' but ultimately we will remain gainers.

True equalisation of wealth is indeterminable; but it may be deterimnable as the communists hold and have undertaken to prove it practically in their new utopia. Anxiety for centralisation of wealth produces the counter-desire, and struggle begins. To hold out and to bring the struggle to a war-point is unwise, for it will then end in violence and rupture. Strikes and revolutions explain it. The more we hold out, the greater become social complications, until

they defy our intellect, and we shelve them by some makeshifts. The combined intelligence of the age must seek a solution, and if honest efforts fail to solve the difficulties it is clear that our forefathers have gone on erring, and we have followed their footsteps and gone too far. The crisis comes; the whole superstructure of our pet conceptions and standards falls to the ground. We do not admit our mistakes, blame the self-asserters, insist upon calling the change a 'revolution,' and think we have been wronged and cruelly treated. Why? *Because we would not correct ourselves when we ought to have done so.*

The marked and acute difference between the present conditions of the proletariat and the upper classes commands attention. The dumb tragedy which is being played under our pleasing and self-satisfied comedy of social life is heart-rending It suggested to me an elegy, while I was in prison, nearly ten years ago, which I present to my readers. It was unfortunately left unfinished at that time. I have now added more than forty stanzas to complete it and give it for what it is worth to the public.

AN ELEGY,

The Muazzin's sweet melodious call,
  When all in nature's silent, calm and still.
'Neath night's dark shroud, that holdeth mankind all
  In Somnus' happy thraldom at his will,
From life the chains of slumber shakes away,
  And wakes true Muslim from his well-earned rest.
To Allah's house he humbly tends his way,
  And prays his honest struggle in life be blest.
Of coming dawn it brings glad news indeed ;
  A sad grave note it bears withal a knoll,
Of night and day that passed away, decreed,
  To fall in dead past, and have played their role.
So ringeth hours away the tower bell
  Of Arak palace over yonder gate.
Full oft I hear it in my lonely cell,
  Full oft it wakes me up to mourn my fate.
Whate'er I hear, whate'er I chance to see :
  The sparrow's twitter, or the pariah's howl ;
The kitten's mewing, or the hum of bee ;
  The buzz of flies ; the angry Captain's growl ;
The frequent change of guards outside my door ;
  The self-assuming pompous havaldars ;
The smiles of that sympathy assure ;
  The scowls of those whom gentleness abhors.

My sukka—Sher—who comes of Mongol race,
His bandy legs and short stout oaken staff,
With hirsute chin and ever puckered face
That knows not how to smile or how to laugh,
His reg'lar beats, his strange synchronous tread,
His staff and foot in duet played and fell ;
With sun he rose, with him he sank in bed ;
To me all these the same old lesson tell :—
Years ceaseless roll on world's unending track ;
Their awful load of griefs, of hopes deferred.
Of honest struggles dishonestly thrown back
By selfish greed the weak by strong deterred,
Consumeth life, all efforts maketh vain ;
The honest struggler, baffled, weary, worn,
Recalls and counts his life-time's loss and gain ;
All blank ! The past for future makes him mourn
The bold rash venturer may hurt a few,
His course soon endeth by his wicked ends.
'Tis cool ambitious planners that but hew
Humanity, yet claim to be its friends.
They're ever nobly thoughtful patron-like ;
To tendrils tender ; but they aim at roots.
And so well directed subtle blows they strike
That all are sapped and blighted, branch, leaf and fruit.
He holds with fangs of power and claws of pelf
A million human souls an easy prey ;

He makes them dance, yet tunes his harp himself;
  On human wrecks he lives in splendour gay.
A great man he, a lord of vast demesne;
  A dollar-king, or crowned head of State;
To work for good to men, as he may deign,
  Or for his weal to ruin seal their fate.
In climes where Freedom (?) holds her royal court,
  Her Prime Minister is Equality;
Her law is justice, Honour her chief fort,
  Love bindeth all to her, yet all are free.
Sir Civilisation, chief of her staff,
  Doth manage her extensive works abroad—
From earth to blow all despots off like chaff,
  And free poor mankind from their savage rod.
He bears her torch of light o'er land and sea,
  Plants freedom's red-black banner where he goes,
To slaves he grants the boon of liberty;
  In soils strange his tree of knowledge grows.
To him as her Vicegerent all men bow,
  The more they eat the fruit of his strange tree
They wiser grow, and know the why and how
  Of all things earthly, and are happy free.
He's satisfied, the Queen herself well-pleased,
  Wins laurels for himself, new gems for Crown;
Poor human souls from bondage are released;
  All men have equal rights—king, clerk, or clown;

Uplifted man his powers thus discerns,
  And learns their use for self and common weal ;
To make himself a better man he turns,
  And gives a shoulder to his nation's wheel.
So far superb : a real earthly heav'n—
  Men's hearts are affected by its magic glare ;
Dazed are their senses, and dimmed their vision ;
  New temples appear for new deities fair.
He sees now many a goddess and god,
  Who ever mysterious councils hold.
In concert secret, with procedure odd
  And subtle, laws for mankind to make and mould.
Man's earthly life's alone their sphere of thought ;
  That death ends life with all its hope and grief,
No more of man remains to have a lot
  On earth—is their fundamental belief,
Enlarge and man's civic life their legal basis.
  Their legislation kennot we, but may,
In the laws we are giv'n, find its traces—
  Such might be their legislative array :—
Taghoot,* the only god of earth, presides ;
  He is their chief whom they cannot defy ;
He gives and takes, and everywhere resides,
  His will is all they have to codify.

---

* Satan, the great Tempter.

His trusted chancellor that Senate leads
  Is Mammon, who worlds' treasures doth control ;
In wisemen's estimation he precedes,
  All man-made gods on earth from pole to pole.
He has countless institutions to teach
  And instruct how in the world to get on,
Well supervised and managed—all and each—
  By the artful goddess of Getting-on.
In each man's mind she cunningly instils,
  Some curious notion, fantastic plan,
Ideas orig'nal, wonderful skills,
  By hook or crook, by any means he can,
To earn more money than the rest of men.
  " In battle of life," she says, " thou must win,
" Make best of each occasion there and then,
  "To save thyself from ruin is no sin.
" Each for self' is the principle of life,
  " Of no one think, as no one thinks of thee ;
" If trampled thou be, or be struck with knife,
  " Strike back and resist, as right of the free ".
Fashion, who devises pleasing new ways,
  Wasting the hoards of labour and of thrift ;
He flatters us, and we do as he says ;
  Dup'd and robbed we smile on till left adrift.
Pastime, in Fashion's train a godly page,
  Seduces men to pass their precious time ;

To one he says, "wise man, why shouldst thou wage
" A war of drudgery 'gainst thyself?' Tis crime.
" Find pleasure in leisure, refresh thyself;
"This game or that will do, mind! bet not much;
" A 'sov' might double thy vigour and thy pelf,
"Pray spare thy limbs and back an early crutch".
To lazy youth with ample time and purse,
He says, " why idle thy young life away?
"To play may be bad, but idling is much worse;
" No harm ever comes from a man's fair play.
" The games of field are all life and great fun,
" And indoor games protect thy mind from rust;
" In games of chance a shilling lost or won,
"Is nought; play well, and at last win thou must."
Thus many a man play away their life,
Doom'd off the rolling mass of men to fall.
Move cautiously in life's mad struggle and strife;
Play thy part to win, not to lose thy all.
Society, goddess of charms unique,
Fair sex's pet idol in Freedom's lands;
Maids old and young do all her graces seek;
Man, spite of his pride, before her humbly stands.
No goddess of old is adored as she,
With all the love a woman's breast commands;
Don Cupid himself, as her votary,
Within her temple waits with folded hands.

His shaft no doubt doth kindle love in heart,
  But only once ; the wound is scarless healed,
And life's buoyant passion for ever departs,
  The victim's heart for life is clos'd and sealed.
But maidens fair still young and fancy free,
  With blushing cheeks and beating hearts are brought,
To make debut before Society,
  And to her patronage confide their lot.
As she to them extends her gracious hand,
  And softly gives them one enchanting glance.
They are bewitched as if by magic wand,
  And so remain till death in happy trance.
Their lips and hearts, in all things else at war,
  In strange sweet harmony her praises sing ;
Her beaming smile's of their life the loadstar.
  Her frown cuts of hopes their cherished string.
Of her they talk and think, asleep, awake ;
  To win her favours ev'n Fashion's aid they seek.
To please her a meet appendix they make
  Of man, who follows them submissive meek.
Another god, who rules both man and beast,
  Is Love, a potentate with visage bright.
Him all mankind make homage, once at least ;
  His universal motto is ' unite.'

As Cupid unperceived he stimulates
With fondness for its kind some budding heart.
They meet, and he, as Hymen, celebrates
Their union, with orders 'ne'er to part '
The Pigment god, a minor deity,
Discards all coloured men save white as low.
The doctrines of Love and Equality,
He sets at nought with one contemptuous 'no'.
The men, in fact, he says, with faces white,
Alone humanity can rightly claim ;
For it the coloured bipeds have no right
Who're only fit for free white people's game.
Another awful god, of tenets odd,
With wrinkled brow and proudly lifted face,
And lordly bearing, holding iron rod—
The symbol of his might—is god of race.
His creed, the basis of society,
Is—"men were never equal, nor they are,
Nor ev'r they shall in future ages be ;
Clay jug is not the same as golden jar.
A drop of pure blue blood has greater worth
Than all the gold of old Golcanda mines,
Or purest Transval gems of modern birth ;
O'er foaming human seas like beacon shines."
His palace-temple veiled in grandeur grim,
Surpassing far the clouds, celestial high,

Midst glories old, by age now rendered dim,
  With lofty towers rising to the sky,
Is perch'd on top of a stupendous pile,
  In shape pyramidal, of countless sides.
Firm-rooted, though soft, cellular, mobile,
  Within each cell a throbbing nucleus bides.
Its bricks these cells—the teeming human brood ;
  Constructed with such art and cunning skill
That bricks may move and wander to his mood,
  Or made to shift about as he may will.
In man as Will and Feeling subtly work,
  With messages untold wired to and fro.
Some acts to do, some things to shun or shirk,
  Yet man perceives not how they come and go,
So in this pyramid that lives and grows,
  Arranged, controlled by him mysteriously,
Are all its bricks. The lower set of rows.
  That dig and delve hard, panting, sweating free,
And what he calls base workmen, rank and file,
  Its base-work form. They patiently sustain,
Like Atlas all the burden of this pile ;
  They sow and reap its glory to maintain.
Another heavy mass of busy bricks,
  That better trimmed and more refined appear
O'erly this massive basis, and with tricks,
  Peculiar to their mode o'life and sphere,

Imbibe, and gather, and manipulate,
  In various ways, the reapings crude and raw
Of infinite vast proletariat,
  And pass them up and down, as bids them law.
So goes up this huge pile, ranks over ranks,
  Becoming richer, brighter, as they rise,
As manifested in its num'rous flanks,
  Till over them all the fancied temple lies.
Each side doth clearly human columns show,
  The chosen one of gods the topmost man,
The most unfavoured wretch of all below,
  Hush'd, crush'd, depresséd, distresséd and wan.
Each layer from one beneath it lies distinct,
  Nor dare it rise, yet Love in Mammon's train
Doth make some higher heart crave to be link'd
  With one below, lifts it and makes them twain.
Or Mammon's smile may some one recommend
  To god of Race, who doth on him bestow
A coronet, and maketh him ascend
  To some befitting higher rank or row.
The septa these ranks and strata divide,
  Though thin and fine, are yet adamantine ;
They yield to nought that doth in pile reside
  Save Racial god's dark frown or smile divine.
The cells unfit, whom thunderbolt doth strike,
  From midst the frowning clouds of deity's brow,

Are shrivell'd, blasted, worthless, refuse-like,
  Hurled back into their mother earth below.
Young Bacchus, Taghoot's son, a careless youth,
  Is seated by his father on the right,
With face perennial red, cheeks puffed and smooth,
  With swollen nose, and eyes large blood-shot bright,
With fiery words that do like nectar flow,
  Unstinted poured, when speeches 'gin to flag,
Gay, lively, tedium's eternal foe,
  He lashes on, and suffers none to flag.
His motto is. "Be happy whilst thou live ;
  "Let sorrow grieve thee not, nor fret nor fume
"At any loss ; all pain is relative ;
  "When felt it grows and lingers to consume.
"A drop of nectar stimulates the nerve,
  "It clears the clouds of gloom o'erhanging mind,
"Let not in life depression make thee swerve ;
  "Nor low dejection let thy spirit grind.
"Man lives on hope, and hope on nectar lives ;
  "Man lives to work, and nectar buoys up life
"Man works to live, and nectar power gives ;
  "Man strives to win, and nectar feedeth strife".
How does this code of civilisation
  Mould of world's great nations' social life ?

Has it raised them high in God's creation
Or sunk them low to brutish struggle and strife?
It strongly advocates that right is might,
That man's born free and must have liberty,
But uses might to trample others' right,
Enslaveth those who are, and would be, free.
If Christ himself in this degen'rate age,
Came down and saw what do his sheep and say
Ev'n he, the prince of peace, would fire in rage,
And designate them "civil beasts of prey"
As Popes they preach in tones full soft and sweet:
"Brethren, with love in peace united live;
"Mind not the creed or colour o' men ye meet,
"To all alike your love but freely give.
"Perchance if ye by one be struck on cheek,
"Pray gently offer th' other cheek and say,
"'With brother man no quarrel do I seek,
"Thy blow with love's forgiveness I repay."
As kings that chariots of nations drive,
They live, each dreading other, savage wise,
And use their better men to soar or dive,
Infernal schemes and weapons to devise.
Thus human energy in Christendom,
Is spent in conquering air, land and sea,

Defying God, denying 'Kingdom come',
By grabbing robbing others' property.
They say, "as nations great and civilised,
"To sweep out ignorance and barbarism,
"By nature are we rightly authorised
"And so we wipe off savage despotism."
Would Jesus warrant this? Would he not curse
His flock for countless men thus killed and lost
For vices wrecking body, soul and purse—
Their new-brand civ'lisation's heavy cost?

REACTION.

Of Privilege and Power's selfish ends,
By cunning art to grab whatever they can,
And hiring States as their exploiting friends,
To help them use the helpless working man,
As 'beast of burden', keep him always low,
And crush him if he ever do declare
His right to be a man, and claim to know
Why he should not their profits duly share,
The truth at last has dawned on toiling folk.
Now Labour has denied Capital's rule;
Of strong the weak refuse to bear the yoke;
'Enough' they say, "we'll no longer be fool"
"The wealth we produce is common to all;
"Free born are we, not slaves to each-other;

"So are nations, each free to rise or fall;
" Men living all as brother with brother."
The laws of Europe's civilisation,
By new society are subverted.
To real brotherly equalisation,
They say, will social law be converted.

APPEAL.

Ye faithful sons of India's clime!
For centuries ye have but lived in vain;
Your ancestors, who wisely lived with Time,
Built empires great, and sought still more to gain.
Wherever is the earth by Faithful trod,
Wherev'r is heard Muazzin's chanting call,
The magic spell of 'There's no God but God'
In one great Muslim Nation bindeth all.
Long have ye dwelt on glories won and gone,
While races, whom your arms did hold in sway,
Your mighty yoke have thrown off, one by one,
And have now marched on you in war array.
Your bitter foes, the foes of Unity,
Their poisoned shafts lodged subtly in your flanks,
While glare of grandeur and prosperity
Had turned the heads of serried Muslim ranks.

God stood by you while by Him ye did stand,
Your hosts were God's own hosts, ov'r earth
ye reigned.
Bewitched by earthly pomp and power grand
Him ye forsook, and lost what ye had gained.
Your wary cunning foes perceived you swerve,
Your vanity with honeyed speeches fed,
Your senses dulled, and poisoned all your nerve;
Blindfolded thus to ruin were ye led.
The foes of Unity, united all,
Have pierc'd your hearts the deepest that they
could
With spiteful sabre, and revengeful ball;
Behold your moral weakness spill your blood!
Your sacred home they menace to disgrace;
Your life your faith, your honour are at stake:
Your name from earth they threaten to efface;
Rouse fallen breth'ren, off your slumber shake.
Ye fear ye cannot move your limbs with ease;
They're well-nigh atrophied, your heart beats
ill;
I know ye have an organic disease,
But will your rise, and surely rise you will.
Think ye what had of old your fathers done;
Think ye what they have left for you to do;

In Faith they lived, for Faith they fought and won ;
The same good legacy they've left for you.
We were content with what we had of crown ;
Nor we contend with any race their land
or liberty ; and colour, white or brown,
Offends us not ; it is our Painter's hand.
Ye know that strong and God-made ties
Unite us with the rest of Muslm world ;
When lands resound with Muslim groans and cries
Through darts quite unprovokèd at them
hurrl'd,
We deeply feel for them—our hearts are rent,—
And humbly call for Heaven's vengeance just
To ruin wretches on our ruin bent,
And jointly struggle to bring the foe to dust.
On Time's ev'r-rolling ocean floats your bark,
By gales of stormy human passions toss'd,
Here struck 'gainst rocks, there charged by shoals
of shark,
Mid warring raging elements self-lost.
By Europe's dreadnoughts threaten'd to be sunk,
Scowled on, surpassed by common boats in race
And outmanoluvred ev'n by pilots drunk,
Death-loaded storm upgath'ring in her face.
Ill-manned, ill-piloted, she floats about,
Now rocking to and fro, now driv'n aside,

Now gath'ring steam and ready, but in doubt,
Now careless would she fatal billows ride.
Now taking Charybdis for rock of hope,
Mistaking Scylla for a home of light,
With shattered ear, with tattered sail and rope,
With either wind or wave unfit to fight.
Your Muslim bark is this, and such her plight,
So long by Turkish men and pilots led.
They are sadly crippled ; you cannot fight :
Rebuild her now for social struggle instead
" Who's that to God a goodly loan would lend !
" To Him will He return it manifold,
" For God reduceth, and He doth extend,
" (His gifts to man)". *His treasures are untold.
No doubt the poor your charity do need,
But most of them are mendicants ye know.
Why undeserving mendicancy feed ?
By noble efforts organised, though slow,
Your breth'ren from such degradation save,
And let them by their honest labour learn
How by the use of head and hands they have,
An independent living they can earn.
" Tis wrong these human drones to help to live.
Ye help their degradation and your own ;
To lift them from their mis'ry freely give,
But make no man a legatee of drone.

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* Chapter Baqarah, the Cow, Verse 245.

Now come ye noble sons of fathers great,
Your faith, life, hope your all's endangered now,
No longer tarry ye, nor hesitate,
Disturb your minds no more with why and how.
Give tithes for God, the King of Kings, that He
Be pleased and give you more: help ye His cause,
For thus ye help yourselves and be
A nation great and honoured as it was.
Ye have your millionaires, thank God, with zeal
And energy such work to undertake.
What is our goal on earth but Muslim weal?
Open your heart and hands for Allah's sake.
In what you do and say—in all your life—
To God, to your faith, be loyal and true;
Keep to the right path in life's struggle and strife;
"Eat, drink, but waste not":—this much is your due.
Let God and Prophet your disputes decide.*
'Tis shame for us to seek another door
Than God's; to us 'tis always open wide.
Why should a Muslim his own just law ignore?
In your own schools let your children be taught
To be like those heroes who lived to make
Islam, and in their lives on us its blessings brought.
Be firm, let naught your resolution shake.

---

*And if ye dispute with each other in any matter, refer it to God and His Messenger if ye (are true Muslims and) believe in G and the Last Day; this is good for you, and the best way in the end. (Chapter Nisa—women—verse 59).

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