

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX III

Before proceeding to the Marxian doctrine about Life and the Universe, it is pertinent to mention that Gandhiji's is not the only *ism* which accepts the doctrine of "God alone Is." There are other isms also which do it, and on the authority of those very scriptures (*Gita*, *Upa-nishads* etc.), which Gandhiji accepted as authoritative. But curious though it may seem, the lessons which they draw from this philosophy are the opposite of those which Gandhiji did. This leads them to reasoning and acts similar to principles and methods of the communists in some respects.

Gandhiji draws the following lesson from his faith that the whole Universe—sentient as well as insentient—is a manifestation of One Life (The reader will please bear in mind that I do not quote Gandhiji. The language is mine):

"When all life is one, and the whole universe including myself is a manifestation of God, whom may I regard to be my enemy, a wicked being, one whom I am free to hate? Whom may I fear or inspire fear in? Whom may I regard as closer to me than others? Whom may I regard as trivial enough to be sacrificed by me for an end?

"Although in truth my being is His, a mysterious law of His binds me with my body with such attachment that I cannot absolutely give up a desire to keep it fit and alive. I do not commit suicide or regard it as proper, in spite of evil in myself. How then may I regard another as deserving to be killed, because of evil in him?

"True, it is by Faith that I hold that the universe is a manifestation of God, and that apart from Him I am nothing. But I have not actually attained that stage. I am yet not free from passion, prejudice, violence, discriminatory attachments etc. Consciously or unconsciously, my acts reveal my real condition. But if Truth is as I believe, my incessant effort must be to reach a condition consistent with my Faith. This is possible only if I accept non-violence as the supreme *dharma* (law) of my life and regulate all my thoughts, words and actions in accordance with that law. All such pledges, rules of conduct and duties, as would fulfil the law of non-violence, must be sought out and diligently followed. If I allow myself freedom to kill or punish others for their wickedness, or for ob-

structing my aims, objects and efforts, the statement that all life is one remains a futile academic dissertation on my part."

As stated above there are others also who regard the universe as the manifestation of One Life or *Atma*. But they do not deduce the same lessons from the doctrine, they allow themselves the right to destroy, punish or otherwise forcibly restrain all those 'evil-doers' who go by the 'wrong path', harass the 'righteous', spread 'false doctrines' etc., and regard that for proper reasons the duty to inflict violence is as imperative as the duty to love. Such *proper reasons* might arise from differences of stages of evolution, number of individuals involved, their caste, creed, country, race, wealth and other differential factors. Herein lies the difference between Gandhiji and other accepters of the doctrine of 'God alone Is.'

I shall now consider the Marxian doctrine in my next.

Bombay, 9-2-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

CONDITIONS FOR DECONTROL

I take the Prime Minister's recent utterance about controls as laying down the conditions for lifting them. He has frankly said that the Government cannot take the risk either of the people of any area being starved or of such rise in prices as to make the wage and salary bill surcharged with heavy financial responsibilities. If the Government could be well assured that none of these embarrassments would arise, it could be persuaded to lift the controls.

Such assurances can be given by village *panchayats*, *janapada sabhas*, grain merchants, wholesale and retail dealers, agriculturists' associations, consumers who possess means of giving feasts, purchasing and hoarding large stocks and paying black-market prices, by pledging for a period of one year at least as follows:

(1) not to raise the price-level fixed in consultation with the Government, under any circumstances whatever;

(2) to undertake that none will starve within their area for want of food;

(3) not to purchase at a time and in a period of less than 30 days more food-stuffs than fixed as aforesaid;

(4) to religiously forbear from giving feasts in contravention of Government rules;

(5) not to refuse to sell when the dealer has stock in his possession, and not to conceal the stock for the purpose of creating famine conditions and obtaining black-market prices;

(6) not to carry on any export or import trade in contravention of Government policy and to refrain from smuggling.

If Congress Committees and similar non-official associations apply themselves to the above task by approaching appropriate associations as well as individuals and organizing public meetings of people to get these pledges, it is not impossible to create conditions which will embolden the Government to lift or slacken the controls. If controls are wicked on account of their morally deleterious consequences, and if there is a wide-spread demand for their abolition, it is essential that people should create an atmosphere which would raise a reasonable prospect that there would be return to honest and unselfish conduct if they are lifted.

The Government and their officers as well as favoured public bodies have also a duty by the people in this respect. They cannot themselves give feasts in contravention of general restrictions and ask only the people to refrain from them. Rather, under certain conditions they might permit the people a latitude, which they may not give to themselves. The Government of India sadly misdirected Governments of States in this respect by its instructions for the celebrations of the Republic Day. Government must realize that people have become sharply critical of their conduct, and that reality they must not overlook.

Bombay, 8-2-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE ADVERTISEMENT EVIL

A correspondent writes :

"I earnestly request you to call attention of the managers of the newspapers and other periodicals and of authorities to stop the evil of deceitful advertisements. Some merchants especially of Amritsar, Meerut, Jalandhar, Delhi, etc., very cruelly deceive simple people by their false advertisements. They advertise, for instance, that they make a gift of wrist-watches, gold rings, etc., to the purchasers of their hair oil. The unsophisticated villager who has been long wanting a watch or a ring but cannot afford to buy one, credulously falls in the snare, and places an order for a bottle of hair oil, which by itself, he does not at all want. A parcel with an attractive cartoon arrives by V.P.P., and is honoured with enthusiasm. But imagine his disappointment and grief when upon opening it he finds that the wrist-watch is a toy, and the golden ring is a worthless yellow metal like aluminium-gold, and the oil bottle is too small for the price paid! This is sheer cheating, but how can he afford to take legal action against that distant cheat?

"Is it right for the Press to accept such advertisements? They claim to serve the people, and for that purpose demand wide freedom. But how do they serve the people by becoming agents of such false advertisements? Please request the owners of the papers not to make money the principal object of their profession, and request the Government to take action against false and immoral advertisements."

The letter does not need any comment, except that the correspondent and people of his type should bear in mind that if they are both simple and greedy at once, they will always be victims of cheats. The desire to obtain valuable

articles for almost nothing throws them into the snares of cunning people. Nevertheless, that is a matter worthy of consideration by the two Newspapers' Conferences of India. They should voluntarily make rules in these matters, and make Government control unnecessary.

As I write this, my attention has been drawn by a friend to an article in the October '49 issue of *Collier's* (U.S.A.). This is what it says of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "a daily published in Boston and read in 120 countries besides the United States," and having a circulation of about 160,000. Regarding its policy about advertisements, the writer says :

"The *Monitor* rejects far more advertising than it accepts. No other publication in the world is anywhere near so choosy about whom it permits to purchase space. 'An advertisement in the *Monitor*,' one of its editors recently said, 'is pretty much of an endorsement'."

"And the *Christian Science Monitor* does not endorse the following: tea or coffee, tobacco, liquor; medical, surgical or hygienic articles; food products, soaps or other commodities when they are advertised on a health basis; hotel, resort or travel advertising employing a health appeal; schools, camps, travels agencies or financial institutions established less than two years; firearms; complexion preparations claiming medicinal qualities; hair dyeing; face or body massage; tombstones, undertakers of cemeteries; chiropodists, dentists, occultists, opticians or optometrists; hearing aids; accountants or lawyers (including patent attorneys); collection agencies; oil or mining propositions; political ads; adoption of children; animals in captivity; illustrations or text representing life or health as dependent upon weather conditions; the securities of promotional enterprises or of firms engaged in the business of tobacco, liquor or health products; ads pertaining to partnership or investment of capital wanted; illustrations showing use of tobacco or liquor. And abbreviation of the word *Christmas* as "Xmas" is not permitted."

Bombay, 31-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Indian Review

I am hardly able to take notice of books, periodicals etc., in the columns of the Harijan papers. The pressure on space and my limited energies do not enable me to do so. But I think, I must take a short note of the Souvenir issue of the *Indian Review* which celebrated its Golden Jubilee on the first day of this year. For nearly fifteen years of the current century, Natesan's was almost the only well-known house of publication, which produced inspiring literature for young men with patriotic and religious fervour, and through its magazine and books gave them useful knowledge about the country, her spiritual and political leaders and the Indian national movement. G. Natesan's books were favourite with nationally-minded college students for obtaining statistical and other useful information. The Souvenir raises memories of those days and reminds one of the several important figures of that period through photographic and written records about them.

Bombay, 15-2-'50

K. G. M.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE

Elsewhere the reader will find an article by Principal S. N. Agarwal under the caption, *What is really wrong with India?* He draws attention to the political danger underlying import of foreign capital and experts into India. Leaving aside politics, I endorse his statement on pure economic and moral considerations.

Economically, I believe, there is not much scope in India for profitable employment of modern technological science. The problem of India (and to a large extent, also of countries to our east) is far different from that of Europe and, still more so, of U.S.A. As the Prime Minister said the other day, our immediate problem (and I would add one which would engage our attention for a sufficiently long time) is how we can quickly find means to feed, clothe and find shelter for our millions. The problem of raising their standard of life, important as it is, falls into the background in the face of present hunger, nakedness and homelessness. How shall we best and speedily employ them and make them produce things which they themselves can consume, or possess means to purchase them? We have first to put to work our live engines. The problem of the European countries is to find means for maintaining a good standard of life — the question of actual hunger having been already solved by many.

In this, modern industrialization will not help us much because (i) it cannot employ too many; rather (ii) it would disemploy more than it can find employment for, if it produces goods which would displace indigenously made goods; (iii) its very efficiency lies in dispensing with the human labourer to the greatest extent possible; (iv) whatever it produces can be profitable only if it can find a foreign market; this is difficult and will get increasingly more difficult at a quick pace, because with all our efforts, our methods cannot be as efficient as those of the masters, at whose feet we shall acquire them, and other countries also will industrialize themselves in the same way as we do; and (v) our material resources, great as they are, are after all not so great as those of several other less populated countries. Our large exportable surplus is our people rather than our produce of the fields and mines. For centuries our country has tried to export its human wealth to other countries, and the present situation is that hardly any country wants it. And they will want our material exports still less. Our planning for industrialization must, therefore, be not with an eye to increasing our export trade, which is not going to stay with us long, but to production of goods, which our people can themselves consume and would always want to consume. Since they cannot and ought not to be made available to the people gratis, the only other way which will enable them to consume them is employment of all human energy in occupations which will give them sufficient returns.

A consideration of these problems should, I think, convince us that our technological advance must be in the direction of finding means of saving fatigue of the labourer, and not of saving the number of labourers. Incidentally, the saving of fatigue will add to the speed of the worker and so increase the amount of production also. This is quite welcome. But the primary aim must not be to reduce the number of workers, except in limited fields. Certainly not in the production of articles which are needed by very large numbers. Thus a machine which by putting a two-anna piece in its slot will give you a cup of milk without any human being appearing on the scene has no place in India except as a curiosity show. But a device which would enable him to carry his pail of milk with less fatigue than by simply carrying it in his hand would be perfectly welcome.

If we import technicians of this kind or if our students will study this side of technology in foreign countries they might be able to render some help to our country. But several students who have gone abroad tell us that what they learn there is so far above our needs that they cannot usefully employ those mechanisms here. India is not a country in which talented young men can find full scope for employing their knowledge. Their talents are not fully appreciated and richly paid; the comforts and luxuries — available even in cities like New Delhi and Bombay — are nothing compared to those of a small town in U.S.A., and there are many who desire, if possible, to leave India for good and settle down somewhere in Europe or America. Failing that they want to take as many opportunities of visiting those places as possible, and aspire to get a job in the Prime Minister's Foreign Department. Instead of "Home, Sweet Home", they begin to hanker for a place in Washington or London. What can be a greater loss to a country than that its youth should want to run away from their own country and people?

This disapprobation of import of foreign experts and sending our youth to foreign countries for study must not be confounded with the fish-view complex which wants to confine itself to its own small pond and refuses to move or look into anything outside the range of a small angle. It is not to make India a self-contained, self-complacent, isolated island that this foreign contact is disapproved. Nor is it from a sense of vanity for India's high and supreme culture and perfection in the past and from the pride of having produced in the present a Mahatma, who has been acknowledged on all hands, as the great teacher of the modern world, so that we have nothing to learn from any other country of the world. The progress which the Western countries have made in Technology is unprecedented in the world, and to the extent our country needs it, it must be learnt from them with the spirit of a disciple. But we must be clear about what we seek and why we seek it.

Bombay, 13-2-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

HARIJAN

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INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The continuously deteriorating relations between Bharat and Pakistan must be a matter of grave concern to every lover of humanity. One of the matters, namely, the Kashmir issue, held by Pakistan to be the key of all the problems between them, has been engaging serious attention of the world's greatest political organization, the UNO. But one cannot notice without a sense of disappointment and regret that it has not been able to make much progress in finding a solution for it. This is in spite of the fact that there is no sparing of effort, time, expense and intensive study on the part of the members of that august body as also on the part of the representatives of the two States. Though one need not be surprised for insufficient success, it would not be right to blame the UNO for it. Those who are assembled there cannot be said to be wanting in goodwill or in the will to prevent a war. Indeed, because of their sincerity in this respect, they have succeeded at least in bringing about cessation of actual fighting. This by itself is welcome and creditable to them.

But further progress has stopped and the feeling of hostility between the two governments and a state of cold or undeclared war prevails and gathers momentum day after day. Every day we read reports of new disturbances, disputes, charges and counter-charges, hostile measures and counter-measures, threats and counter-threats on both sides. Ejaculation of communal venom by communalist leaders is also going on in a great degree. Whatever demonic satisfaction and inspiration this situation might be providing to the communalists and whatever material advantage might be accruing to a few unscrupulous men of either side, to the hundreds and thousands of poor and innocent members of both the communities of both the countries, it spells homelessness, hunger, flight, terror and utter ruin. And to the people of the two States, unbearably high military expenditure.

The Kashmir issue, though put forth as the crucial one, is, as a matter of fact, a symptom and not the root of the evil. Unless the root evil is attacked and removed, the Kashmir issue cannot be solved, and even if made to appear as solved will not bring about establishment of peace and goodwill between the two States.

With very great respect for the Organization and the able and learned representatives of the various Nations represented in it, I have a feeling that there is something lacking in its composition, which disqualifies it from satisfactorily handling disputes like those between Bharat and Pakistan, or the Arabs and the Jews, or

the White and Coloured inhabitants of South Africa. No doubt the disputes burst forth in some specific concrete form when they take a tangible shape. But they are not materialistic at the base, but spiritual, moral, or fancied — the fancies being zealously held close to the heart. It is these basic causes which must be tackled if the disputes are to be solved for good.

Statesmen and economists with all their deep learning and experience of handling political and economic matters, profound knowledge of historical forces, strategic realities, and trend of world movements, are, somehow, not trained or fitted for questioning, examining and directly touching the spiritual, moral and conceptual bases of disputing parties. They take these bases as not to be touched. They cannot, for instance, ask the disputing parties, why should Hindus not accept or give up this and the Muslims that conception, or the Arabs this one and the Jews the other one and so on; why should America etc., insist on this institution and the U. S. S. R., on that? They consider themselves as incompetent to go to the depth of a problem, and yet feel bound to find solutions without altering the bases. Of course, not being fitted for it, it is right of them not to make such a claim. But at the same time, the utility of the UNO becomes thereby necessarily limited. In its limited sphere it can render useful service, but when a stage is reached, when no solution is possible without dealing with the root factor, further progress cannot take place.

The Indo-Pakistan problem is an instance of the kind. Gandhiji always insisted upon the fundamental unity of the two communities and the geographical indivisibility of the country inhabited by them, and sought solutions of apparently gravest conflicts by treating the root evil. He never accepted the defeatist position that the apparently contradictory features in their creeds and social institutions were irresolvable for all time to come. There was a time once, when there used to be bloody feuds between Aryas and non-Aryas, Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, Shaivas and Vaishnavas, Vedics and Jains, Vedics and Bauddhas, Sanatanists and Samajists, and various other sects. The stronger for the time being between them ruthlessly suppressed and oppressed the weaker one. But pious men came forth who established unity between the warring sections so much so that there is very little trace left of the old hostilities. So, too, there have always been some enlightened souls who have made several constructive efforts to bring together Hindus and Muslims and with good success. Gandhiji became the greatest champion of this cause and had found from the Muslims also some true servants of God who believed with him and helped him.

Mere politicians, economists and communalists will, I am afraid, not be able to bring about peace and goodwill between Bharat and Pakistan. The case is one for servants of God

and not statesmen and communal leaders. Politicians cannot apply their mind rightly on account of their own materialistic and limited outlook, and communalists because of their mutual ill-will and hatred.

Nature did not create India as a geographical region, which could be partitioned between two communities in an exclusive manner. India did have in the past more than one sovereign State but never one exclusively inhabited by a particular sect or community. The two communities, though they do not altogether live a life of thorough mixture, do not yet live altogether isolated lives. In several spheres they are interdependent and mutually complementary. One has continued several social institutions and customs of the other, and the other has adopted the dress, dishes, etiquette and administrative systems of the other. It was a sacrilege to divide Punjab and Bengal; the rivers and plains of both of them decry it; it was and is sacrilege to bring about a movement of populations; it was a sacrilege to make the Sindhis practically a wandering and homeless people. No man of God could have thought of these partitions and migrations unsentimentally, or felt reconciled to them. But statesmen, under pressure of communal forces and Machiavellian strategies, accepted a solution which was no solution at all; rather, which became the producer of a thousand problems and unprecedented hardships.

It will not be by political statesmanship and economic pacts that this problem will be solved. The UNO solution (whatever it is), even if implemented as unavoidable, will not cement the hearts of the two communities, which is the real necessity. It is spiritual statesmanship that is needed to solve the problem. The Hindus sacrificed on the altar of communalism the great spiritual statesman, whom a kind Providence had blessed them with, and who could have brought about a reconciliation. Pakistan is not doing better with her own great Khudai Khidmatgar. He is rotting in some solitary cell of her jails. She thinks that her troubles would be lessened if that man of God is out of her way. But she forgets that it is a soul-force, which she is neglecting to her own harm. A day might come when she will rue his loss in the same way as Gandhiji's death is rued now by all. Let me fervently hope that she will be awakened before it is too late.

No doubt that arbitration or mediation of common friends is the proper way for solving such disputes. Imperfect men that we are, we shall always have quarrels arising among us. But if they are to be solved amicably they should be referred not to mere wise diplomats, but to wise men of God.

Pakistan must change her ways and her gear, if she will be happy. Communally proud Hindus must also do likewise. The problems of Bharat and Pakistan are our problems and it is

we who must solve them; and solve them not by methods of hot or cold war, but by means, which bespeak truthful reasoning, love, peace and non-violence. If we hold that throughout the length and breadth of India and Pakistan we cannot find a man, in whose integrity, sagacity and impartiality both cannot place implicit confidence, then we must feel that we impliedly condemn the cultures, which both boast of, as not worth a straw.

Bombay, 14-2-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Resort to Firing

The constant resort to firing by the police against mobs and prisoners is a matter for grave consideration. There might be rowdy and riotous mobs and prisoners and, in the absence of the evolution of a non-violent technique, it may not be possible to prevent the State from using force to suppress them. But surely, the force to be used must be the minimum necessary. Can shooting be considered as employment of minimum force, when the worst weapons which the rioters are reported to have used are brick-bats and stones? Particularly in jails where the prisoners are confined in a yard or two, how many brick-bats and stones would after all be available to them? Even when shooting becomes absolutely unavoidable, should it be "to kill"? Can there be no bullets and guns which may only scare away or slightly wound, but never kill? Should not a jet of water through a hose-pipe and similar mild weapons be employed, before opening fire? It should be remembered that with all their illegal acts and breach of the peace, the prisoners and the mobs are human beings and citizens of India, and their lives must not be sacrificed lightly. Respect for life must be inculcated in the Magistrates and the police, and as between the life of the people and the prestige and authority of the officers, popular ministers must be more jealous of the life of the people than of the authority of the department, and must not take upon themselves the burden of exonerating them. Even the fact that the policemen have sustained injuries should not by itself be sufficient reason for opening fire. Its necessity must be shown to be unavoidable; an irresponsible and bad training under past regimes — British as well as Princely — and current events have been encouraging further the habit of resorting to the gun. But light regard for life is inconsistent with democratic institutions. If the people do not understand this, the popular Government as their senior brother and guardian must be patient with them and engrain it into them by setting better standards and examples. If the Government become supercilious, they will never be able to develop democratic mentality in the people.

Bombay, 15-2-'50

K. G. M.

GANDHIJI — THE LAST PHASE

III

Ways of God

But God has His own way of answering men's prayers. The Muslim League came into the Interim Government on the 15th of October. Gandhiji now felt free to return to Sevagram where a number of appointments were awaiting him, and a date was fixed for his departure. But Providence had willed it otherwise. On the 15th of October came the news of widespread communal disturbances in Noakhali, accompanied by wholesale arson, looting, forcible conversion and marriages, murder, abduction and rape which set the pace for similar happenings in other parts of India. An indescribable darkness seized his soul, and instead of returning to Sevagram he set out for Noakhali. Little did any one dream then that he was setting out on a "Do or Die" mission which, in its turn, would become the precursor of a series of "Do or Die" missions to end only on that fateful Friday on the 30th of January, 1948, when he crossed the bar and passed from the darkness of the soul into the presence of that

"light unsufferable,

And that far-beaming blaze of majesty."

There were many hurdles to be crossed before he could get to Noakhali. Each one of them carried a challenge which might have baffled any ordinary mortal. Shaheed Suhrawardy stopped him in Calcutta. Many mistrusted his motives. Gandhiji's answer was to "go into his pocket" and to agree to postpone his visit to Noakhali while the peace of the City that had for months before been burning was consolidated. Thereby he put upon the Chief Minister the onus and burden of preserving the peace in Noakhali. The four days' work which he put in Calcutta in collaboration with the Chief Minister proved to be pregnant with results and indeed laid the foundation of all his subsequent work in Noakhali. An even more serious challenge was that of Bihar. He met it by mortgaging his life to insure the safety and protection of the Muslim community in Bihar.

Lone Wrestler with God

In Noakhali he began by "burning his boats" and declaring that he could not leave that place till real heart-unity had been established between the Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali. The prospect was none too reassuring. The Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of the Muslim League Government of Bengal, who had undertaken to stay with him in Noakhali and implement the declarations which they had made with the consent and backing of the Muslim League Government, left him after a few days and never returned. The opposition of the Muslim League organization in Noakhali against the continuation of his stay there swelled and swelled, and in the end the Chief Minister of Bengal himself joined in the chorus demanding that he leave Noakhali and transfer his activities to Bihar. The farther he ventured out into

the uncharted sea of the dark unknown, the stormier and more unfathomable it seemed to become. Colleagues and co-workers in India felt perturbed to see him getting into deeper and deeper waters while the fate of India was being decided, as they felt, in New Delhi. The Noakhali situation could not be remedied while discord prevailed at the top. And the situation at the Centre was daily becoming more and more hopelessly tangled.

Gandhiji felt otherwise. Insofar as top leadership of the Muslim League was concerned, he felt that there was no further room for activity short of surrender of principles. But in Noakhali there was room and plenty of it for action amongst the masses of Hindus and Muslims. Their needs were common, their difficulties and problems were common and admitted of a common solution. He would go and live in their midst, become one of them, teach them to better their lives, banish ignorance, poverty and disease, and share with them the faith in and worship of one God Who is the same for both Hindus and Muslims. When he had thus entered their mind and helped them to enter into his mind, then would perhaps come the time when the atmosphere would change and sweetness prevail between Hindus and Muslims where sourness prevailed before. When the Muslims would see the underlying unity between what he was doing and his attitude in regard to the proposition which he was contesting with them, the latter would lose its sting. As with the atom, so with the universe. If real peace could be established in any distant corner of India, it would start a chain reaction which would fill the whole of India — nay, the whole world.

Rock of Ages

"My *ahimsa* is neither maimed nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is *ahimsa*, there is Truth, and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever in the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That these exist nowhere shows that they are hidden from man for the time being. But they cannot disappear for ever. That faith must sustain the faithful," he had declared on the eve of his departure to Noakhali. To test that philosophy and that faith he had gone to Noakhali. And now the magic did not seem to work. The fault could not be in the weapon, he argued, which was unfailing, but in himself or in his capacity to wield it. *Satyagraha* he held to be an exact science with laws as objective and precise as those of physical science. But to discover them one has need of uttermost purity and infinite patience, which in practice means reducing oneself to zero and entirely throwing oneself upon God. He divested himself of his companions and took up sojourn in a solitary semi-devastated hut in the tiny riot-scarred village of Srirampur,

to test himself through a series of tests, some small, some big, and some altogether transcendental. Not satisfied with that, after a month, he set forth on his non-stop pilgrimage in Noakhali on foot from hut to hut and from village to village on a one-night-one-village plan. And when he felt the call, he proceeded to Bihar — not under anybody's dictation but because he had convincing evidence that his presence in Bihar was necessary for the well-being of the riot-affected Muslim minority there.

All this while the Noakhali situation had continued to present the appearance of a stalemate. That was not his concern. His concern was with himself. Was his surrender to His will complete? He began to depend more and more upon the efficacy of *Ramanama* or the recitation of God's name as a panacea for all his physical ills, stopped taking all drugs and medicines, and refused to let his blood-pressure be taken by his medical attendants. His refusal after the bomb explosion at Birla House to let anybody coming to attend his evening prayer gatherings be searched for hidden weapons in spite of earnest entreaties of Sardar Patel was again in keeping with and an integral part of this attitude. While at prayer, above all, when he had put himself under God's sole protection, he wanted no other protection, or else his faith in the former was a make-believe and a farce. As his self-surrender to God deepened, the potency of his non-violence grew more and more irresistible. It was demonstrated during his Calcutta fast, and in a still greater measure during his last Delhi fast when the spontaneous flood of congratulatory messages and telegrams from Pakistan at the successful termination of the fast while the soil under the feet was still sodden with communal bloodshed of the most unprecedented magnitude, reflected all the character of an atomic chain reaction.

A Testament of Faith

Partition had come in spite of him. He had accepted it as a *fait accompli*. But if there was true non-violence in him even Partition could be made to shed its virus and the fundamental unity of mankind to assert itself among the Hindus and Muslims of India in spite of the Partition. A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after envisaged a fifty mile procession of Hindus returning to Pakistan with Gandhiji, at the head, and the idea enthralled him. There was the Kashmir fight. He had accepted it even as he had the Partition, not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war and the possibility of eliminating it by non-violent mass action; but because he was still engaged in perfecting the weapon — which though it had demonstrated its matchless efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be rebuilt or perhaps redesigned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new set-up. That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest

doubt in his mind, as the present writer can testify. He had a rough idea as to how he would proceed. He even felt that he was perhaps on the brink. It was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to its successful issue. The object of this article is to bear witness that he regarded its success as a present possibility and to give an inkling of the technique with which he was working.

New Delhi, 29-1-'50

PYARELAL

LEST WE FORGET

XX

Non-violence in Various Aspects

(a)

....Truth....is to me synonymous with non-violence through which and which alone I can see and reach Truth.

(b)

Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.But.....non-violence is infinitely superior to violence.

(c)

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man.

(d)

In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. Thatis an epitome of the way in which society should be governed.

Vegetarianism and Free Economy

Persons interested in Vegetarianism can obtain information, guidance and literature from any of the following:

1. Shri Sorabji R. Mistri,
54, Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay 5.
2. The Bombay Humanitarian League,
(Jivadaya Mandir),
49, Shroff Bazar, Shaikh Memon St., Bombay 2.
3. London Vegetarian Society,
9, Adam St., Adelphi, London W.C. 2.

Similarly persons interested in Silvio Gessel's doctrine of Free Economy can obtain literature thereon from

1. Librarian, Co-operative Book-House,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
2. Free Economy Publishing Co.,
7133, Sunset Boulevard,
Los Angeles 46, California, U.S.A.

Some of the interesting books on the subject are:

A Popular Guide to Vegetarian Diet and Cookery by Dr. Josiah Oldfield M.D., M.A.

Rules for Right Living by Dr. John K. Kellogg, M.D., LL.D.

A Serious call to Devout and Holy Life by William Law.

New Economic Order by Silvio Gessel, 2 Vols.

Bombay, 11-2-'50

K. G. M.

WHAT IS REALLY WRONG WITH INDIA ?

Dr. Solomon Trone, the American planning expert who has been invited to India to advise the Government on the co-ordination of different development plans, in the course of an address to the Uttar Pradesh Chamber of Industry and Commerce at Agra on February 6, made the following significant observations :

"What India lacks is not money but the correct perspective and the national spirit of forming a united front. India is the only exception among the big countries in industrial progress. Indian methods and means are antiquated and inadequate to cope up with her requirements. India has vast resources and a big consuming market. These can be utilized for developing the country's industries. *Foreign help is not desirable. It only restricts the country's freedom. Bringing foreign experts or sending students abroad will not also help. People have to concentrate on development as they did under Mahatma Gandhi for political freedom.*" (Italics ours)

Coming from a renowned planning expert of the United States of America, the above remarks deserve very serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India, the Indian National Congress, and all other well-wishers of the country. In our inordinate anxiety to improve our country's resources, we might gradually get entangled in the vicious circle of foreign technical and financial aid which ultimately results in political domination. With adequate training, Indian students are fully competent to develop the country's agriculture and industries. As regards foreign financial aid, I have seen with my own eyes how the Marshall Plan on the Continent is being utilized in a systematic manner to smother local industries and capture foreign markets for American goods. In countries like Germany, Italy, Austria, Greece and Turkey, the Americans working through their so-called Trade Missions have gradually captured the political power of these nations. We in India have, therefore, to be very cautious in importing foreign experts and capital.

The last remark of Dr. Trone to the effect that India should determine to achieve her economic freedom in the same way as she rallied round Mahatma Gandhi for the achievement of political freedom deserves our special attention. Although India achieved independence on the 15th August, 1947 and has now become a full-fledged Republic on the 26th January, 1950, we have frankly to admit that there is something essentially wrong with us and our country. We lack the inspiration and enthusiasm of the days when all of us were prepared to die for achieving India's freedom under Gandhiji's glorious leadership. That spirit of sacrifice and service is sadly lacking at present.

What is the root cause of this cold indifference and want of missionary zeal among the Indian public? What is really wrong with India? So far as I have been able to analyse the situation, I sincerely feel that what we really

lack is the distinguished leadership of a great leader who does not hold high office in the Government of India. I think, it is unfortunate that all our first-rank leaders have gone into the Government, so much so that even a place of high honour like the presidentship of the Indian National Congress has to go a-begging. I do not mean to suggest that capable leaders who are now in the Government have lost their sincerity and patriotism. Far from it. But the fact remains that even great leaders have to suffer from certain definite handicaps the moment they join the Government of a country. Their way of living and the security arrangements that chase them evoke a certain amount of jealousy and disrespect among the public and the masses. The unavoidable result is that their voice loses a considerable amount of force and, if I may use the word, magic. This explains how Mahatma Gandhi, as the leader of slave India, was able to enthuse the masses whereas today after achievement of Swaraj our greatest leaders who were trained under Gandhiji but who now form the Government are unable to capture the imagination of the Indian masses and galvanize them into constructive activities for making India economically free and prosperous. How we wish that at least one first-rank leader may yet find it possible to step out of the Government and once again inspire the masses into fruitful activity. Only then will the Government of India be able to enlist non-official help and support for building up the country on sound political, social and economic foundations.

Wardha, 11-2-'50

S. N. AGARWAL

Corrections

I regret that the following words have been incorrectly spelt in *Harijan* dated 12th February, 1950 (Vol. XIII No. 50). The correct spellings are given below

Silvio Gessel
Rudolf Zitzmann
Ringgenberg

K. G. M.

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