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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

## "VICTORY TO THE VICTIM"

The Man of faith moves on along pitiless paths  
strewn with flints over scorching sands and  
steep mountainous tracks.

They follow him, the strong and the weak, the  
aged and young,  
the rulers of realms, the tillers of the soil.

Some grow weary and footsore, some angry and  
suspicious.

They ask at every dragging step,  
'How much further is the end?'

The Man of faith sings in answer;  
they scowl and shake their fists and yet they  
cannot resist him;  
the pressure of the moving mass and indefinite  
hope push them forward.

They shorten their sleep and curtail their rest,  
they out-vie each other in their speed,  
they are ever afraid lest they may be too late  
for their chance  
while others be more fortunate.

The days pass.

The ever-receding horizon tempts them with  
renewed lure of the unseen till they are sick.

Their faces harden, their curses grow louder and  
louder. . . . .

It is night.

The travellers spread their mats on the ground  
under the banyan tree.

A gust of wind blows out the lamp and the  
darkness deepens like a sleep into a swoon.

Someone from the crowd suddenly stands up and  
pointing to the leader with merciless finger  
breaks out:

'False prophet, thou hast deceived us!'

Others take up the cry one by one,  
women hiss their hatred and men growl.

At last one bolder than others suddenly deals him  
a blow.

They cannot see his face, but fall upon him in a  
fury of destruction  
and hit him till he lies prone upon the ground  
his life extinct.

The night is still, the sound of the distant water-  
fall comes muffled,  
and a faint breath of jasmine floats in the air.

The pilgrims are afraid.

The women begin to cry, the men in an agony  
of wretchedness  
shout at them to stop.

Dogs break out barking and are cruelly whipped  
into silence broken by moans.

The night seems endless and men and women  
begin to wrangle as to who among them was  
to blame.

They shriek and shout and as they are ready  
to unsheathe their knives  
the darkness pales, the morning light overflows  
the mountain tops.

Suddenly they become still and gasp for breath as  
they gaze at the figure lying dead.

The women sob out loud and men hide their faces  
in their hands.

A few try to slink away unnoticed,  
but their crime keeps them chained to  
their victim:

They ask each other in bewilderment,  
'Who will show us the path?'

The old man from the East bends his head and says:  
'The Victim.'

They sit still and silent.

Again speaks the old man,

'We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger,  
now we shall accept him in love,

For in his death he lives in the life of us all,  
the great Victim.'

And they all stand up and mingle their voices  
and sing, 'Victory to the Victim'.

(From Rabindranath Tagore's *The Child*)

## GANDHIJI ON THE REAL LIFE

[The following summary of a lecture delivered by Gandhiji on the 22nd August (1905?) before a meeting of the Theosophical Lodge at Johannesburg is reproduced from the *Theosophist* of December 1948. —V. G. D.]

The speaker said he had come to the conclusion that the Theosophy was Hinduism in theory and that Hinduism was Theosophy in practice.

There were many admirable works in Theosophical literature which one might read with the greatest profit, but it appeared to him that too much stress had been laid upon mental and intellectual studies, upon argument, upon the development of occult powers, and that the central idea of Theosophy, the brotherhood of mankind and the moral growth of man had been lost sight of in these. He did not wish to suggest that such studies had no place in a man's life, but he thought that they should follow, not precede, the absolutely certain course which was necessary for every life. There were certain maxims of life which they had to weave into their very being, before they could at all follow the great scriptures.

When a man desired to qualify in any science, he had first of all to pass an entrance examination, but they seemed to think that when they took up a religious book, no previous preparation in any other direction was necessary, but that they could read these scriptures untaught and interpret them for themselves; and that attitude of mind was considered to be real independence of spirit. In his opinion, it was nothing but sheer licence taken with things of which they had not the slightest knowledge. They were told in all the Hindu scriptures that before they could even handle these books, they must cultivate absolutely pure and truthful lives, they must learn to control their passions which took them away from the central point.

The mind had been likened to an intoxicated monkey, and so it was. If they were to analyse their minds, they would find that they had very little reason to think ill of others, and would begin to think ill of themselves; for they would find that they harboured within themselves robbers and murderers — terms used by them so glibly in connection with others. He wished that they would recognize a limitation in regard to their studies, and that such limitation, instead of hampering their activity, would further their strength and enable them to soar higher.

He did not think it at all a part of their life to extend its scope, but thought it their duty to intensify it both with reference to their studies and to their activities; for if a man concentrated his attention on a particular thing or idea in life, he was likely to make much better use of himself and of his opportunities than if he divided his attention between this, that and the next thing.

Hindu sages had told them that to live the life, no matter how hampered it might be, no matter

with what limitations, was infinitely superior to having a mental grasp of things divine. They had taught them that until one by one and step by step, they had woven these things into their lives, they would not be able to have a grasp of the whole of the divine teaching; and so he urged them that if they wanted to live the real life, it was not to be lived in that hall, it was not to be lived in Theosophical libraries, but it was to be lived in the world around them, in the real practice of the little teaching that they might have been able to grasp.

## ALWAYS ACTED UP TO HIS BELIEF

Twelve months have passed since Mahatma Gandhi was shot down dead by the hand of an assassin, but he lives in our hearts, nay, in the heart of every one who knew him. He was the greatest amongst the great men of the age. But most people appreciate his greatness because he had won freedom to the 400 millions of Indians and that, too, through non-violent fight with the mighty British power. No doubt it was a great achievement of his life, a task which was not possible to anyone else to accomplish. Freedom has been won for us, but we see much is wanting in us to utilize that freedom to our best advantage. Though we moved and worked together with Mahatmaji, we have not realized how he had acquired such irresistible power, so adamant and so unparalleled in the life of any other person. We know it was not of the body, nor was it born of his intellectual greatness. It was solely the result of spiritual development. If it were born merely of the intellect, there have been great giants in this country and elsewhere too; but it has not been given to anyone of them to win the independence of any country merely through power of their intellect. War and bloodshed were the only means known to the mankind till now, either to gain freedom for themselves or to gain supremacy over others.

Therefore, the power which Gandhiji wielded was purely of the spirit. He had won that power through undying faith in God through complete surrender to His will and through long process of self-restraint and self-control. His autobiography, named by him as *My Experiments with Truth* discloses the methods adopted by him to attain this extraordinary spiritual culture. His self-control was vivid in whatever he said or did and even in matters of his daily food and drink. In his search for truth, which he had commenced even in his early life, he says it was found absolutely necessary to cultivate purity in thought and deed and also to resort to fast and prayer. The first thing that he had realized was the purpose of his life. Service of God through service of humanity was the surest way to spiritual freedom. Therefore he sought opportunities to serve people in suffering and to relieve them of their distress. When a beggar who was also a leper came to his house, he was not satisfied merely by giving him a meal and send

him away, but he dressed his wounds and kept him in his house for some days and afterwards put him in a hospital for treatment.

When he was in South Africa, pneumonic plague, a disease more terrible than the bubonic suddenly broke out in the colony of the indentured Indian labourers. No sooner had he heard of it, than he ran to the place and got the patients attacked by the plague removed from the colony, segregated them in an empty house and attended upon them as a nurse for several days, inspite of great risk to his life. They were under allopathic treatment. But all of them died except two whom he had himself put under earth and water cure in which he was an expert.

He was fond of reading *Bhagavadgita*, which throughout his life had served him as his guide. The great virtues of his life were based upon the principles enunciated in this book. *Satya* (truth), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *aparigraha* (non-possession), *brahmacharya* (sex-control),—all these great principles had become quite natural to him, because of his constant study of *Bhagavadgita* and also by his indomitable will and courage of conviction. His mind was always ready to grasp truths and high principles of life from whatever source he might have received them. When Mr. Polak, a companion of him in South Africa, gave into his hands a book of Ruskin called *Unto this last* for reading while on a journey in the railway train, he completed perusing the book from cover to cover during the whole night and was so convinced of the truths contained in it that he commenced to put them into practice the very next morning after reaching the destination.

The principle of *aparigraha* had made him give up right of ownership in whatever property he had. He treated himself as a trustee of his earnings as a barrister in South Africa and devoted them to public benefit after using what was absolutely necessary for him and for the maintenance of his family.

He had love for all living creatures and he was always anxious not to cause pain to others either of the mind or body. He was stern in the observance of truth and justice, though always generous to the failures of others. His respect to Hindu religion in the *Sanatanic* form did not close his eyes to the valuable preachings of other religions. The *Quran* and the Bible claimed his attention as well. Much has been said and written about him, but we find very few who have fully understood him and zealously followed his preachings. He had great faith in the generation of our country so that it may serve to be the instrument to carry the message of truth and non-violence to the people of other countries. Therefore, it is our duty to fit ourselves to that great task by following his example as far as possible.

KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

## AS I UNDERSTAND BAPU

Gandhiji stands for different things to different people. To the masses he is a saint, to the intelligentsia he is a shrewd political leader, to the intellectuals he is a moral giant. He has been called a dreamer, but oftentimes he has shown a realism that has put his unknowing critics to shame. What, however, appeals to me most in Bapu is his ideal of the perfect man — *Purushottam* — and the means he adopted to attain it. He admitted that this was only an ideal and he knew full well that it was not possible for an ordinary man with his mortal body to reach that stage of perfection. Nevertheless he maintained that to achieve perfection was the *summum bonum* of human endeavour. In his own life he practised what he preached, and his career on this earth was one long and sustained attempt towards this end.

Gandhiji often used the simile of the Euclidian point in geometry. The geometrical point according to its formal definition has no length and breadth. Yet it exists and it is on this initial hypothesis that a whole science has been built. It gives geometry its logic and precision. So it was with the ideal of the perfect man. Although it was impossible of attainment in this life, still faith in that ideal gave man a glimpse of the higher, moral and spiritual life and the necessary incentive to strive for such perfection.

Gandhiji agreed with the other great spiritual leaders of the world in believing that the great impediment in the way of leading a higher life was the sentimental attachment to worldly things which gave rise to human passions like fear, hatred and envy. It was these human failings that prevented man, Gandhiji would have said, from "reaching as near as possible to God". Therefore, in the life of the moral or spiritual man, the real battle was not 'outside' but 'inside' himself, and true bravery lay in conquering 'oneself' rather than in conquering 'others'. In Gandhiji's view, this made the life of the seeker after truth, a continuous *sadhana* — an incessant striving to do good and meritorious deeds and through these, purify the heart.

But while Gandhiji was certainly one in the long line of prophets-saints that have hallowed this earth by their living presence, his passionate search for truth and his lifelong endeavour to reach perfection, led him on to a path different from the one the other spiritual teachers had taken. In Gandhiji's case, this desire to be perfect or to realize God was transformed and transmuted into a realization of his oneness with humanity in general through love expressed in selfless service. Man is born in society and human life even on the lowest plane is expressed through service in relation to ideas, things and men. As these relations become broader and consequently purer, they develop a moral stature. When they comprehend the whole universe, man becomes perfect and God is realized in man. Such a consummation is possible only through love, and that is why Gandhiji preached

that love and not hatred is the law of life. It is common experience that the former binds while the latter divides.

All religious prophets have preached this message—the message of love. But Gandhiji was more than a religious prophet or philosopher. He was a social prophet as well. He was convinced that universal brotherhood or unity was to be realized or experienced not only on the spiritual and psychological plane but on the material and social level also. He did not believe in the life of a recluse or in leading a life divorced from the realities of human existence. To Gandhiji, life was one harmonious whole, although in activity it was a curious blend of different and often opposing forces and feelings. It could not be lived in parts. Therefore, he insisted that the spiritual or the moral man must live a full life and must base not only his individual life, but also the life of the entire society on moral and spiritual values. In other words, both individual and social relations must change and be based on morality. They must not have as their end the exploitation or debasement of man. To serve man through love and thereby ennoble him must be the constant endeavour.

This doctrine turned this man of God into a social revolutionary. Perhaps the materialistic age of which Gandhiji was himself a product, needed a man of his type to guide humanity into light from the darkness that surrounded it. His weapon like that of many of his predecessors was not sword, but love. He wanted to change society by changing the man—its basic material. But what differentiates Gandhiji from his compeers was the emphasis he laid on changing the heart and what is more, the application of this principle to a great popular movement. This constitutes one of the greatest experiments in human history. Unless one brings about a fundamental change in human thought, one cannot change human society which alone can lay a solid foundation for democracy. A case in point is the abolition of untouchability which was brought about by a change in the mentality of the people.

The change in human thought will naturally be reflected in human relations. When such change goes beyond individual relations and encompasses group relations on a wide scale, then a non-violent social revolution takes place. Whatever permanent peace has been achieved in the world is the consequence of such a non-violent revolution and this revolution in its turn is the direct result of a change in human thought.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution is therefore in the realm of human progress and in the solution of the problem of world peace. This is his idea of a non-violent peaceful revolution based on a change of heart brought about by service to the people in the constructive field involving suffering and sacrifice. To the last breath of his life Gandhiji lived for others and when he died, he died for others too! Of how many saints and philosophers who have come and gone can it be said with truth

that they lived the good life not for themselves, not for their country but for the whole of humanity?

Gandhiji has shown the way to world peace and true democracy on earth. He has blazed the trail. His passing away from the scene of his earthly activities should not and cannot mean the end of his noble work. The light that he has lit still burns and it is for those who worked with him and felt with him—the constructive workers—to use it to ignite new flames for the benefit of the world which today groans under the dead-weight of man's injustice to man.

SHANKARRAO DEO

## GANDHI—THE FULL MAN

It is not possible to obtain the full vision of a multifaceted object in one view. A human being is an object of three dimensions. Has it ever occurred to you that you can catch a profile view, a frontal view and a hind view of him all at once? Never of all the three views together. Yet without the three, it cannot be a complete view. That is not all; one view may be particularly beautiful, another may be even ugly and it is up to a person to misunderstand the view by equating it to the one or the other and then regarding it as ugly or beautiful or even carrying on an acrimonious controversy over the matter.

If such be the difficulty with regard to the physical dimensions of a body, which are palpable and perceptible, how much more should it be difficult to picture to oneself the impalpable, intangible qualities of head and heart which make up *character* and endow one with what we call *personality*. Even in ordinary beings, we come across variations of character—presenting a variety of moods and temperaments, which it is not always easy to scan and scrutinize. When we come to a philosopher and prophet, a saint and seer, this difficulty, one is apt to think, should become greatly aggravated and augmented. It may not, however be so, for, the higher the altitude on which a person stands, the more easy to get a comprehensive view of all these attributes which constitute what is compendiously known as character. Mahatma Gandhi stood on such a high pedestal. Moreover, his was such a transparent character that there were no opacities anywhere which hid the inner treasures of his temperament, frame of mind, attitudes and affections, attachments and detachments, predilections and prejudices from public vision. He was essentially a human being but one who had burnished every facet of his character and exposed it to the full blaze of publicity. His conception of Truth was not merely to lay bare all facts but to maintain no reservations about them of any kind. That was evident when the District Magistrate of Champaran withdrew in 1917 his insulting letter to Mahatmaji and the latter forbade a copy of it from being preserved in the archives of Satyagraha. A similar situation arose when Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary, withdrew his insulting letter to Gandhiji during the first week of the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations, i. e. about the 22nd

February 1931 in Delhi. Likewise, his standards of *ahimsa* would not permit him to tolerate ironical or sarcastic references to esteemed leaders of the Congress. The writer was once the recipient of a gentle reprimand, expressed by a stare and an upraised brow, when a jocular reference was made to a deceased leader.

But to say that Gandhiji led a full life is not enough; he demanded that the life led by every Satyagrahi and every Congressman should be a full life too. It is not enough if you spin, you must spin well. It is not enough for you to befriend a Muslim, you must promote communal harmony. It is not enough if you remove untouchability which is physical; you must admit the Harijan to social equality in respect of tanks, taps and wells, schools and workshops, hostels and hospitals. That was not sufficient either. You must admit them to temples. There still remained something left—and that was that the economic position of the Harijan must be raised, for, he is still a serf in reality though not in name, as a farm servant and tiller of the soil. Gandhiji's cardinal tenets of *aparigraha* or non-possession were an extreme representation of the basic foundation of reorganized society in which no one shall live on interest or dividends accruing from his own or his patrimonial accumulation of wealth or rents arising from similar acquisitions of property. What is socialism or communism if not the rendering into daily life these principles of non-accumulation? To do so would be theft. Such exalted principles cannot be of universal applicability, for, if all men became celibates, the world would come to an end. These high principles point to a way of life so as to warn those guilty of moral aberrations against their impending doom. A diluted version of these principles was taught by Bheeshma to Dharma-*raja* when the former prescribed and defined:

*Nitya atithya* (perpetual hospitality) as serving the same menu to people eating in one line;

*Nitya brahmacharya*—as confining one's attentions to one's own wife; and

*Nitya upavasa*, as not eating between meal and meal.

On one occasion the writer quoted this passage from *Mahabharat* and Gandhiji said: "Look at that!" in a tone of disapproval; for these definitions did not satisfy his exacting standards of hospitality, celibacy or fasting.

Mahatmaj's conception of a full life was not satisfied if you removed untouchability or promoted communal harmony. You must add to the country's economic prosperity by promoting village industries of which Khadder is the Prince, so as to make the nation self-sufficient, artistic and engaged in productive employment. On one occasion when in answer to his question, I said that all my dress was made of self-spun, hand-woven yarn, he asked me whether the shoes I wore were of dead animals' skins, as contrasted with the killed animals'. And my affirmative answer gave him real joy. But that joy would be complete only if I did not send my children to school, if I did not seek a place in the

legislatures, if I did not sue in law courts. And when all investigations yielded affirmative answers he was fully pleased. He was not the sort of master that would flatter his pupils even to encourage them, but pointed out where still the pupils' defects lay and how they could still improve. The perfect life was his aim. He was nagging Mirabehn because she did not tie up the *daftar* aright, so much so that the latter burst into tears. From a lingering colour patch in a washed handkerchief, to an extra date served to him at dinner, he was critical to a degree and was not sparing in his habit of correcting, for, he wanted people to be correct to a fault. In one of his itineraries in Andhra he was to start at 6 a. m. and at 6 a. m. he was in the car. "Why don't we start?" asked he, and when the answer came that X missed his bag, down came the crushing reply "Oh yes, some people miss their heads!". On another occasion, when the delay was caused by a member of his staff, he exclaimed: "Oh, Pyarelal is a poet!" He never suffered fools gladly, much less rogues. But when truth was admitted, he was always ready to forget and forgive and whatever was stated in defence, he was prepared to accept as truth. He always took every one for an honest person and would not suspect his colleagues, fellow workers or pupils, for, that is violence.

Truth-speaking, he knew, was perilous, but the perils of Truth are much safer than the security of prevarication. When Baba Gurudutt Singh, the leader of Komagatamaru fame, was in hiding for seven years after the firing at Dum Dum in 1914-'15, he advised the Sardar to deliver himself up to the police and this was done through Gandhiji himself in 1921 (November). Likewise to Sardar Prithwi Singh who had escaped from police custody during his transfer from Rajahmundry to the Punjab, and was out of view from 1921 to 1937, Gandhiji advised to deliver himself up and the same old process was repeated. That is the only way of acting Truth. In both cases, the punishment awarded was a year as against the voluntary punishment of seven years in the one case and sixteen years in the other. Life was stunted in both, for while the body was free, the soul and the spirit were crushed. Truth however incarcerated only the body for a year but liberated the spirit, so that it might play its part in the wider realms of uplifting emotion and exalted thought. What Mahatmaj wanted was not life, but the full life, the many-sided life, the multifaceted activities of life, in which not merely the world-conquering will, but the heaven-aspiring soul could function without let or hindrance. That was the philosophy of seeking imprisonment, that was the rationale of voluntary fasting, that was the *raison d'être* of self-imposed silence. His Satyagrahi life was the expression of the full life sought to be led by himself and suggested by him as the standard to be aimed at by others. There was unflinching harmony between his precept and example. He always stood for the integrity of the spoken word and always meant what he said and did what he meant.

B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

## BAPU—HIS IDEOLOGY AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION

Today a year after the tragic death of Bapu I am more than ever reminded of what a German scholar wrote about him in 1931 after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in his book on India: "Gandhi with the highly gifted instinct of a genius has comprehended the spirit of his time and thereby dragged his people along with him and attained his objective to a great extent." Yes, it is literally true that his magnetic personality simply dragged many people along with him. They did not fully realize the implications of what he said nor did they even believe in many things which he considered vital for India's regeneration. Many in the Congress did not believe in the efficacy of the spinning wheel but still they were party to the passing of resolutions relating to Khadi. Many even considered his ethical principles and high standard of conduct a disqualification in politics. They paid lip homage to both truth and non-violence. Some even did not believe in the full implications of removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. Not that he did not know it, but he thought that people would gradually come round and act up to the resolutions passed by them. But he stood disillusioned. During the last three or four years the question as to how to stem the rot that had set in in the Congress was uppermost in his mind. Sometimes he even thought aloud. He realized the inherent weakness of an organization which is in reality a conglomeration of such diverse individuals. Gandhiji had the majority but not the Gandhian ideology. His personality, however, was a great cementing factor. After his death the rot that was in the Congress became more manifest rapidly. So we feel his absence all the more today. It is therefore incumbent on us to do a little bit of heart-searching, to probe deep into the matter and to deal with the situation with courage and determination.

The position is simply this: The vast bulk of Congressmen did not believe in Gandhian ideology but passed resolutions sponsored by him because he, though a man of compromise, would not compromise on fundamentals, but would agree to lead only if his principles were accepted. Gandhiji's leadership was considered essential and therefore they did it. So many suffered from what may be called 'inner contradiction' and thus became moral cowards. Under such situation it is no wonder that the position has become what it is today. If one preaches one thing and acts differently, one is bound to be ineffective sooner or later. Therefore the remedy lies in removing the root cause.

At Jaipur, Congress has reiterated Gandhian ideology with that inner contradiction redoubled. If we reiterate Gandhian ideology we must put that in practice or must have the courage to renounce it and accept some other principle. It is high-time that we do it, or we shall be branded in history as grave-diggers of all that Gandhiji stood for. Not merely that, we shall be charged by the

future generation, and rightly too, for stultifying the nation.

Gandhiji wanted to establish a non-exploiting, classless society which he termed as *Krishak-Majdoor Raj* or *Ramaraj*. Non-violence is the sheet-anchor of his philosophy. In a society based on violence even a strong few can keep a vast number of people under subjugation, but in a non-violent society that is impossible. So he ruled out violence. Exploitation in any shape or form is violence. The present order of society is based on exploitation. He wanted to change it. His ideology may be called non-violent socialism. We may shut our eyes and may not recognize that the world is rapidly marching towards socialism. If non-violent socialism cannot be practised in India, some other form of socialism, based on violence, is going to dominate the field. I see it as clearly as daylight. The best antidote to any creed based on violence is following in practice the ideology of Gandhiji and not application of security measures. If Congressmen realize this on this day, the 30th of January, they will not merely render a service to India but will help in establishing a new order of society in the world. Otherwise the Congress will cease to be a living force, which is painful to contemplate.

Let us go a little into what is meant by following in practice Gandhian ideology. A man may spin yet he may be a rogue; but however honest a man may be, he cannot be called a follower of Gandhian ideology if he does not spin. He must be honest and should also spin. A man may refuse to take water from the hand of a sweeper, yet he may be thoroughly honest; but he is miles apart from Gandhiji's ideals. In this country the vast bulk of the people are being crushed under pressure of poverty. Such a state is naked violence. How many of us realize it and feel restless over it? How many of us feel like Gandhiji and can say, "Whenever I see a palace rising in any corner of India, I think it is the blood of the agriculturists"? Gandhiji's ideology is an integrated whole. Khadi, village industries, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, basic education, prohibition and other items of his constructive programme are but practical shapes of non-exploitation. If the Congress which claims to represent the nation pays only a lip-homage to them, future historians will say, "Just as there was one Christian and he was crucified, there was one Gandhi-ite and he was assassinated."

We, who call ourselves followers of Gandhian ideology, have a responsibility in the matter. We cannot afford to be mere spectators of the tragic drama, we must try to put life into the Congress, failing that, we must have the courage to quit and go into the wilderness, only to reappear after gathering real strength by silent constructive work. That way lies our salvation. That is how we can establish Gandhian ideology. Long live Gandhian ideology! Long live Bapu!

PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

## TO BAPU—IN UTTERMOST HUMILITY

To those who had the God-given privilege of basking daily in the radiant sunshine of Bapu's love, it seems as if a veritable century has passed since his presence was withdrawn from our midst. Whether actually with him or not one leant heavily on him. Difficulties worried only so long as they were not taken to him, and after one had obtained his willing advice and guidance one felt secure and calm. Indeed his solutions were always so simple that one wondered why they had not dawned on one immediately. At every turn, therefore, it is but natural that we miss him and that the sense of loss should increase with time. He had woven himself into the fabric of our national life in such a unique way that ever since he left us, we stand in danger of disintegration.

And yet one realizes that he had to go in the physical sense. It seemed to me that during the last year of his sojourn on this earth he had grown so much spiritually that it was almost impossible, even to understand very often what he was doing or saying. Indeed I said so to him one day. "Bapu, I feel you are no longer walking. You are simply racing on at such speed that it is impossible for a mere mortal even to keep you within sight." With his characteristic humility he replied, "I wish I felt I was growing at such a pace. God alone is the judge." There is no doubt that he was taken from us at a time when we so sorely needed him, according to our understanding, and taken in the way he went because in the eyes of the Almighty he was ready to enter into His presence and found meet to pay that supreme sacrifice which is demanded by God from His elect.

But having thus gone Bapu is always with us in spirit. While one mourns his absence in the flesh and tears unbidden rise to break the promise he would fain have each one of us keep, there is deep down the realization that he is more alive today than ever he was while on earth, and it is with that sense of realization that we must render special homage to him on this the first anniversary of his passing on to the higher life.

Why did we love him? Because he was so human, so gentle, so understanding, so wise and so good. Such traits in any person cannot but appeal to every man, woman and child.

But while he was human he never ceased to lay stress on the moral and spiritual values of life. Man had to conquer himself, i. e. all the frailties of human nature and dedicate himself to service if he was to be true to the divine spark within him.

Bapu's gentleness sprang from the *ahimsa* within him. But withal he was unbending where any adherence to principle was concerned. His lovely gentleness did not signify weakness. It was really increased by his firmness, though it was not always easy to understand when the lash of his righteous anger was turned on one for any wrong committed.

His understanding of human nature was phenomenal. His had been a community life ever since

his very early days in South Africa and leadership had naturally devolved on him because of the virtues he possessed. He had, therefore, been thrown into contact with all sorts and conditions of men and women and received confidences such as none are privileged to receive. Then, too, he had experimented so deeply with himself in every phase of human life that he was intimately cognizant of the frailties of the flesh. No problem of any individual, however humble or insignificant that individual might be in the eyes of the world, was too small for him. His undivided attention was always given, so that the person concerned might be strengthened to go forward. It was this abounding love and sympathy that drew all and sundry to him and gave him that amazing power over his fellow-men. "Bapu, are you not sometimes frightened of the power you exercise over the minds of men?" I once asked him. "Why should I be frightened so long as I serve them honestly?" was the immediate reply.

Of his wisdom, what can I say? But privileged as I was to listen to his conversations with so many learned and wise men of all denominations, I was invariably struck by his unerring instinct in laying his finger on the right spot and going straightaway to the root of the matter.

It seems impertinent, as it were, to speak of his goodness. What is good and what is bad, who is the judge between them, whose verdict is right and whose wrong, has been an eternal controversy in the minds of great philosophers. There was never any doubt in the mind and life of Bapu. Truth is God. Truth and Non-violence are as the two faces of a coin. You cannot have one without the other. This was his unshakable belief and he lived up to it. No man can be good who is not true. No man can be good who does not love. Bapu believed that this was the essence of all religions. He must surely go down to posterity as one of the greatest mortals that have ever lived. I confess with grateful remembrance that I learnt more about Jesus Christ from Bapu than from any other teacher and I was privileged in my youth to be taught by righteous men and women. I therefore also venture to say that while he was a Hindu, his name will be venerated as one of the greatest Christians of any age.

We live in a world greatly overshadowed by fear. Fear comes where there is no love and where men hide the truth from each other. In our own homeland, we are perplexed and greatly beset by many difficulties. Standards of integrity have to be raised, fear has to be driven out from the minds of men, violence is a demon that must be exorcized. Bapu's example is there. His spirit lives and will inspire and guide if we open our hearts to receive the message of Truth and Love. This is the only homage he would desire. To dedicate ourselves anew to the quest in our own lives of these eternal verities is the only homage we dare lay at the shrine of his dear and honoured memory.

12-1-'49

A. K.

# HARIJAN

January 30

1949

## THE DOCTRINE OF UNILATERAL EFFORT

We have all watched rockets go up and blaze into stars and then disappear. We keep looking at the sky for a time then, but all is void. So has Bapu disappeared. He burst into greatest glory twelve months ago and disappeared leaving us gazing at the sky, seeing black spots where it was glory. It was towards the end of 1947 when India was free but afflicted with dire misfortune and distemper, misfortune and distemper of a sort which caused an anguish of mind to Bapu, the like of which even he had not been prepared for. It was then he burst into his full glory.

I had admired and loved him throughout twenty-eight rich years of intimate joint labour, as never man admired and loved another. But it was in the last months of 1947 that my wonderment and adoration of Bapu rose to its highest pitch.

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept the doctrine of unilateral effort in love?" he asked me one day.

"There is no other way," I answered enthusiastically and without hesitation.

"Just so" he replied with evident delight. He always felt acute pleasure when I agreed. This is no compliment to me!

"What about the response?" "The other party does not co-operate and what good is it?"—All these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant and the road was straight.

Bapu's theory of life and action was always this, and some of us knew it, but never before was the full meaning and intensity of faith so fully poured into the doctrine as now Bapu did incessantly and unweariedly.

The rocket burst on January 30, 1948, and what a glorious illumination! It is all dark now and we see the opposite of the colours that dazzled our eyes then.

Do we believe in God? If we do, we have no clearer visible manifestation of Him than Love,—the love of mother, of child, of man, or of beast or bird for its young one, the tenderness of friends or of lovers. In the bodies of living beings we have been taught that God lives and finds habitation. If that be true, we see Him manifest whenever we see kindness, helpfulness, sympathy, compassion, or love in any form flowing from one to another. When love disappears, the window is closed against God.

Let us be firm believers in:

ईशावास्यं इदं सर्वम् ।

यत्किञ्च जगत्स्यो जगत् ॥

and let us see God in Love. All will be well yet though we have great troubles.

'Non-violence', 'civil disobedience', etc. are all technical specialized phases. The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love. *Prem* is an *avatar* of God within us. May our thoughts, words and actions be saturated in *Prem*. Every act of unilateral love and helpfulness is a *shraddha* ceremony for Bapu.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

## GRIEVE NOT DEATH

[The following extracts are taken from Bapu's letters to me during the last 23 years, some four hundred of which will shortly be published in a book-form by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Every word of the paragraphs given below tells us not to grieve, but to rejoice with Bapu in his passage to a higher state. —MIRABEHN]

27-4-'27

"We really live through and in our work. We perish through our perishable bodies, if, instead of using them as temporary instruments, we identify ourselves with them.

"The more I observe and study things, the more convinced I become that sorrow over separation and death is perhaps the greatest delusion. To realize that it is a delusion is to become free. There is no death, no separation of the substance. And yet, the tragedy of it is that though we love friends for the substance we recognize in them, we deplore the destruction of the insubstantial that covers the substance for the time being. Whereas, real friendship should be used to reach the whole through the fragment."

20-9-'32

"Just think and realize that there is no meaning in having the last look. The spirit which you love is always with you. The body through which you learned to love the spirit is no longer necessary for sustaining that love. It is well that it lasts whilst there is use for it. It is equally well that it perishes when there is no use for it. And since we don't know when it will outlast its use, we conclude that death, through whatever cause, means that there was no longer any use for it."

29-12-'32

"Nirvan is utter extinction of all egoism, self. Its positive aspect is capable of being experienced but incapable of being described. But we know from inference that it is something vastly superior to any bliss that we can possibly experience on this earth."

4-5-'33

"Tell Ba not to worry about me at all. She and I and all of us are in His hands. It is well if we live and it is equally well if we die. We are born to die and we die only to be born again. This is all old argument. Yet it needs to be driven home. Somehow or other we refuse to welcome death as we welcome birth. We refuse to believe even the evidence of our senses, that we could not possibly have any attachment for the body without the soul, and that we have no evidence whatsoever that the soul perishes with the body."

18-5-'36

"We must learn the art of never grieving over death, no matter when and to whom it comes. I

suppose that we shall do when we have really learnt to be utterly indifferent to our own, and the indifference will come when we are every moment conscious of having done the task to which we are called. But how shall we know the task? By knowing God's will. How shall we know the will? By prayer and right living. Indeed, prayer should mean right living."

4-1-'47

"Everything depends upon one's purity in thought, word, and deed, using the word 'purity' in its widest sense. Then there may be no cause for even so much as a headache. Only get hold of this fundamental fact. We often loosely use the word 'purity', and excuse all sorts of lapses. Do not even worry how I am faring or what I am doing here. If I succeed in emptying myself utterly, God will possess me. Then I know that everything will come true, but it is a serious question when I shall have reduced myself to zero. Think of 'I' and 'O' in juxtaposition and you have the whole problem of life in two signs."

### OBSERVANCE FOR ADOPTION

Twelve months have passed away since the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. The first death anniversary is going to be observed on the 30th of January. We Hindus observe the death anniversary of our ancestors, but it has become only a form except perhaps in some rare cases. It will be a tragedy greater than the one which was enacted on the 30th January, 1948, if we also are to reduce this observance to a mere form or ceremony. We must utilize this occasion for bringing to our mind the great virtues which the Mahatma embodied and for strengthening our own resolve to adopt them in our individual and national life.

What is it that makes the Mahatma so great in the eyes not only of his followers and countrymen, but also in the eyes of others in other countries many of whom have never seen him in flesh and blood and never contacted his body? It cannot be his politics. India can never forget that it was his tremendous efforts and consummate leadership which helped the country in regaining its lost independence. But that by itself would not and could not appeal to foreigners who were not interested in our freedom and certainly not to Englishmen who stood to lose so much by our attaining freedom. It cannot be his religion. He used to call himself a Hindu. Hinduism could not appeal to or attract followers of other religions, specially those who believe in proselytization, and yet we know many pious Christians who have paid unstinted tributes to his life and work. It cannot even be his faith in non-violence and truth, specially the former, because even those who do not believe in non-violence and are actually engaged in violence, have not hesitated to acclaim him as a great soul. It cannot be the simplicity of his life, his richness in poverty, because he had many followers who do not believe in non-possession or in very simple life. It cannot be his oratory because all those who are able to judge agree in holding that he did not

possess any great oratorical gifts. It cannot be his learning or intellectual attainment, because admittedly he was not very learned and all through the period when he was engaged in the various movements he did not have much time to read.

Various people have ascribed his greatness to various traits of character and various activities of his life, but it is wrong to ascribe his greatness to any one single trait of character or activity. His was a very busy life and there is hardly any department of life, individual, social or political, which did not receive his attention and there was no problem for which he did not suggest a solution; and yet when he was asked to write a text-book which would summarize his teachings in a systematic way, he expressed his inability to do so. He used to say that he had certain fixed principles and essentials and he applied those principles to the problems as they arose, and found solution for them in the light of those principles and essentials. Because he had not thought out a comprehensive programme, he was not in a position to produce a text-book on 'Gandhian philosophy' of life and work. That does not mean, however, that it is not possible for others to collect together in a systematic way the substance of his teachings as is done by a text-book on any subject. It would, therefore, be rash for anyone to take up one particular phase of his work, and look upon it as the greatest contribution to contemporary thought and activity. Nevertheless bearing this limitation in mind it can be safely asserted that it was the application in a practical way of the principles of Truth and *ahimsa* which according to him, can be synthesized into Truth alone, that secured for him a hearing all the world over from even people holding different faiths, belonging to various social systems and engaged in different kinds of work. Truth and *ahimsa* are taught by most religions and have been promulgated by all seers, teachers and prophets. But they have been applied and taught as virtues of individuals to be followed by them in their individual lives and never practised or sought to be applied on the scale and in all fields and phases of human activity, except perhaps in some rare cases. He applied them to family relations, to social matters, to inter-communal dealings and to national and international affairs. His great discovery, if discovery it can be called, was the method by which he applied them to vastly differing conditions and on a scale, which may be said to be universal. It was, therefore, possible on the one hand to fight British imperialism and yet remain friend of the British people; to encourage and organize small hand industries like spinning and weaving which were expected and indeed intended to replace textile mills and yet command the sympathy and support of their owners; to point out the weakness of our social organization and yet to get the confidence even of those whose cherished beliefs were thereby not only damaged but in many cases destroyed; to speak the truth with fierceness and yet not to offend those who became thereby discredited.

It is not that he was never misunderstood in his life or that people always treated him kindly; but he knew that even those who were fierce in their denunciation of him would one day realize their mistake and confess it. An early example of this has to be found in his life in South Africa where a Pathan under misunderstanding severely assaulted him, and yet later on he confessed his mistake and begged his pardon. The last and the most tragic illustration of this is furnished by the misunderstanding about his motives and activities in regard to Hindu-Muslim relation. The Mussalmans in 1920-'21 during the days of the Khilafat movement regarded him as their greatest champion and friend. This attitude of theirs underwent a change and during the period of agitation for the establishment of Pakistan, he was regarded by many of them and particularly by the top leaders of the advocates of partition as the arch-enemy of Islam and they did not hesitate to dub him as enemy No. 1, and yet when the unfortunate Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in connection with the partition of the country he came to be regarded by many of them as the one friend on whom they could rely. His death made them realize that they had lost a true friend and servant and many of those who had dubbed him as enemy No. 1 did not hesitate to express their sorrow at the tragic death of one whom they should have regarded as their friend No. 1. It was not only the Mussalmans that misunderstood him. Many Hindus looked upon him with suspicion and ultimately it was a Hindu hand that lodged the bullets into his body and yet that Hindu has his own philosophy and his own justification. But I have no doubt in my mind that the world will in no time know that even those who had a hand in his murder or who gave it their explicit, or even implicit or unconscious approbation will regard it as a great tragedy and an act of sacrilege. We have, therefore, to draw lessons from his life and remember them on this solemn occasion and make fresh resolve to walk in his footsteps and uphold the teachings which will never become stale or out-of-date. It is necessary to remind ourselves on this occasion of the particular application of his principle to our communal relationship which was in fact the immediate cause which moved the hand that fired the pistol. He wanted us all, to whatever faith we belonged, to live together in harmony; to forget others' misdeeds and forgive them; to remember our own misdeeds and make amends for them; never to forget that it is love which creates and hatred always destroys; that all life, particularly human life, is sacred and does not become less so because a person holds a different faith or may be even guilty of heinous misdeeds. We must never forget the weak, the helpless and the poor to whatever faith they may belong and that our lives should be dedicated to their service. Service should be real and genuine and not a mere make-believe. If we hold fast to the principles of Truth and *Ahimsa* we should be able to see things and events in

their true perspective and may not be betrayed as we so often are, into undesirable and wrong thoughts and deeds. Each one should look into his own heart, into his own mind, thought and action and to see if they conform to the teachings of the Master. This will be a true observance of the first anniversary of his death.

17-1-'49

RAJENDRA PRASAD

### THE HERITAGE OF GANDHI

In schools, we no longer believe in the old adage, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child'. We rather believe that it is the rod which spoils the child. The method of violence has been completely superseded in the field of education.

In a similar manner, there are two more fields, namely in our treatment of mental diseases and of crime, where violence is today considered an outmoded method, though the technique of treatment in the two fields has not reached the same degree of perfection as that of education.

But in social evolution, there is always a lag between changes in one part of life and another. What the world has succeeded in doing with regard to individual psychology, it has not yet been able to accomplish in fields where masses of men are concerned. When we have to change a whole lot of men, we rely upon the method of war; even when we have experience, again and again, that it does not lead to exactly the desired goal. Very often, it sets up forces which indefinitely delay the advent of the goal itself. But as we do not know of any better substitute, the old method passes as current coin.

This has however another disastrous effect. Just as a bad coin drives out the good one from circulation, so a method which proves 'successful' in dealing with masses of men, corrupts any progress which has been made in the field of individual psychology. The world is passing through a phase when crises come quickly upon one another. One war follows another, and the intermediate period is spent more in preparation for the next war than in building up for peace. And if violence 'succeeds' during crises of national existence, then its whole machinery is turned to obliterate any obstruction which may crop up even in peace-time. A nation which relies upon violence for self-defence, and on total mobilization, cannot afford to be less than that when it is involved in the preparation for self-defence. Thus totalitarianism sweeps aside any little advance which has been made in the field of either education or of psychotherapy. What is more tragic still is that the new knowledge which we have gained in psychology is not so much turned to individual correction as for the conditioning of masses of men in a more effective manner for purposes of State. Educators lose their independence, and serve as lackeys to the heroes of war. As a result, indoctrination has become more efficient than in the days of Tamerlane.

In this world of violence, what is the heritage which Gandhiji has left for us? The first is that Truth can never be anybody's exclusive property.

If we have the welfare of humanity at heart, we must not, in our pride, believe that we have got the whole formula of truth on our side; we must give due recognition to what may be true in the opponent's view-point also. Like the Jain philosophers, he has always held that perhaps the other one is right from his point of view. Consequently, he spared no pains to get at the bottom of his opponent's view-point; while at the same time he tried to discover any point of weakness which might lie hidden in his own armour of truth.

This entirely scientific, and perfectly democratic outlook was one of the most priceless things left for us by Gandhiji.

The second is that, as war inevitably leads to totalitarianism, and non-violence alone to democracy, we should determine to resolve social conflicts by means of non-violence instead of war, whether open or camouflaged. In war, the purpose is to reduce the enemy by punishment to submission, until he agrees to obey the will of the conqueror, who pretends to bring about a better social organization than the last one. Gandhiji said that, if we love the opponent as a human being, we cannot force him into submission; we cannot injure his personality and thus lose for mankind whatever little worth he might have had. Instead of that, we must resist him non-violently, refusing to co-operate in his wrong, and bear all the hardships which he might be pleased to shower upon us. By this technique of self-suffering, we may hope to surprise him out of his entrenched position, and then the opportunity will come for building up the new social system through the co-operation of the parties which were erstwhile at war with one another. This is the way of conversion and not of coercion. It leaves no sting behind, as there is no victor and vanquished, in the accepted sense of the terms.

Gandhiji applied the method of Satyagraha for solving various human conflicts. The objects for which he actually employed this new substitute for war, were many. At Vaikom, it was for the removal of untouchability; at Guru-ka-bagh, for the establishment of a civic and religious right; at Champaran, for the redress of a proved wrong; in the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements, for the restoration of India's lost independence. When we had to work for these aims, we sometimes mixed up violence with non-violence; sometimes we became more interested in the struggle than in the preparation for it along lines of non-violence. For, non-violent warfare requires as much, and even more revolutionary economic preparation than ordinary war does. When we initiated battles in India after the manner of Gandhiji, we occasionally employed it even for doubtful ends. The results of Satyagraha under these circumstances, were many and various.

When a new tool of destruction or of movement, or a change in the technique of attack or

defence is introduced in warfare, the general headquarters of the army immediately studies the results in detail and modifies future application accordingly. In short, the army learns by experience. In Satyagraha also, our procedure should be of the same kind. We must study every non-violent campaign from all points of view; whether the preparation was adequate or not; where it failed if it did; why it was so; whether the aim was worthy or not; how far the personnel retained the spirit of respect for the opponent even while opposing him; how the brave non-co-operation and consequent self-suffering of the Satyagrahis acted upon the 'enemy'; the duration of the battle and the losses sustained; whether the battle was not merely mechanically efficient, but also economically so or not, and so on. In other words, we have also to compare the results with those attained under comparable circumstances by means of violence, and see how the two methods compare with regard to the total human cost involved.

There is however one more factor which we must always take into consideration while studying the experiments in non-violence on the Indian soil. When Gandhiji himself led battles, the effect of the Satyagraha on the opponent was likely to be of one kind, on account of the reputation and influence earned by him in course of a lifelong history of public service. His personality was no mean factor in converting his opponent, where it did. We have however to observe how the method works where lesser men are involved; and how far they are able to influence the opponent in the desired direction.

If we approach the technique of Satyagraha in this scientific spirit, then only is there any chance of India benefitting by the leadership under which she has worked for the last three decades. Supposing, for instance, that the technique itself was employed in the past for gaining unworthy ends, even then it does not make the method itself taboo. If the non-violent way proves superior on study, then we can employ it for ends which we may consider noble. Indeed, we may have to modify the technique itself to suit the new fields of activity where it is to be employed. For, only thus, can we be worthy successors of the heritage which has been left to us.

For, a successor not merely imitates his master, but goes beyond him; for he holds Truth to be greater than the personality of the master. I remember how, when Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray had retired, someone twitted him with the remark that his students had now become more famous than the master. Prafulla Chandra promptly replied that it was indeed his pride as a teacher that his pupils had advanced beyond him in the science of chemistry.

Let us resolve to be thus worthy of what Gandhiji has left behind him.

Calcutta, 18-12-'48

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

### THREE PRINCIPLES

To write or speak about Bapu at any length for any person who may have loved him intensely is a difficult job. Besides, there are so many aspects of his life and teachings that one does not know what to touch and what to omit. His insistence on truth was immense. Whatever may be the circumstances or hardships involved in telling the truth, he insisted on telling the truth regardless of consequences. When other people commit mistakes, they try to hide them or to explain them away. If Gandhiji felt that he had committed a mistake or his calculation was wrong, he would proclaim the same. Such self-exposures afforded the test of his towering height above the ordinary man. It is rare to find any person of his position so frankly and so openly admitting mistakes if he felt like that. He will not admit any mistake unless he was satisfied in his heart of hearts that it was a mistake. No pressure, persuasion or arguments could make him deflect or deviate from the true course. He had a vast experience of men and he had an uncanny way of finding out the truth. Many persons must have found at their cost how difficult it was for them to have tried to mislead him.

The second thing which struck me most was his insistence on moral principles in every question. No consideration of cost or consequences would make him deviate even by a hairbreadth from the straight course based on moral principles. Even in legal matters he would examine not only their legality but also their moral aspects. Lawyers would advise him as to the legality of any question or action, but he would not do anything unless he was thoroughly satisfied that the thing proposed to be done was morally sound. He was a great law-breaker, but he broke only those laws which had no moral basis. He is not known to have ever advised anybody to break any law which was based on sound principles of morality.

The third thing which was very remarkable was that in these days of degenerating character, he laid the largest emphasis possible on the building up of character. He insisted that those who are around him and those with whom he dealt, should be pre-eminently men of character. Gandhiji had not that arrogance or intolerance of mere intellectuals. He had no glamour of men who were mere intellectuals. He set a high value on men of character. During these two world wars, the greatest loss that has happened to the people of the world is the loss of character. In every country the deterioration in character is immense. While everything can be produced in a field or factory, character has to be built up slowly and with care. If Gandhiji trusted a man and took his advice and then discovered that he had no character or his morals were low, he would immediately shrink back and have as little connection with the man as possible. But, at the same time, he would not make the man untouchable but he would strive to regenerate that man.

If India has any hope of maintaining her freedom and using that freedom for elevating the people socially and morally, then the road shown by Mahatma Gandhi is the only sure and straight road which would lead to the fulfilment of our hopes and ambitions. It all depends upon the people, whether they will tread along this path steadily or will allow themselves to walk on the zigzag path driven by gusts of self-interest, lust of power or pelf. Even if one feels depressed by what one sees around him, there is still time and hope for the people of this country to attain *suraj* (good government) by the means and methods associated with the name of Bapu and fulfil its destiny of being a leading nation on the path of peace and progress. I, therefore, suggest that those who believe in means and methods of Bapu, should on the 30th of January take an oath to eschew fights and quarrels in matters what are known as political and devote themselves whole-heartedly to redirecting the mind of the people to the various constructive activities of Mahatma Gandhi and serve the country in a way which would produce peace and relief to the millions who are long waiting for their dues.

M. M. PAKWASA

### THE NEW ERA

Though Bapu's more spectacular achievements lie in the field of politics, and credit for the deliverance of India itself goes to him, politics did not constitute any separate compartment of his life; in fact, it is impossible to divide his life into watertight compartments. To him, man was one indivisible whole, with a central direction of energy and control of thought and action. "The true Vaishnava is he who feels the afflictions of others," says the Gujarati poet, Narasi Mehta. This *bhajan* was a great favourite of Bapu, and the idea symbolized in these lines had a deep bearing on Bapu's character. For him, this constituted *manava-dharma*, the Universal Religion, which was applicable to all spheres—religious, social, political and economic. The voice of distress from whatever direction it came, always touched the most delicate chord of Bapu's heart. He discerned in it the beckon of duty, and immediately responded to it.

Bapu is aptly called the Father of the Nation; but he was also the founder of a new era—the creator of a new dispensation in the world. He, who strove all his life to substitute non-violence for violence, love for hate, sympathy and understanding for jealousy and competition, and co-operation for conflict, is truly the founder of new age and the bearer of message for humanity. Is there a precedent in history where a great man was able to influence the minds of such a large number of people in his own lifetime, and left such an indelible impression on the contemporary world?

The very thought of untouchability was distressing to Bapu. He, therefore, gave them the new denomination 'Harijan' for the 'untouchable'. This word is pregnant with a deeper meaning. By changing the nomenclature, Bapu sought to impart

dignity to the down-trodden and the despised, and wanted to instil self-respect and moral strength in them. Bapu's whole life was a long and unbroken series of crusades against injustice and oppression wherever they reared their ugly heads. He felt that whatever be the sanction and weight behind this vicious system, it deprived man of human dignity, which belonged to him as the reflection of God, and was utterly indefensible on moral grounds. He was, therefore, determined to wipe out this blot of the Hindu community. He raised his mighty voice against untouchability and stirred the conscience of the Hindu intelligentsia. It was not a bed of roses that he had to tread on; he met with opposition; he was misrepresented and abused; but, Bapu was underterred. His agitation stormed the citadel of orthodoxy and shook it to its very foundation. Directly due to his inspiration our new Constitution provides for the total abolition of untouchability, and the destruction of all traces of it wherever found.

Bapu's whole life was an experiment with Truth, and in many matters, his own life and person formed his laboratory. A notable trait of Bapu's character was that he maintained perfect accord between profession and practice. His words, therefore, carried a special appeal and acquired a profound significance. He accepted full responsibility for whatever he did, and went further ahead: for the acts of omission and commission of others, he would assume responsibility himself, and make suitable amends for them. Before this superhuman eminence, one's head always bends in reverence. For him, the whole world was a unit, which transcended all barriers of space, race or creed. He was universal; he was unbounded, and was free from all the limitations, which ordinarily divide man from man, and lead to all those ugly manifestations of pettiness, jealousy and unending strife, which deprive life of its real charms.

In Bapu's philosophy, the ancient wisdom of India and the highest spiritual ideals found their fruition and a new meaning. With the insight of a seer, and the courage of conviction of a man of destiny, he analysed all the present-day ills of humanity—social, economic and spiritual—and prescribed infallible remedies for their cure. Man has fallen from his ideals, and is traversing a wrong path. Man has forgotten himself. It was Bapu who held aloft the torch of light in the midst of encircling gloom, and taught the world the lesson of truth and non-violence and showed the way to peace and happiness. That is the way and no other.

JAGAJIVAN RAM

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### MY PRAYER

On this first anniversary of the death of the Father and the Maker of the Indian Nation it behoves us to pay our tribute of respect to his memory. Therefore we should (1) pray that his mission in life may succeed, (2) dedicate ourselves anew to strive unceasingly for the fulfilment of that mission and (3) by some overt act activate our resolutions.

When I went to Mahatmaji (and I did so whenever I went to the place where he was during the last 19 years) I spoke to him very little and that too during the last few years. I discovered that he bore witness to the spirit that was in him (and that is within all of us) and he would not give false testimony. Each thought, each word and each deed had to correspond. It had to be pure. He raised his countrymen to great heights of moral fervour as if in anticipation of the demands that events were going to make on our moral resources. He did it just in the nick of time and I do not think he failed though what followed the 15th August 1947, might make some of us feel that he did.

This is evident from the fact that from the highest in the land—His Excellency the Governor-General—to the fresh graduate who writes a very critical article in our numerous journals criticizing the Government, the capitalists or the traders, every one is clamouring for the recognition and keeping up of moral values. This is the one thing that counts. That is all that counted in the eyes of the Mahatma—more even than Swaraj. He insisted on those who took part in public affairs as leaders of the people observing the same code of conduct in private as in public life. You could not get away by saying, 'My morals are my private affair'. How many reputations did he not pull down because he came to know that their possessors either did not observe sexual morality or indulged in liquor or had acted deceitfully with their colleagues? He did this in his own silent and loving manner as he hated the sin but loved the sinner as much, as he loved any other. Will it avail us if we drink, lead a free sexual life, hold that the end justifies the means and raise the cry that our morals have deteriorated, that we have black markets, *pugrees* and corruption? It can have no effect. With Mahatmaji the moral law was supreme, Absolute Truth was God and Love the other side of the shield of Truth. He did not light a new lamp to show us the road but fed the old one with oil and trimmed the wick and made it so powerful that he was immolated in the flame. But the lamp will burn bright and will guide the footsteps of generations of pilgrims to come.

B. G. KHER

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## TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

### SOUL FORCE

1. The term Passive Resistance does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular rendered into English means Truth-Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force or Love-Force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of great spiritual force which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Passive Resisters. This force is to violence and, therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. All Passive Resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all, were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only Passive Resisters so-called. They came without any conviction, often with mixed motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigilant supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged; for, the exercise of the purest soul-force brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity; so that a perfect Passive

Resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men; but if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore is, I think, indisputable; and it is a force which, if it becomes universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death—that militarism which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming Passive Resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. (*Golden Number of Indian Opinion*, 1914, Page 9).

### THE PROSPECTS OF NON-VIOLENCE IN THE MODERN WORLD

2. I feel that fundamentally the disease is the same in Europe as it is in India, in spite of the fact that in the former country the people enjoy political self-government. No mere transference of political power in India will satisfy my ambition, even though I hold such transference to be a vital necessity of Indian national life. The people of Europe have no doubt political power but no Swaraj. Asian and African races are exploited for their partial benefit, and they, on their part, are being exploited by the ruling class or caste under the sacred name of democracy. At the root, therefore, the disease is the same as in India. The same remedy is, therefore, likely to be applicable. Shorn of all camouflage, the exploitation of the masses of Europe is sustained by violence.

Violence on the part of the masses will never remove the disease. Anyway up to now experience shows that success of violence has been short-lived. It has led to greater violence. What has been tried hitherto has been a variety of violence and artificial checks, mainly dependent upon the will of the violent. At the crucial moment these checks have naturally broken down. It seems to me, therefore, that sooner or later, the European masses will have to take to non-violence if they are to find their deliverance. That there is no hope of their taking to it in a body and at once does not baffle me. A few thousand years are but a speck in the vast time-circle. Someone has to make a beginning with a faith that will not flinch. I doubt not that the masses, even of Europe, will respond, but what is more emergent in point of time is not so much a large experiment in non-violence as a precise grasp of the meaning of deliverance.

It occurs to me that it ought not to be difficult to make a successful appeal to the masses of Europe in terms of economics and a fairly successful working of such an experiment must lead to immense and unconscious spiritual results. I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the

economic, the social and the political fields. If the masses of Europe can be persuaded to adopt the view I have suggested, it will be found that violence will be wholly unnecessary to attain the aim and they can easily come to their own by following the obvious corollaries of non-violence. It may even be that what seems to me to be so natural and even feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses. (*Young India*, 3-9-'25, Page 304).

#### NON-VIOLENCE IN FREE INDIA

3. Q. But what about your non-violence? To what extent will you carry out your policy after freedom is gained?

A. The question hardly arises. I am using the first personal pronoun for brevity, but I am trying to represent the spirit of India as I conceive it. It is and will be a mixture. What policy the National Government will adopt I cannot say. I may not even survive it much as I would love to. If I do, I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order. I expect that with the existence of so many martial races in India, all of whom will have a voice in the government of the day, the national policy will incline towards militarism of a modified character. I shall certainly hope that all the effort for the last twenty-two years to show the efficiency of non-violence as a political force will not have gone in vain and a strong party representing true non-violence will exist in the country.

(*Harijan*, 21-6-'42, Page 197)

4. The vast majority won't be believers in non-violence. The Congress does not believe in non-violence as a creed. Very few go to the extreme length I do. The Maulana and Pandit Nehru 'believe in offering armed resistance'. And I may add so do many Congressmen. Therefore, whether in the country as a whole or in the Congress, I shall be in a hopeless minority. But for me even if I find myself in a minority of one my course is clear. My non-violence is on its trial. I hope I shall come out unscathed through the ordeal. My faith in its efficacy is unflinching. If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence, I should do so. But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hand. For me, 'I can but do or die'.

(*Harijan*, 9-8-'42, Page 262)

(To be continued)

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## WITH GANDHIJI IN YERAVDA MANDIR

(By Mahadev Desai)

[The following is selected and translated from Mahadev Desai's Gujarati Diary recently published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

—V. G. D.]

11 March 1932

I said I would take tea. I asked Vallabhbhai, 'Have you given up tea?' He said, 'What is the use of taking tea after having become Bapu's companion in jail? I resolved that I would take whatever food Bapu took. I gave up rice, and take bread, milk and boiled vegetable like Bapu.' Fond of tea as he was, Vallabhbhai had given up tea; I also therefore determined to follow suit.

Preparing the tooth-stick, making soda and cleaning dates for Bapu—all this Vallabhbhai had taken upon himself. He said, laughing: 'I never knew they would keep me with Bapu. Or I would have asked Kaka what things are to be done for him. As it is, Bapu says never a word, and so one cannot find it out. Bapu emerges from the bath room only after he has washed his own clothes; so there is no washing of clothes either.'

\* \* \*

While spinning Bapu told me about the improvements effected in the wheel. Nowadays he spins about 250 rounds every day. He complained that he had not still got over the sense of bodily fatigue...

12 March 1932

In the morning Vallabhbhai said, 'Bapu set out from the Ashram on the march to Dandi exactly two years ago and at this time of the day he had already left Chandola tank behind him.'

Vallabhbhai asked Bapu, 'How many dates may I clean?' Bapu replied, 'Fifteen.'

Vallabhbhai: 'Where is the difference between 15 and 20?'

Bapu: 'All right. Then give me ten only.'

The jail library catalogue was received at noon. Bapu inquired if it contained any books by Scott, Macaulay, Jules Verne and Victor Hugo; Kingsley's *Westward Ho* or Goethe's *Faust*. He asked me to get Edward Carpenter's *Adam's Peak to Elephanta* and Nivedita's *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, and said, 'It was in a jail in South Africa that I read Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.'

\* \* \*

Talking about astronomy Bapu said: 'I have now made good progress in my study of the heavenly bodies. Did you observe the sky with Kaka? Here I take the *Illustrated Weekly* map for my guide and have gone far beyond Rohini, Kritika, Mriga, Anuradha and Jyeshtha constellations. Herbert Kitchin, a co-worker in South Africa, had great interest in the subject and took me to an observatory. But he failed to infect me with his enthusiasm, as my mind was then absorbed in other things. Here however I enjoy my study of the heavens immensely. It broadens our outlook indeed.'

Bapu is now reading Upton Sinclair's *The Wet Parade* and with great interest. He said, 'Sinclair is rendering great service. He takes one social evil after another and throws a fine light upon it.'

13 March 1932

Bapu cut out the map of the sky from the *Illustrated Weekly* and asked Vallabhbhai to paste it on cardboard. Vallabhbhai also prepared a beautiful envelope for the Ashram post from wrapping paper and salvaged for the purpose.

14 March 1932

This morning Bapu awoke at 3 a.m. instead of at 3.45 as usual. I said, 'I heard only three strokes on the bell.' Bapu looked at his watch, saw that it was 3 and said, 'Now that we are awake, let us offer our morning prayers.' Bapu and the Sardar take a walk every day between half past four and half past five. As Bapu was observing his weekly silence, he asked the Sardar in writing to finish his sleep. But the Sardar said, 'No, I will follow in your footsteps.'

16 March 1932

I said, 'According to Bhideshastri's interpretation of *samata* in the *Gita* to punish the wicked and to honour the good is to treat them on terms of equality, because there is justice and kindness in punishing the wicked. It all depends upon our motives.' Bapu said, 'Yes, but I say that one cannot thus punish the wicked with kindness.' Vallabhbhai said, 'If one can kill a calf suffering from incurable disease with kindness, why cannot he do the same in the case of the wicked man?' But Bapu laughed it out.

17 March 1932

Bapu feels much pain in the bone above the elbow and in the thumb of the right hand. He said, 'This is a sign of old age. We must not waste a thought over such pain. We must accept it as inevitable and cease to fuss over it.'

18 March 1932

The Superintendent informed Bapu that he had been permitted to see three fellow-prisoners every fortnight.

Bapu is strongly of opinion that when once we are in jail we may not insist upon meeting people who are outside. There is no sense in going to jail and still expecting to meet outsiders. But at the same time he holds that it is as much a prisoner's duty as it is his right to keep himself informed about the condition of fellow-prisoners, and he must always insist upon exercising this right.

20 March 1932

Bapu asked me to read Maithilisharan Gupta's *Saketa*.

21 March 1932

I finished *Saketa* at 4 p.m. It is an original, beautiful and immortal creation of the poet. He has taken the *Ramayan* story for his groundwork and has created a fine superstructure on it by his

imagination. The language is simple; the verses flow from beginning to end like a brook of clear water. However many times we may read the *Ramayan* story, there are several incidents in it which always bring tears to our eyes. Urmila is a new and fine character. Only the ninth canto has in it too much imitation of Sanskrit poetry. But on the whole the poem furnishes elevating reading.

22 March 1932

At 4 a.m. we take honey and lime-juice after prayers. Boiling water is brought and poured upon honey and lime-juice; we then wait for a few minutes until the beverage is fit to drink. Since yesterday Bapu has begun to cover his tumbler with a piece of cloth. This morning he asked, 'Mahadev, do you know why I cover my tumbler? There are so many minute germs in the air which might fall into the tumbler if it is uncovered, and the piece of cloth keeps them out.'

Vallabhbhai said, 'We cannot observe *ahimsa* to such an extent.'

Bapu laughed and said, 'We may not observe *ahimsa* but we should certainly see that our food and drink are free from dirt.'

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