

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

PARTY CONSOLIDATION BY PARTY IN POWER

A correspondent from Gujarat drew my attention to certain special facilities proposed to be granted by the Bombay Government to students who had taken some part in the various Congress movements against the British Government in obtaining admissions into educational institutions with limited accommodation. I understand that the U. P. Government has also given similar advantages, even to a greater extent than Bombay. There, in addition to special treatment to students, pensions and gratuities are announced for 'old and infirm' workers and widows of workers. In fact, the workers are to be treated as "returned soldiers".

Another correspondent from Madras draws my attention to a scheme published by the Government of that province for rewarding political sufferers with assignment of lands. He sends me a cutting which shows the extent of favour shown to the participants in the movement. It reads as follows:

"Not only those who really took part in the disobedience movements and suffered imprisonment, but also those who were remanded to custody for short terms without actually being sentenced should be treated as political sufferers for the purpose of assignment of lands", say the Government of Madras in the course of instructions to the district authorities clarifying certain doubts on the subject.

"The Government have also made it clear that every political sufferer is eligible for lands under the scheme irrespective of his or her possession of movable or immovable properties.

"No private land should be allotted or acquired under the scheme." (*The Indian Express*, 28-7-'48)

If the report is true, it seems to be a doubtful method of consolidating one's party through the power which a governing party necessarily possesses in the State. It sets a bad example for other parties to follow when any of them comes into power. In a democratic form of Government this might happen at any time. Whether avoidably or otherwise, the present Government has been taking executive or criminal action against followers of other political parties. It is not impossible that in course of time the very heat of coercion might enable some of these parties to grow strong enough to overthrow the Congress party. It will follow the example of the Congress party by rewarding all those who might have suffered under the Congress regime

and in this way the country will always have a kind of government which thrives on nepotism in the wide sense of that term. By rewarding those who suffered out of patriotic sentiment, they are transferred from the list of patriots to that of mercenaries or far-sighted business-men.

I hope that the matter as reported is not correct, in which case the Government should publish the true position. But even if this report proves to be exaggerated, this is a matter which requires serious consideration of the High Command itself. The head of one of the provincial governments frankly writes to me:

"Apart from many other considerations, you will, I am sure, realize my difficulty in resisting demands with these (other Governments') measures constantly before the people. This is not a Provincial problem but an all India one and I should think Congress itself must give the lead by educating people and workers not to demand or expect such concessions. The Provincial Government cannot stand alone and I would request you to take up this question with the Congress and other Provincial Governments also."

I feel that the Working Committee should have a machinery to guide and guard the Congress Governments for maintaining a high standard of public life.

Bombay, 24-9-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

For "Gandhi-ites"

"Gandhi-ites have always written and spoken strongly against nepotism, profiteering, black-marketeering, corruption, and other evils. I do not defend these evils. But at the same time, let me tell you that the amount of pressure brought on me from close associates or followers of Gandhiji for doing something for some friend out of the ordinary course is often as great as, if not greater than, from others."

The above is the purport, in my own language, of references made in informal personal talks or letters to me during a long period. At times specific instances have been pointed out. The complaint is not confined to a single province. I have received it from ministers of at least three Congress Governments.

Let "Gandhi-ites" examine themselves.

Bombay, 20-9-'48

K. G. M.

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—VIII

KRISHNA—THE IDEAL SERVANT

Friday, 27-8-1948 having coincided with the anniversary day of Krishna's birth it became the topic of Shri Vinoba's sermon after the weekly prayer at Rajghat.

The birth of Lord Krishna, Shri Vinoba said, was being celebrated that day in every village of India. God did not take birth. But by associating Godhood with the life of a great man, Hinduism had discovered a way of gratifying and nourishing their devotional urge side by side with keeping before their eyes a noble ideal of life. This had led to the observance of the birthdays of Rama and Krishna for several centuries past in India. These two Masters ruled Hindu hearts more than any other. Rama was India's ideal Ruler and Lord. Innumerable kings had ruled over India. But the people had never given up the cry of "Victory to Raja Ramachandra!" They knew only one king, viz. Ramachandra. Rama was the ideal Lord, who accepted service from everyone—both men and animals. His excellence as a Lord consisted in the fact that he gave his servants more honour than himself. तुलसी कहें न राम सो साहब सीलनिधान (Tulsi says, there is no nobler Lord than Rama).

Shri Krishna, on the other hand, was an ideal Servant. He served every one, and took service from none. He served both men and animals. He lived among labourers in his childhood. He grazed cattle, and acquired the name of Gopal Krishna (Krishna, the cow-keeper). Even on acquiring authority in Dwarka, he used to tend cows now and then. He was a great warrior. But he never exercised his powers for advancing his own interests. He got Dharmaraja (Yudhishtira) to be anointed as Emperor, and in his coronation sacrifice (*Rajasuya Yajna*) asked for himself the privilege of rendering menial service to the guests. Not only was it asked by him, but it was also given to him unhesitatingly. It was the height of humility that a great man should ask for an humble work, and the assigners should give it to him.

The *Mahabharata* has related that on the battlefield, after the day's fighting was over, while Arjuna busied himself in performing *sandhya* worship, Krishna tended the horses!

Krishna performed physical labour in his life, and left to India a wonderful philosophy about it.

Commentators on the *Gita* had discussed endlessly whether the teaching of the *Gita* laid emphasis on *jnana* (knowledge), *karma* (action) or *bhakti* (devotion) without having reached an unanimous conclusion. It was not surprising that they could not do it, since the *Gita* had abolished the distinction between the three. It had had placed before the world a matchless chemical compound of *jnana*, *karma* and *bhakti*.

Even in the manner of receiving death, Krishna showed his condition of bliss and detachment (*anasakti*). He had been wounded by the arrow of a hunter. The latter on realizing his mistake approached him with fear. But Krishna consoled him by saying that he was eager to leave the body, and the hunter had simply acted as an obliging agent. He thus placed

before the world a very high ideal of detachment (*anasakti*) and forgiveness.

Shri Vinoba confessed that in none of the languages that he knew he had found a work comparable to the *Gita* in the completeness and excellence of thought. The lesson that Krishna gave through this book was sufficient for one to stand alone against the whole world, and win it. It assured one that where God and the devotee united together, there would be prosperity and victory, and true ethics and polity. He exhorted the audience to learn the *Gita* and always meditate over its teachings, and put into practice the little that they might understand of it. It was sure to do them good.

D. M.

NOTES

Flood Control

Many of our great rivers like the Brahmaputra bring down huge quantities of silt during their course of hundreds of miles and as the river widens later on its course, the silt is deposited, making the river-bed shallow. This is one of the main reasons for the repeated floods in Assam and other places. In tackling the floods, therefore, we have to face the problem of deepening the channels and disposing off the silt. If it is possible to take out the silt and deposit it on the banks of the river, not only shall we be creating new land which would be highly fertile but we shall also be deepening the channel, thus a two-fold programme of tackling floods could be initiated.

During the war the United States of America brought out "Kellifer Ditchers" to plough long trenches for laying cables. By such devices along with dredgers, if they can be brought into use for the purpose of keeping the river-beds clear of silt, we may be able to help the farmers to grow more food by bringing larger areas of land under cultivation and also avoid the devastation caused by floods.

This question requires a careful study by expert engineers. In Australia some experiment is being carried on on these lines in the irrigated area near Robin Vale (Victoria). We trust our engineers would also take up this question and thus help to solve one of our grave problems.

"Eye for an Eye"

Early in the year the House of Commons voted for the abolition of death penalty, but the conservative Lords, while they had no use for vengeance, wish to maintain law and order. This Bill was referred back to the House of Commons. Bowing to the opinion of their Lordships, the House of Commons decided to retain the death penalty for certain types of murder. But the nobility was not satisfied with this partial acceptance of their view. It wanted to retain the death penalty as it was. And the House of Commons has again bowed to the will of the superiors.

A criminal is more often than not a pathological case and modern methods of treating such persons call for sympathy and understanding. Society should not wreak vengeance on the unfortunate person

who, in a fit of emotion, decided to take the life of his fellow-man.

In addition to retaining the death penalty the House of Lords want to keep the barbarous punishment of whipping the criminals. With the advance of civilization the rudiments of feudal days need to be abandoned.

J. C. K.

[Note: My brother has castigated the British Parliament for retaining its uncivilized state. I hope that the Indian Parliament will prove better by implementing the Congress resolution to abolish capital punishment at an early date.]

Wardha, 31-8-'48

—K. G. M.]

Paying through the Nose

The Government of India sent a delegation to Melbourne last June to negotiate with the Australian Wheat Board for additional wheat for this year. The price that our delegation has negotiated is 18 sh. 6 d. per bushel while Great Britain pays 17 sh. a bushel. This excess of 1 sh. 6 d. per bushel on the 28 million bushels that India is importing will work out to nearly 27½ crores. India being a poor country, does it mean that the price charged to it should be higher than to a rich country like Great Britain?

Goodwill with Whisky

When new industries are started various devices are planned out to bring it into general favour. Tobacco Companies have distributed free drugged cigarettes to enable persons to acquire the habit of smoking and to cultivate a taste for the particular brand. We are familiar with the methods of Tea Cess Company in India handing round free cups of tea to popularize their product. There are legitimate limits to which such programme may be carried. It must be strictly limited by considerations of the welfare of the public and the worthiness of the cause.

Recently the "Air India" extended its service to Great Britain as the "Air India-International". This is a new venture which has to compete with giant services such as the T. W. A. and the Pan American. The Air India-International is financed as to 51% of its capital by the Government of India and the balance from the public, and the management is a Tata organization. Usually the fares charged include an amount for food on the way, but most companies make a separate charge for strong drinks, if any supplied. But on Air India-International whisky and soda are distributed free to the passengers. It seems to us that a concern sponsored by a Government which stands for advocating prohibition should reflect this policy. Some of the provincial governments in India are throwing their weight and influence on a scheme of prohibition. Are we to conclude that the Government of India is against this policy? Or, is the Air India-International Limited building up their goodwill at any cost without considering the means?

J. C. K.

Noble Manners

[The following extract from the *Principle in Art* by Coventry Patmore (1823-1896) has been sent by a reader, because, in his words, it "describes so appositely well the ideals and the life of our Mahatma, that I thought that the readers of your esteemed paper might be interested to read its reproduction." —K. G. M.]

There is nothing comparable for moral force to the charm of truly noble manners. The mind is, in comparison, only slightly and transiently impressed by heroic actions, for these are felt to be but uncertain signs of a heroic soul; nothing less than a series of them, more sustained and varied than circumstances are ever found to demand, could assure us, with the infallible certainty required for the highest power of example, that they were the faithful reflex of the ordinary spirit of the actor. The spectacle of patient suffering, though not so striking, is morally more impressive; for we know that

Action is transitory — a step, a blow,
The motion of a muscle this way or that —
'Tis done; and, in the after vacancy,
We wonder at ourselves, like men betrayed;
Suffering is permanent, obscure, and dark,
And has the nature of infinity.

The mind, however, has a very natural repugnance to the sustained contemplation of this species of example, and is much more willingly persuaded by a goodness actually upon the earth triumphant, and bearing in its ordinary demeanour, under whatever circumstances, the lovely stamp of obedience to that highest and most rarely-fulfilled commandment, 'Rejoice evermore'. Unlike action or suffering, such obedience is not so much the way to heaven, as a picture, say rather a part, of heaven itself; and truly beautiful manners will be found upon inspection to involve a continual and visible compliance with that apostolical injunction. A right obedience of this kind must be the crown and completion of all lower kinds of obedience. It is not compatible with the bitter humiliations of the habit of any actual sin; it excludes selfishness, since the condition of joy, as distinguished from pleasure, is generosity, and a soul in the practice of going forth from itself; it is no sensual partiality for the 'bright side' of things, no unholy repugnance to the consideration of sorrow; but a habit of lifting life to a height at which all sides of it become bright, and all moral difficulties intelligible: in action it is a salubrity about which doctors will not disagree; in the countenance it is a loveliness which connoisseurs will not dispute; in the demeanour it is a lofty gentleness, which, without pride, patronizes all the world, and which, without omitting the minutest temporal obligations or amenities, does everything with an air of immortality. (pp. 815-16, *The Oxford Book of English Prose*.)

M. S.

HARIJAN

October 3

1948

THE LESSON OF JINNAH'S LIFE

The life and career of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has a lesson for the Hindus, particularly the so-called caste Hindus, to ponder over.

He was born in the Khoja community of Kathiawad. It is one of the several religio-social groups in India, which are an interesting mixture of Hinduism and Islam. A great deal of their religious practice and social customs, including laws of inheritance etc., is the same as that of the Hindus. Most of them bear Hindu names, like Jhina (now spelt Jinnah), Walji, Bhagwanji, Dharamshi, Purushottam, Lalji, Motilal, Harji, etc. Much of their mode of home-life, thinking and outlook is similar to that of the caste Hindus. In fact they might be regarded as one of the Hindu castes, which became separate from others socially, as they usually do among Hindus, whenever they give up old beliefs or adopt new ones, not acceptable to all. In course of time this must have become an uncomfortable position. There was a partial return to Hinduism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But that did not help the reconverts socially. Hindu castes rarely reaccept excommunicees and none accepted even the Vaishnava Khojas back into their social circle. Necessarily there arose an opposite movement of becoming as full Muslims as possible, and renouncing all Hindu practices, customs and fashions. It was not quite easy to do that because in their mental make-up the Khojas retained their Hindu caste-mindedness and the joint Hindu family system. But as usual the Hindus did not care to claim them as their people. The result was that the movement to break away from the Hindu society gained strength with the passage of time.

Janab Mahomed Ali Jinnah's life and career may be looked upon as a long record of this movement. The fact that he was given a Muslim name shows that the new movement had already been born. That he worked genuinely and sincerely as a nationalist and a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity for more than half of his lifetime shows that he inherited the general outlook of the Khojas for communal concord.

But after spending more than forty-five years in the cause of unity and nationalism, Mr. Jinnah became not only a convert to, but the leader of, the movement for Pakistan, i. e. of complete break-away from everything that smelt Hindu. Why should such a change have come about in him? His worst enemies have given him the credit of being unpurchasable and incorruptible. Then, it must have been the result of a sense of disillusionment in some matters connected with nationalism and communal unity. Indeed, whenever reminded

of his past nationalist views, he is reported to have given answers like these: "Scratch a Congressman (Hindu) and you'll find that he is a caste Hindu"; "True, he once belonged to the National Congress; but he had also once belonged to the primary school!"

I have often tried to find out what could have been the disappointment or disillusionment which brought about a radical change in Mr. Jinnah. Was he to blame for the reaction, or whether the Congress and communalist Hindus had also a responsibility in the matter? What does the Pakistan idea signify in the context of the caste system and the Hindu Sangathan movement? Is not the Pakistan idea and its success the perfect logical consequence of the inherent caste-mindedness and the joint family system and the idea of social structure common both to the Hindus and the community in which Mr. Jinnah was born?

In that sense, it can be said, indeed, that Pakistan is the greatest success achieved by the caste system related, as it is in India, with dharma or customs observed with religious respect. The Muslim Community of India under the influence of its leader changed from a caste-denouncing body into a caste-minded one. It adopted the main principle of the joint Hindu family in which any coparcener might enforce complete partition of the family in respect of food, worship and estate. It adopted also the principle of keeping itself entirely aloof from all those who in their opinion were not their superiors and who were not prepared to deal with them on terms of equality, and treating with arrogance and contempt all those whom they regarded as their inferiors.

The Hindu village and town structure assigns different streets, wards or even villages to people of different castes. Segregation, partition, disinclination to mix too much with another caste in matters of food and drink are the features of its civil life. Mr. Jinnah came to the pessimistic conclusion that with all the declarations of the Congress about nationalism, non-communalism and ideals of a democratic secular State, the Hindus would always remain a caste-minded society; also, to the extent caste is based on ideas of high and low and the spirit of exclusiveness, it would also remain, in practice, a non-democratic, caste-governed State. The nationalist and democratic ideals were never going to become a practical proposition in India. He expressed this disbelief time and again.

He also saw through the Hindu Sangathan movement, and its hollowness and its ultimate ideal. Its hollowness consisted in the fact that it never set its face seriously against caste or untouchability. It was therefore incapable of really uniting together even all the Hindus from within. And its ultimate ideal was to propagate an anti-Muslim and Hindu Raj campaign.

His sharp intellect saw his opportunity in this inherent weakness of the Hindus and the illusions (according to him) of some of its "dreaming" leaders and the crookedness and hypocrisy of others. Being by tradition more a Hindu than a Muslim,

he utilized that very Hindu mentality for uniting together the Muslims of India. He Hinduized the Muslim mind in spite of Islam. He could do so because a very great part of the Muslims was, of course, Hindu in every respect except faith. Thus he asked for separate communal representation, complete partition of India and complete separation of the Hindu and Muslim populations. Every one of these items betrays the Hindu caste mind. Indeed, this was proved when both Congress and non-Congress Hindus and Sikhs demanded the partitions of the Punjab and Bengal after the formula of a, b, c, groups was decided upon. Mr. Jinnah also put in a religious colour in the Pakistan idea and appealed to the Muslim masses in the same manner as did the Hindu leaders to their masses. As the Muslims were never quite as socially divided as the Hindus, he naturally achieved greater success in gathering them together than did the Hindus.

There was one more common factor between him and the leading Hindus. They have all been subtle lawyers. They have developed their subtlety to the point of appearing crooked. They would adopt a formula and then quarrel on its interpretations and try to get out of its unfavourable consequences. Then a series of charges and counter-charges and legal arguments would follow, with the result that the formula would have to be dropped. Mr. Jinnah, himself an astute lawyer and master of the art, beat the Hindu leaders with the same stick. If he could not always put the Hindus in the wrong box, he could at least raise doubts among third parties against the fairness of the Hindus.

Thus, I have felt that Jinnah and Pakistan are the fruit and fulfilment of the Hindu society. Whether or not we want Pakistan to return to India as a friend and brother, we have to shed all those defects of our life, which brought about the birth of Pakistan. For, the evil has not stopped and will not stop with one partition. In course of time, it may bring about the partition, as Jinnahsaheb said, of every house, street, ward, town or taluq: not partition between Hindus and Muslims only but partitions among all different social or regional groups of India. We must, if we wish to develop as a united nation, destroy our own narrow social outlook.

Bombay, 19-9-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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GANDHIJI AND HIS TECHNIQUES

Gandhiji had techniques or methods, which were characteristically his own. As long as he lived, it was not easy to say whether some new technique or some new aspect of his old techniques will not be developed by him. But now that he is gone, it is possible to sum up the main features of the way he lived and worked and the results he achieved.

1. REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES

He had a revolutionary set of principles. Otherwise a man of compromises, he never compromised on his basic principles; he yielded only in details. He believed in truth; and the purity of means was as much his concern, as the loftiness of his ends. Honesty was with him, not only correct in principle, but also the most opportune policy, even in that most notoriously dirty game, the game of politics.

He regarded man as a spirit, as a force that could make itself effective, in spite of social, economic or physical obstacles against it. He believed in the essential goodness of all men; he never started with distrusting people and never despaired of persuading them. To him man is superior to the institutions or machines which he uses for his economic and political wellbeing. They are for him and not he for them. Spirit is one; classes and distinctions among men are conventional; a grievous error is caused by regarding them as rigid or real.

2. HARMONIZATION OF OPPOSITES

He harmonized apparent opposites—religion (or yoga) and politics, compassion and conflict: pairs so apparently antithetical were harmonized by him. Each unit of such a pair, moves away from the other, because of its losing its foothold in the essential spiritual background of man. His harmony purified both. His non-violence purged from the technique of conflict the bitter memories that it tends to leave behind; and it changed compassion from a passive self-immolation into a dynamic force for the benefit of society. He purified politics and brought religion to the foreground of society by linking it with politics.

His religion or his yoga was not *Jnana Yoga*, which tends to deteriorate into pure intellectualism; nor was it *Bhakti Yoga* which similarly becomes, in the case of most people, a mere bundle of sentiments and superstitions; nor again was it *Hatha Yoga*, which emphasizes purely physiological action at the expense of the spirit. While using elements of all the above three, his yoga was mainly the *Karma Yoga* or the yoga of the *Bhagawadgita*; the yoga which links religion with active life. It considered *Jnana*, *Bhakti* and *Hatha-yogic* exercises as means to a full, pure and efficient life and not as ends in themselves. He was a practical idealist; he experimented and lived to learn. Though firm on certain fundamental principles of his, he was neither fanatic nor dogmatic. Those principles embodied his views as to the future course of evolution, and that is why he pursued them; but otherwise he so often admitted his blunders in action and promptly corrected them.

Satya and *ahimsa* are the first two parts of *yama*; and *yama* is the first aspect of yoga as described

by the great *sutrakara* Patanjali. *Ramadhun* is a part of the technique of *kirtana* practised by the *bhaktas*. The recognition of man as essentially the spirit (or the *Brahman*) is the corner-stone of *Jnana*. In Gandhiji, they were all harmoniously knitted together.

3. UNIQUE PROGRAMME

He had a unique programme which consisted in decentralized industry, self-sufficient economics, a non-violent and pure politics, a return to the villages, and an education correlated to hand-work and social life. He laid much more stress in making 'solid' men in his *ashrams*, than on making solid laws or constitutions or on constructing administrative steel frames.

4. SOCIAL YOGA AND NON-COMMUNAL POLITICS

His yoga was social, his politics non-communal. Yoga and religion have had a tendency all over the world to become personal. Social service is allowed with impunity by most religions, but politics is almost universally tabooed by them. The religious man tolerates moral dwarfs to rule the society he lives in. Gandhiji's yoga aimed at lifting man in society and not taking man away from it. Nay more; it lifted man by making him serve society. But the times helped Gandhi to pitch his ideal one step higher still. His politics though linked with morality and religion was non-communal. He would not whip up communal hatred or fanatic intolerance in order to achieve freedom; his means were to be as unquestionable as his ends. His religion of humanity, which discards the superfluous or incorrect tendencies of all organized religions, appreciates their merits.

5. SHOCK TACTICS

He employed shock tactics, when it suited him. Essentially a constructive genius and a wonderful organizer, content to work over long periods in building up traditions and institutions, he resorted at times to feats of strength and challenging measures. A revolutionary that he was, he got discontented at times with the slow pace of events or impatient with reactionary trends; he found on occasions his fundamental principles being watered down or attacked. He took up the challenge on such occasions and set his spirit face to face against the most powerful forces of society. 'Do or Die.' One man against millions. The 'Naked Fakir' pitched against the most powerful empire on earth. His political movements, his fasts, his anti-untouchability or communal harmony drives were all shock measures of this nature. On these occasions he staked his all to attain his object.

6. MASS CONTACT

He did not believe so much in reading as in intimate contact with the spirit of the masses. The latter gives first hand and direct knowledge. Scientific socialism discusses human history and it attempts to predict the future course of events. The new subject of geo-politics regards nations and races almost as inert matter, with inherent peculiarities and predictable reactions. Gandhiji regarded human spirit as very much alive and evolving. Man himself, according to him, and not his economics or politics

is the governing factor. So Gandhiji's study was mainly the study of human society around him. His contact with men was personal and intimate. A great political leader like him, with versatile engagements, could hardly be dreamt of having such an affectionate contact with so many men in India and abroad. The most vital decisions of his life were not based on results of study, but on his inner voice, the result of this intimate contact with humanity.

7. HIS IDEAL OF PERFECTION

He had a technique about his personal habits also; it was the technique of the *sthita-prajna* of the *Gita*—concentrated and yet detached; intensely vigorous and yet dispassionate; once more a harmony of apparent opposites. How he could arrive at quick and yet correct decisions, how he could take complete rest in short intervals, how he could attend to manifold engagements, with fullness and satisfaction, these were marvels of his conduct, which those who came in intimate contact with him observed every day. His punctuality and regularity were equally marvellous. All these are characteristic of the *sthita-prajna* personality as depicted in the *Bhagawadgita*.

8. TEMPORARY RETIREMENTS

He dug deep and buried himself for a time in order to sprout forth higher. He was imprisoned and the British imperialists thought they had vanquished him and crushed his political movements. He himself abstained from politics for a time. He took to Harijan work, to communal harmony work, to the organization of his constructive activities or to the training of workers in his *ashrams*. He even resigned the membership of the Congress. But every such recession into the background made him ultimately more powerful. Like a seed, which buries itself underground, he sprouted every time, much stronger than ever before. Who knows, his death may not turn out to be a similar recession, of an extreme type, the last but not the least. Communal forces, which vehemently fought against his non-communal politics, appear at first sight to have proved that he jumped too fast, that India is not yet prepared for anything more than the politics of Shivaji or Guru Govind and that Gandhiji in attempting a step ahead met with his doom. But then history does not give a verdict immediately; it sometimes takes centuries. Communalism in India has already had its Waterloo in the assassination of Mahatmaji and who knows if his death will not accomplish what in his lifetime he failed to complete?

CONCLUSION

The Mahatma himself was a practical idealist and not a dogmatic puritan. So let us leave it at that and let history decide how far his methods succeed in the long run, or in other words, how far his revolutionary principles are in consonance with the governing trends of human evolution. He tested his techniques and proved many times to the hilt, their essential superiority to the usual methods of humdrum politics. British imperialism may have had to liquidate itself in India, even otherwise; but it may have left the reins of the

country into feudal, capitalistic, communal or corrupt hands. Gandhi's inner voice enabled him to choose the correct moments for launching political movements and the correct procedure for conducting the Congress organization so as to leave the leadership of the country into more trustworthy hands. He has accomplished all this in such a short time and by means, purer, more peaceful and more non-violent than any could have been dreamt of. He has almost purged Hindu society of the blot of untouchability. In the labour movement of Ahmedabad, he has shown a way to harmonize labour and capital. Within the brief span of twelve months, his follower Sardar Patel, has neither liquidated nor destroyed but peacefully absorbed all the feudal princes within the framework of a United India. These by themselves would constitute a miracle. However, as I said, let nobody attempt to prejudge history quickly or dogmatically. The forces that constitute society are so deep and varied that no man can claim the prerogative of correct prediction. Mahatma's revolutionary principles and his equally unconventional techniques have given a new light to a wayward world groping in the dark. Let us see where they lead and whether the world chooses to follow them. In India at any rate, we have had the special privilege of closely observing and even participating in these new techniques; and India has a traditional belief in the moral principles of the Mahatma. It is for us to follow up his experiments with truth and to demonstrate to the world how far his methods will carry us.

U. A. ASRANI

LEST WE FORGET

X

A PROGRAMME FOR PROHIBITION

(a)

India has the capacity and the opportunity to lead the world in the matter of prohibition. Can she forego the revenue derived from this degrading traffic? She must if she is to live (*Harijan* X-32, September 15, 1946, p. 313).

(b)

If the Governments, Central and Provincial, were true to the Congress requirements, there would be no spirituous liquors or intoxicating drugs such as opium, ganja and the like to be had . . . (*Delhi Diary*, November 7, 1947, p. 150).

(c)

The following steps will have to be taken simultaneously in order to make a success of the reform:

1. Passing of the requisite law;
2. Educating public opinion;
3. Opening at the same place as grog-shops refreshment rooms selling harmless drinks and providing innocent entertainment in the form of books, newspapers, games etcetera;
4. The income from the sale of intoxicants should be spent on cultivating public opinion in favour of prohibition (*Harijan*, XI-34, September 21, 1947, p. 333).

SOCIALISM IN INDIA

"We must realize that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race."

— Jawaharlal Nehru

Many and innumerable 'isms' have sprung up in the world today and socialism is one among them. Socialism today is a world philosophy of life and economic system based on social and economic justice for the common man. India must adopt Socialism based on her traditional culture and philosophy of which history records a glorious past. There has been established in our country today a new political party called the Socialist Party of India which hopes for the establishment of an independent Socialist State in which power would be transferred to the producing masses. They are inspired by the old Soviet ideology and have drawn up a Bolshevist programme—the adjective is not used as a fling or an insult. They want to adopt methods for carrying out that programme which must be described as revolutionary—not in the sense of bomb-throwing, rioting and murder, but in that of completely revolutionizing the existing industrial conditions in India. They voice forth that they cannot afford to remain in the backwater of pure politics and they desire to quickly introduce the rule of the proletariat.

For over half a century theories of Socialism have been defined, described and discussed. Socialism as has been best defined by G. D. H. Cole is 'a way of living in relation to others.' There are as many varieties of Socialism as there are countries—let us say ranging from Bolshevism in Russia to that peculiar species of State control which the British rulers practised in India. One fundamental idea conveyed by all Socialist theories is the desirability of every individual having the opportunity to live his life in freedom without exploiting others and without allowing himself to be exploited by others. Commenting on the subject Gandhiji said:

"The so-called Socialism was not the true Socialism. Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. Socialism, even Communism, is explicit in the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*. What is true is that when some reformers lost faith in the method of conversion, the technique of what is known as scientific Socialism was born. I am engaged in solving the same problem that faces scientific Socialism. It is true however that my approach is always and only through unadulterated non-violence."

From this it is quite clear that he too was a staunch Socialist but of a thoroughly different nature.

A MERE MATERIALIST CONCEPT

The world today views it from its purely economic and political aspects. The simple moral

basis of Socialism has been lost sight of in our economic and political problems. Like so many good and noble movements, the Socialist movement has also suffered from a bias in favour of the mechanistic and materialistic philosophy of life. A sane vision has become a distorted ugly dream. It is taken for granted that the Socialist movement is a product of industrialization in our present machine-ruled age. That Socialist ideas and ideals are as old as human thought is hardly recognized.

THE REAL SOCIALISM

The true Socialism must be based on universal brotherhood—not a mere utopian theory propounded by a few individuals, but an established fact in nature. It stands for the removal of poverty not only of money but also of mind and morals. It supplies the need not only of the economically poor and the dweller in the slums, but also of the mentally and morally poor and of those who dwell in the slums of the spirit and soul. From everyone according to his capacity and to everyone according to his needs is applied not only to those who work by hands, but also to those who work by heads and hearts. The true Socialism does not deal only with the labour market, but also with intelligent aspiring human souls who cannot live by bread alone. True Socialism observes the fundamental law of love against hate, that works not according to the rights of man, but on the basis of the duties of man. It affords an equality of opportunity for all human beings who wish to make progress though they differ in their moral and intellectual capacity in faculty of expression and efficiency of labour.

THE INDIAN CONCEPT

Finally, to conclude, what shall be the edifice for India to erect a really true Socialistic State? Surely and certainly it shall be based on the ideas described above. India true to her ancient humanism and modern democratic ideal cannot force Socialism upon the people by the downright expropriation of the capitalists. Her techniques of adoption of Socialism will be moral, non-violent. We cannot introduce if we are true to the teachings of non-violence of Gandhiji, a classless society by burning one class at the stake of another or burying it underground as had been done in Eastern Europe. Socialism here will be a humanized Indian variety. May it not be that with our heritage of a non-violent, compassionate culture we shall be able as the decades pass, to develop and present for world acceptance an Indian brand Socialism not merely scientific and technological, but also human and humanitarian? Let us wait and hope that the Socialists of our country will imbibe this spirit of true Socialism.

S. Ramakrishna

(Note—For some of the thoughts expressed in the above article, I am indebted besides those mentioned, to the writings of Sri Radha Kamal Mukharji, Madame Sophia Wadia and Madam H. P. Blavatsky.

—S. R.)

QUESTION BOX

REVENUE IN KIND

Q. 1. Under your scheme, how would the zamindar, who still exists, pay to the Government in kind, since he receives his rent in cash?

A. The tenant would have to pay in kind to the zamindar in the same way as, in the ryotwari system, an occupant would pay to the Government.

Q. 2. The collection of grains, its transport to granaries, and its storage will involve huge wastage. Please recall the tragic days when millions died in Bengal, while its Government had to dispose off hundreds of maunds of food-stuff because it had become unfit for consumption in the granaries. The loss to the Government will be gigantic, when we view it for the whole of India. How can the Government, so over-burdened with new problems, bear this additional burden?

A. Under the procurement system, the Government has already to do all these things. After all, granaries are not a new thing in India, and no Government is free from the burden of this type. For its military, jails, refugees etc. Government has to arrange for proper storage of food. Its defects have to be removed. Government has better means of removing the defects of storage than peasants and traders.

Moreover, the system will necessarily involve decentralization of administration, and the burden could be lightened by suitable arrangements with village panchayats, grain merchants, associations, and co-operative societies.

The suggestion is made to help both the Government and the people, and not to embarrass either.

Bombay, 21-9-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Hindustani Prachar Sabha

The next Qabil Examination under the auspices of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be held on Saturday the 11th and Sunday the 12th December, 1948.

Applications by intending candidates should reach the Sabha's office at Wardha, along with the necessary fee, on or before the 10th November, 1948. Candidates from Gujarat and Bombay will please submit their applications through their respective provincial offices.

18-9-'48

AMRITLAL NANAVATI

Examination Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

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