gandhi

HIS RELEVANCE FOR OUR TIMES

a volume of contemporary studies in gandhian themes presented to SRI R. R. DIWAKAR on his seventieth birthday by the workers of the gandhi smarak nidhi

gandhi

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EDITORS
G. Ramachandran
T. K. Mahadevan

BHARATIYA
VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY
1 9 6 4

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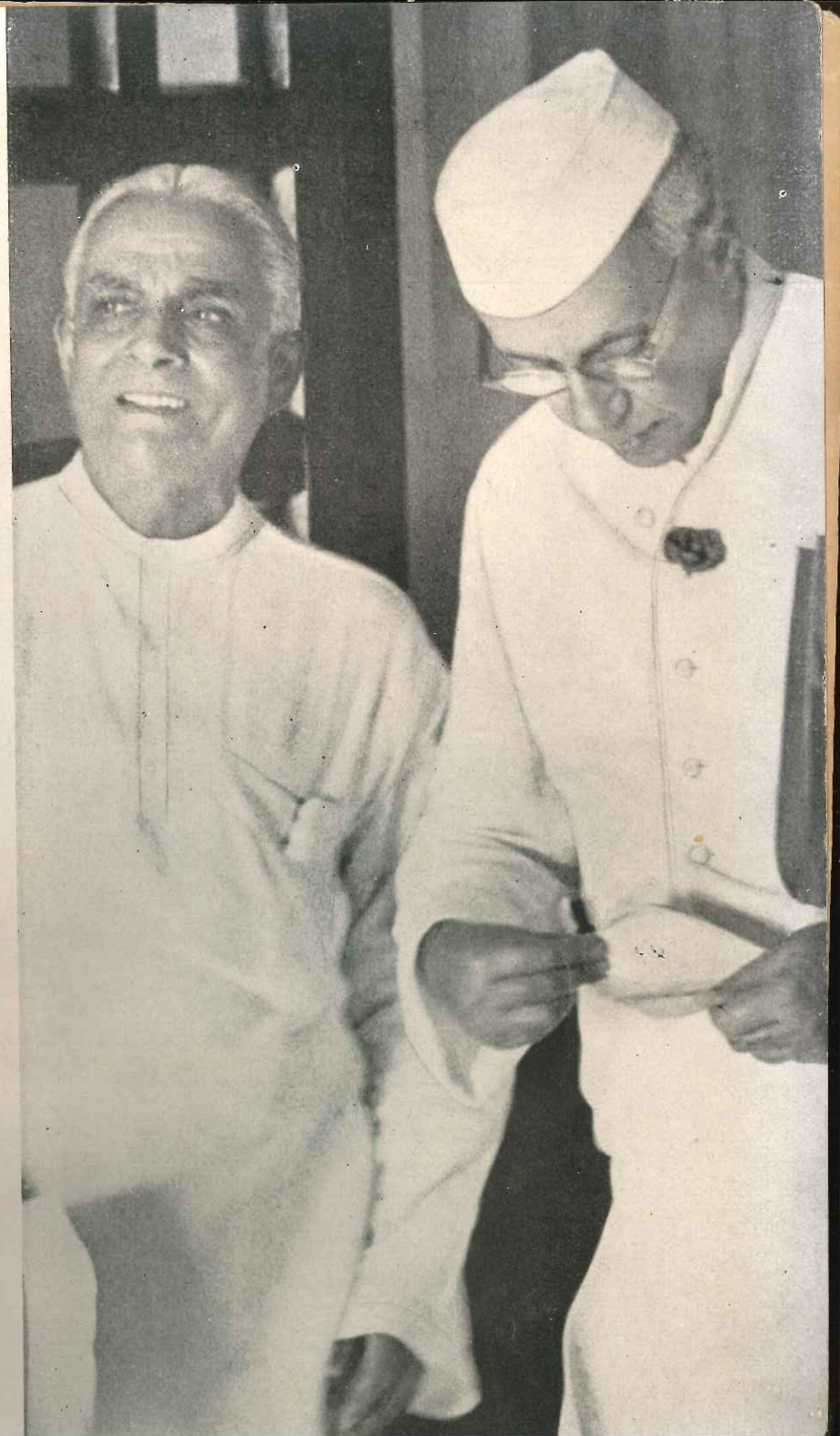
CONTRIBUTIONS

CONTRIBUTORS

■ C. Rajagopalachari, last Governor-General of India **8** ■ A.J. Muste, author of "Nonviolence in an Aggressive World" **9** ■ Mulford Q. Sibley, author of "The Quiet Battle" **24** ■ Richard B. Gregg, author of "The Power of Nonviolence" **39** ■ Gene Sharp, author of "The Politics of Nonviolent Action : A Study in the Control of Political Power" **44** ■ Joan V. Bondurant, author of "The Conquest of Violence : the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict" **67** ■ Stephen King-Hall, author of "Defence in the Nuclear Age" **82** ■ J. B. Kripalani, one of the founders of democratic socialism in India **88** ■ William Robert Miller, author of "Nonviolence : a Christian Interpretation" **119** ■ K. M. Munshi, author of "I Follow the Mahatma" **128** ■ Homer A. Jack, author of "The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi" **132** ■ Kenneth E. Boulding, Director, Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution, University of Michigan **137** ■ Esme Wynne-Tyson, author of "The Philosophy of Compassion" **143** ■ William Stuart Nelson, Vice-President, Howard University **154** ■ Ted Dunn, editor of "Alternatives to War and Violence" **162** ■ Raghavan N. Iyer, professor of politics, University of California **174** ■ Paul F. Power, author of "Gandhi on World Affairs" **188** ■ Shriman Narayan, author of "Socialism in Indian Planning" **200** ■ Bradford Lyttle, author of "National Defence Through Nonviolent Resistance" **219** ■ Margaret Barr, veteran Gandhian educationalist in India **230** ■ Simone Panter-Brick, author of "Satyagraha as a Political Weapon" **238** ■ K. Santhanam, author of "Satyagraha and the State" **246** ■ Marie Beuzeville Byles, author of "The Lotus and the Spinning Wheel" **250** ■ Agehananda Bharati, author of "The Ochre Robe" ■ **261** B. Shiva Rao, veteran Indian journalist **270** ■ Amiya Chakravarti, author of "The Saint at Work" **282** ■ N.R. Malkani, veteran Gandhian social worker in India **291** ■ R.R. Keithahn, founder of Ashram Fellowship, Kodaikanal **300** ■ Haridas T. Muzumdar, author of "Gandhi : the Peaceful Revolutionary" **309** ■ Charles C. Walker, author of "Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action". **317** ■ B.S. Sharma, author of "Gandhi as a Political Thinker" **332** ■ Arlo Tatum, former secretary of the War Resisters' International **341** ■ M. Yamunacharya, former professor of philosophy, University of Mysore **344** ■ U.N. Dhebar, former president of the Indian National Congress **354**

It is not Gandhiji who has made Satyagraha
but Satyagraha which has made Gandhiji.

R. R. DIWAKAR



Sri. R. R. Diwakar during his meeting with the late President Kennedy at White House in 1962, when he led a delegation to the nuclear powers to plead for an early end to nuclear testing. (*On the reverse*) Sri. R. R. Diwakar with the late [illegible]

THE CAUSE AND A MAN

An Introduction

It is often said that the cause is more important than the man. Let no one be too sure about it. Every cause waits for a man. A cause remains like the seed not planted in the soil till the man appears to do the planting. I have a vague recollection of one of my professors at the Visva Bharati teaching long ago : "There are any number of worth-while causes lying scattered about us everywhere. They will lie there till someone picks up one of them. And then something will happen. The cause will spring into life and the man will become the cause. Then the cause and the man will make history."

In this volume the cause is that of Nonviolence in the present-day world. This cause was picked up in our time by Gandhi who made it ring out across the world. Wherever there is today a struggle for freedom, justice or equality the question is asked if it cannot be carried on nonviolently. The very fact that this question is being posed throughout the world in innumerable situations is itself the testimony of how Gandhi has put this paramount issue before the conscience of mankind. No plea of realism, scepticism or sophistry can succeed in putting away this question, whatever the answer may be. Gandhi made this question inescapable

because he himself gave an answer without a parallel in history. He gave an answer in thoughts and deeds in which he involved millions of men and women in such a manner that even the sceptic and the cynic looked at his mighty experiments with amazement and at least some little change of heart. Gandhi did not organise a religious sect or an order of monks to carry on his nonviolent revolutions in India. He fearlessly scattered the seeds of nonviolence into the midst of the masses of the people. No revolutionary leader in history ever trusted the masses of the people as Gandhi did. In this he gave a beating even to Lenin, perhaps the greatest revolutionary of the century. Lenin trusted the people because he knew that no man or woman could fail to listen to the call of self-interest. Gandhi trusted the people because it was his living faith that there was in every human being a spark of the Divine which would respond to the call of love in action. We thus see how the revolutionary challenge of collective nonviolence waited for a Gandhi and when a Gandhi came, the cause and the man blended into an irresistible force of history which shattered immovable obstacles. It was the greatness of Gandhi that as he embodied in himself the power and the beauty of nonviolence, so he created on every side leaders sharing in his conviction and action. Gandhi's greatest gift to the world was Satyagraha and next came his gift of many Satyagrahis. Sri. R. R. Diwakar's place among these Satyagrahis is in the front line.

I met Sri. Diwakar many years ago at the time of the "Quit India" movement, some time in 1942. The nonviolent underground movement had sent me a message just as I was released from a Travancore prison that I should go to Madras and meet Sri. Diwakar who in turn would deliver another message to me. We met quietly in the house of the late Dr C. R. Krishna Pillai in Royapettah, Madras. My first impression of him was that of a soft-featured Anglo-Indian in the typical dress of that community. Perhaps he had on even a hat, I think it was a Khadi hat. From then on we worked together in the nonviolent underground movement till Gandhi was released from the Aga Khan Palace.

During those underground days there was a split in our forces, one led by Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali and the other by Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, and both of us lined up behind the latter. The difference was on the issue of undiluted nonviolence. The first group had a big program of sabotage and destruction of property, without killing humans as far as possible. The second group wanted only open programs of nonviolent resistance. At last Gandhi was released and some of us went to see him at Juhu. We were both there. We kept our car at some distance and I went in first and met Gandhi. When I told him that Diwakarji and some others were in the car outside, he laughed and said, "Ask them to come along and see me at once. No underground any more. Everyone must now come above ground." I went back and gave this message to the waiting group and they all went in at once and Gandhiji chaffed them, asking how nonviolence and secrecy could go together.

Later came Indian independence and I was glad to see Diwakarji in the Central Cabinet as Minister for Information and Broadcasting. Later still he became Governor of Bihar. I met him in the Governor's house in Patna where I went as the Chairman of the Basic Education Assessment Committee. He entertained the Committee to tea. He had called in the Education Secretary to the Bihar Government and a few others and we had a good discussion on Basic education in Bihar in which the Governor was entirely on the side of the Committee. And so the years rolled on. He became the Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Trust (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi) after the demise of the late lamented Sri. B.G. Kher, and Mrs Sucheta Kripalani became the Vice-Chairman. Both came to Gandhigram towards the end of 1957. We three had some good talks together on the work of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Then early in 1958 there was a long-distance call from New Delhi to Gandhigram and I was summoned to the phone. Diwakarji's voice came through saying that the Board of Trustees of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi had unanimously elected me as Secretary of the Nidhi and would

I accept the election and come and join in the work without delay. I pleaded for a little time to think the matter over as I had Gandhigram fully on my hands. Later I agreed and so began a close comradeship in work which has now lasted more than six years. Even after I resigned in December 1961 from the post of Secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, we kept close together as Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

I have thus had many opportunities of knowing Diwakarji intimately and here is my brief pen-picture of him :

He strikes anybody at once as a gentle and lovable person. Let no one, however, make the mistake of taking him for a weak man. He never throws his weight about but a certain inner strength is always in him, alert and waiting underneath his quiet and gentle exterior. His devotion to Gandhian ideals is unquestionable. But he is not wholly given away to Gandhi. He is a devotee of Ramakrishna and Aurobindo. In Jnana he accepts Aurobindo, in Bhakti he is with Ramakrishna and in Karma or action he stands with Gandhi. There is in him no contradiction between Jnana, Bhakti and Karma. It is easy to mistake him for a colourless human person, because he is not aggressive. It takes a little time to find out how many-sided and colourful are his interests, as for instance, journalism, social service, constructive work, peace-education, love of beauty and art and study and authorship. He is essentially a Rasika, but under deep self-restraint and self-discipline. I have many memories of working with outstanding constructive workers like Rajaji, Shankerlal Banker, Thakkar Bapa, J. C. Kumarappa, Srikrishnadas Jaju etc. I have always been something of a rebel even while I have kept implicit discipline in an organisation and there have been sometimes difficulties, therefore, in our work and twice at least Gandhi had to arbitrate. But during the last six years and more I do not remember a single occasion on which there arose between my Chairman and myself any difference that caused either of us a headache. This was so for two reasons. The Chairman

never interferes with constitutional propriety in organised work. As Chairman of the Nidhi and the Peace Foundation he has never once trodden on the corns of his Secretary. He was always ready with his guidance on demand but that guidance was gentle and unaggressive. Secondly, he is himelf a very hardworking and systematic chairman attending to his own work with punctuality and devotion. Anyone who does not know the situation personally might take him for a full-time chairman paid heavily by the Nidhi and the Foundation. He has of course been an entirely honorary Chairman and with much other heavy work on his hands. But every time he is at the Nidhi or the Peace Foundation, he gives the impression that he has no other work with which he is bothered. I remember one Indian Ambassador coming to see him at the Nidhi who expressed to me his astonishment at the utter simplicity of his office and his resting room. He can become his own clerk, attender and peon at a moment's notice and without the slightest effort. Diwakarji has written some classical volumes on Gandhiji and Satyagraha. So have some others in this country. But there is this difference, that Diwakarji is by instinct, experience and conviction a nonviolent person. Do we not know some brilliant interpreters of nonviolence who are in their own temperament and person frightfully violent ? There have been people who have attacked Diwakarji openly and secretly and they have used sometimes even filthy language. I have a hunch he knows who are at the bottom of this kind of slander. Some of them come to see him. He meets them and talks to them as though they are perfectly innocent people and he has nothing against them. I have never known a man of his stature and busy position more completely free from malice against any human being than my chairman. I have sometimes been impatient with him on this score, but he is incorrigible and will simply smile at my importunity. As the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Peace Foundation he has put in harder work than all the

Secretaries put together. He has kept under his eye all the ramifications of the Nidhi, like the Leprosy Foundation, the Peace Foundation, the Museums Board, the Gandhi Bhavans, the Gandhi Films Committee, the Tattvaprachar work and international contacts. Anyone else doing half his work would have made a lot of fuss and assumed a lot of airs. But this is the one thing he has never done.

He is now planning along with his colleagues in the Nidhi how best to celebrate the Gandhi Centenary in 1969. He addressed letters to more than 500 persons, big and small, inviting their suggestions which have come pouring in and which a Preparatory Committee under his chairmanship has carefully studied and analysed. The Gandhi Centenary is five years ahead and later on it would become the biggest national concern and the whole work will assume national proportions. When all that happens few people will remember who took the initiative and started the ball rolling. But this is just Diwakarji as he is, quiet and humble, taking initiative and doing a thing thoroughly and with devotion and never worrying who will get the credit. I think there are in India only a handful of persons who can match him in the work for Gandhi and nonviolence.

Leaders as different from each other as Dr Radhakrishnan, Rajaji, Dr Zakir Hussain, Acharya Kripalani, Sri. U. N. Dhebar and Sri. Morarji Desai hold him in love and esteem. He led an anti-nuclear-arms delegation to Washington and London in October 1962 and one of the members of this delegation was no less a person than Rajaji himself. How Diwakarji could at the same time be the leader of the delegation and a follower of its most distinguished member, was nothing less than a demonstration of his mastery of the art of high behaviour. I have heard Rajaji speak with deep affection and regard for Diwakarji.

Constructive worker, freedom fighter, editor, author, peace educator and above all a gentle, good and effective

person, he is undoubtedly one of the remarkable men of our country today. He is respected inside and outside India, in all circles which work for peace and goodwill in the world.

We have in this volume innumerable people from India and abroad expounding the cause of Gandhi and Nonviolence, making it an excellent symposium on a crucial subject. Contributors have written about the cause of world peace, which is the most urgent and fundamental cause in the world today. But as we have said, every good cause including this one waits for a person or persons to spring into life and march forward. Among those who will make this cause live and advance in the world today, Diwakarji's place would be in the front rank. He is now 70 years young. May he be young for another score of years to come. Let all those who understand and value the life and teachings of Gandhi give him their best wishes and prayers. This is the least we owe to this simple, unostentatious, good and steadfast comrade of ours.

This volume is dedicated to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday in all humility and with sincere love and high regard.

G. RAMACHANDRAN

Rajghat, New Delhi
30 September 1964

AN IMMEMORIAL EPITAPH TO GANDHI

C. Rajagopalachari

What was Gandhiji's wish in respect of India after it became free and the people obtained the opportunity of governing themselves ? He desired simplicity in living to become a general feature. He desired self-sufficiency at least in food and clothing. He desired that citizens should govern themselves freely and that the compulsory powers of the State should be reduced to the minimum. He desired Hindus and Muslims to live in mutual trust and fraternal amity. He desired firm friendship between India and Pakistan and elimination of all hostility between them.

It is a painful thing to go through these items one by one and to realize our failures in all these respects. Gandhiji was killed by a Hindu only because he desired Indo-Pak amity and elimination of all hatred of Muslims. Indo-Pak amity is therefore the immemorial epitaph written on Gandhiji's Samadhi. Let us not cease to work for it. If friendship is achieved between India and Pakistan it will be a great and worthy memorial to the martyred saint as well as the central pillar of our security against the dark forces of Communist aggression. If we do not work for this, it would be a dereliction of duty and a repudiation of Gandhiji; homage paid to him would be hypocrisy.

NONVIOLENCE AND MISSISSIPPI

A. J. Muste

This article is in the first instance an appeal to those, Negro and white, who are taking part in the movement for civil rights in the United States today. It is an appeal that in considering how to deal with the agonizing and complicated problems which now beset us the emphasis shall be on nonviolence, i. e. on maintaining the spirit of nonviolence in the movement and in devising apt and imaginative applications of a basically nonviolent strategy.

The long hot summer of 1964, about which we have been warned or with which we have been threatened, is upon us. We are in the midst of it. As has also been predicted and feared, the violence and tension are focussed largely on Mississippi where three young men who volunteered to work in the COFO[1] campaign for voter registration and related objectives have simply disappeared.

It was in Mississippi that Medgar W. Evers, the devoted and highly respected organizer of the N.A.A.C.P., was brutally assassinated. No one has been convicted of that crime in the courts of that state. It was in Jackson, Mississippi, that the widow of Medgar Evers at his memorial service said to her fellow-Negroes and fellow-workers, "We must not hate, we must love". What I am trying to say in what follows is

that this statement must be the light that guides the movement in the dark passages and the motto on its banners as it moves into the light.

I have on many other occasions spoken to the white people in this country, including the South, and including the churches, about their sin, guilt, provincialism, brutality, addiction to violence, apathy, deep-rooted prejudice. There is no time here to do this once more and I trust it is not necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding.

To urge that the emphasis now be on further developing a nonviolent strategy rather than abandoning or diluting it, is not to urge retreat or "moderation" or reducing the militancy of the struggle. It is meant to be, and in my opinion can be in practice, exactly the opposite, viz. the means to maintain and intensify the dynamism and drive of the integration movement.

Whatever one's explanation or political evaluation may be, the fact is that on the part of Negroes and their supporters the struggle for civil rights has been to an amazing degree nonviolent. The violence has been overwhelmingly on the part of the police, sheriffs, and other supposed guardians of the peace and individuals or groups who "took the law into their own hands", when Negroes demonstrated peacefully. Typically, this happens when the police give the green light to such elements and indicate that they will be looking the other way if demonstrators are attacked, churches and homes bombed, etc. Violence on the part of Negroes has in fact been negligible.

But beyond this, the contemporary movement as typified by Martin Luther King, Jr., James Farmer, Bayard Rustin, James Lawson, and multitudes of others, has as such been committed to a nonviolent or Gandhian strategy. The large older-established organizations, such as the Urban League and N.A.A.C.P., if not in the same sense committed to nonviolence, have certainly not in any way resorted to violent methods. Throughout the world, the integration movement as a whole has been hailed as by far the most notable instance of nonviolent strategy since the Gandhian Movement for Indian

independence. Moreover, many of the leaders and rank and file members have identified themselves as believing in nonviolence not only as sound social strategy, but as a way of life and as the basis of that "beloved community" in which human beings can be truly human, the society to which the prophets have pointed and which in some very deep sense is at the heart of the civil rights movement. "Deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome some day"—overcome not the white man but that which stands in the way of man.

It can also be safely asserted that such gains as have been made by the civil rights movement have come about basically by the use of the nonviolent approach, whether by the more conventional tactics of N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League or by direct action and civil disobedience. All these tendencies have insisted that the issue was a *moral* one and have appealed to the *conscience* of leaders and people. The moral revulsion which swept the country when firehoses and cattle prods were turned on women and children and four girls were murdered in a Birmingham church on a Sunday morning had a good deal to do with the (belated) introduction of the civil rights bill and its passage, and with the important upsurge of college youth in support of civil rights. One need only reflect for a moment to realize how different the reaction would have been if incidents like those just mentioned had taken place in the context of a series of pitched battles between Negroes and whites, or between Negroes and the police. The sporadic violence into which Negroes were occasionally goaded at the sight of the brutality wreaked on women and children was, on the other hand, understandable and did not dilute the moral revulsion, in spite of all the efforts of segregationists to build up an image of Negro violence and to put the onus of "provoking" violence on peaceful demonstrators.

Nonviolence Remains a Sound Strategy

As I have argued in another paper[2], regardless of whether this happens to be in line with one's philosophical or religious views, the integration movement as such in this country and

under existing circumstances has to remain essentially nonviolent. More specifically, this means, on the one hand, making use of such means as the nation's legislative, judicial and executive set-up provides for removing discrimination and achieving conditions which promote equality. It means, on the other hand, that when direct action is resorted to, as it certainly has to be, when Negroes and their supporters "take to the streets", the action has to be essentially along nonviolent or Gandhian lines.

In the first place, indispensable as the demand for freedom by the Negro people is, their refusal any longer to submit to discrimination, the refusal any longer to be intimidated, they cannot achieve even a measure of genuine, as against token, integration by themselves. They have to have the support of labour and other elements. The integration movement does not yet have that labour support except in a very limited degree. To take to violence ("self-defence" so called) under these circumstances, is self-defeating and adventurist, a gesture of frustration, rather than facing up to a problem.

More basically, as an increasing number of scholars and activists are coming to understand, civil rights can be achieved only as part of a "triple revolution" which takes in also the issue of "jobs" in the era of automation and cybernation, and the issue of "weaponry" or peace in the era of nuclear warfare. Even if one thinks that this "triple revolution" should be carried through eventually on the historic pattern of revolutions based on a violent transfer of power (a position which I do not hold), then one is still confronted with the plain fact that no such revolution is imminent in the United States, nor does any agency to effect such a revolution and "take over" after it occurs exist. To behave in a sector of the total field, such as civil rights, and in a specific location, such as Mississippi, as if one were in such a revolutionary period is, again, irrational and suicidal. It is, therefore, suicidal for integrationists in the rightful and necessary pursuit of their own concrete objectives to be diverted from helping to build the forces that will achieve the "triple revolution" into the adventurism of violent shortcuts.

There is still one other aspect of the situation which I shall merely allude to—though it is of utmost importance in my opinion. I mean the deep psychological (largely irrational) roots of racism and of many aspects of the relation between the races in this country. It is the knowledge as well as verdict of any reputable expert that such sicknesses are not cured by violence or in an atmosphere of violence.

The slowness of the progress towards genuine integration, the frustrations encountered in achieving obvious and substantial results through demonstrations or even such mild activities as voter registration have led to increasing demands for police protection and especially for the intervention of federal marshals and federal troops. This is now a central problem. Before tackling it, however, it may be necessary to comment on a proposal that is, I understand, receiving some consideration, viz. that civil rights demonstrators have to provide their own "security" or "protection" in some situations, especially the bad ones like Mississippi. This means that voter registration volunteers themselves or people who accompany them should be armed and prepared to shoot in self-defence. As a pacifist, I of course abhor and reject such a proposal. Apart from that, I have argued in a previous paper already mentioned that this proposal cannot be equated with "self-defence" on the part of an individual in the general context of American law and mores. It is a social or political tactic. I think it could well be that in some specific situation at a given moment the fact that a person threatened with attack in a rural county in the South had a gun and indicated he was ready to use it might for the time being help him from being abducted or killed and enable him to get away. But to adopt a general strategy of arming the volunteers or their guards, or arming the Negro community, is an entirely different proposition. It is not something to play games with. How far are those who advance this kind of proposal willing to go? Such proposals seem to me either to assume a "revolutionary" situation which we do not have in the U.S. or to spring out of psychological frustrations which should not determine the political policy of a movement. It should, of course, be

understood that none of the leading civil rights organizations entertains such proposals.

Calling in Federal Forces

The idea of calling in the state or federal police is another matter. From their point of view it *is* the clear duty of the police and civil authorities generally to protect peaceful demonstrators and people engaged in lawful missions from lawless attacks by individuals or mobs. This is the dictate of common sense and of a sense of social justice. It has repeatedly been backed by the Supreme Court, so it is the "Law of the land". It seems obviously legitimate to bring this responsibility to the attention of the civil authorities. People who are not pacifists and hold the prevailing views about police protection would seem to have a clear duty to exert themselves to secure proper exercise of the local police authority and failing that to work for their replacement in such ways as society has provided.

The question whether nonviolent activists should *seek* such protection and make federal intervention, including use of the military establishment, a major part of their strategy—which now tends to be the case—is another matter.

The safety of a defenceless individual at the moment he is being attacked is a matter of the deepest concern to any other individual present who is not bereft of his reason. Insensitivity at this point, as shown quite often recently not only in connection with racial struggles but in other cases of brutal attack, and not only in Mississippi but in New York, is a shocking manifestation of psychic illness. However, the question whether a particular means does in fact "protect" the individual and others has also to be faced and the proposition that violence does in fact overcome violence may be and needs to be questioned.

Nonviolent volunteers may go into a conflict unarmed of their volition and in that sense would be defenceless. But the fact is that the individual soldier in large numbers, even in "brush-fire wars", not to mention the bigger ones which

the big nations wage, is also defenceless. He is not guaranteed safety, quite the contrary. What he has is the possibility to inflict mutilation or death also on others. But this is precisely what the civil rights volunteers do not seek.

To turn to certain specific problems: what does the record show about the result of bringing in outside forces, which is what it comes to since the problem arises because local authorities do not discharge the normal function of maintaining public order? The record hardly provides unequivocal support for outside intervention. In Cambridge, Maryland, what seems to have happened is that "public order" has been imposed in a superficial sense and in the civil rights struggle a stalemate, not progress, has ensued. In the state of Arkansas, in which Little Rock is located, no outstanding results have been achieved in the civil rights struggle which can be charged to the armed intervention to which Eisenhower finally resorted, having consistently failed to take his stand on civil rights as a moral issue. Witness John W. Fulbright, the highly intelligent Senator from that state, pleading that he "had" to vote against the civil rights bill, or Faubus, the segregationist Governor of Arkansas, would defeat him. I recall, to look at the matter from an opposite angle, that the one period when there were notable public defections from the ultra-right organizations was during the moral revulsion against hate and violence which swept the country at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

When it comes to a situation like Mississippi, I find that those who are close to it and whose judgement I rely on point out that "limited violence" or bringing in a limited number of federal marshals is not likely to meet the situation. Thus a relatively conservative organization such as N.A.A.C.P. calls on the federal government to take over control in Mississippi, which means the use of the armed forces. If such an approach leads to anything like open, even if limited, civil war, what will have been gained? How will the cause of civil rights, in that state, have been advanced, not to mention the healing of the deep psychological sickness with which many are afflicted ?

What does "taking over" eventually mean? Putting federal marshals into every city, town and rural area? How will they enforce law against the will of the local population? And which laws will they apply, those passed by the Mississippi legislature? If not, how do they abrogate or set aside such laws ? Does the federal government appoint a new legislature, install a new governor, or provide for new elections in which the "right" kind of officials are chosen? If so, how is that to be managed? The more one reflects on what can come out of an effort to take a state over by such means, the more fantastic the idea seems. Can this really be identified as "democratic process"?

If the U. S. army in effect "rescues" the civil rights cause in Mississippi, or appears to, what effect will that have on the thinking of Negroes and their supporters if the Johnson administration is drawn this summer or next winter into war in Vietnam and perhaps Southeast Asia generally? What attention, for that matter, are civil rights workers giving at this time to the crucial situation in that part of the world?

There is, of course, the not unimportant question whether the Johnson administration in an election year can be expected to undertake any such drastic and dubious measures as this.

It seems to me that two very important factors have to be taken into account by civil rights advocates who are putting this issue up to the President. One has to do with the present; the other with the heritage of the past. The former is symbolized by Senator Goldwater, the Republican nominee. Opposition to the civil rights bill will now have a certain cover of legitimacy during the election campaign. Most serious, there will be a rallying point for reactionaries of various kinds and extremist elements, which will make the struggle against prejudice more difficult and emotionally pitched. To yield to such elements would be fatal and therefore there must be no slowing down of the campaign for civil rights in its various forms. But it seems to me obvious that anything which makes it easier to make people think that the nation has a war between whites and Negroes on its hands will play into the hands of the foes of civil rights. Objectively

considered it will, as I see it, be playing into the hands of the darkest forces of our society. Once again Negroes will be able to save the country as well as themselves by deepening the spirit of nonviolence and pursuing an unrelenting nonviolent struggle for freedom.

The heritage to which I have referred above is that of the Civil War and its long aftermath. My own long stays in Georgia and other Southern states in recent months have given me a new insight into the wounds which that experience inflicted on what may be called the Southern soul and the extent to which that experience still determines Southern thinking and emotion. There is no time to elaborate on the point and I am aware that the objective conditions, the "world" of 1964 is not at all the same as that of 1864. But I cannot but feel that another "taking over", another bruising inflicted may have serious consequences. But in any case this is a factor which should be steadily in our minds, especially since when it comes to essentials, rather than surface considerations, the rest of us are not superior to the Southerners.

If in the face of all such considerations, such projects as COFO is carrying on in Mississippi and other dynamic efforts are to be pursued, we are driven to ask the question whether a more thorough and "pure" application of the nonviolent approach should not be devised.

Without having been able to carry on a series of discussions about them in advance, I set down a number of suggestions as to what a more earnest and consistent application of nonviolence would or might mean in a situation like Mississippi.

Application of Nonviolence

(1) The nonviolent approach is in one aspect based on the use and efficacy of moral force (Gandhi's term was "soul-force") as against physical force or violence. President Johnson has made on the whole an admirable record in the matter of civil rights in recent months. He has even ventured into places like Atlanta to plead that integration is a moral

issue. He has exerted moral force in this way. He is now being urged in various quarters to send troops into Mississippi. This would be an essentially political act. An essentially moral act would be for President Johnson not to send troops but to take upon himself responsibility for going to Jackson personally in order to confer with Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., to meet with the editors of the State, the clergy, perhaps the lawyers, the civil rights volunteers, and so on. This would not be primarily on the technical issue of law enforcement, but on the basic human and moral issue with which not only Mississippi but the whole nation is now confronted, according to Mr Johnson's own declarations.

(2) It is foreign to nonviolence to seek a victory over other human beings in a war in which one group of humans is arrayed against another. The aim is not to conquer and humiliate the "enemy" but to change his mind and will. The system or institutional pattern in which people are involved—whatever the prevailing pattern of domination and subordination may be at a given time—is conceived as something which traps, harms, degrades all who live under it. This means, as Martin Luther King, Jr. has put it more than once, that the aim of the civil rights movement is to "liberate" the South, not only to liberate Negroes. I am well aware that there are many in the current movement in Mississippi who share these views. However, they are by no means universally held and I am suggesting that more effort be put into cultivating this attitude in all civil rights workers and in trying to communicate to Mississippians that this is the spirit which motivates the movement for equality.

(3) I take it that Quakers are doing this to some extent, but my own experiences recently in Georgia, in some sections of which conditions are not too dissimilar from Mississippi, have given me a strong conviction that more effort should be put into attempts to set up communication between members of the white and Negro communities. This involves a patient effort to locate the members of the white community, clergy and lay, who have a measure of sensitivity and intelligence. They are consequently inwardly disturbed, but ordinarily for

motives creditable and not creditable, they do not act and speak. Yet time and thought need to begin reaching these people. They will largely determine in the end what happens in the local community. I do not mean by that to rule out or deprecate the role of the "outside agitator", having been one most of my life. The polarization and absence of communication are to be reckoned with as a fact; they must not be accepted as the basis on which warfare is to be waged.

(4) One hesitates to raise the point of "protection" and "defence" in face of the brutality so often witnessed in many Southern localities. And I have repeatedly pointed out that it is the duty of the authorities, by their own professed standards and the law of the land, to provide peaceful demonstrators with protection. It is legitimate for citizens who accept these premises to insist that the protection be provided. But it is not a part of the nonviolent strategy or ethos to ask for protection which ultimately rests on violence to restrain violence. Nonviolence means to go unarmed and in that sense to be defenceless. This also means not having arms—one's own or that of the police or the army, *in reserve somewhere*. It means to take suffering upon one's self and to avoid inflicting it in any way on others.

I am, therefore, proposing that the practice of calling on the police and especially on troops for protection be abandoned by the civil rights movement. To be consistent I think we have to adopt that course in relation to Mississippi. Let the authorities face up to their own responsibilities but let us operate on our own assumptions and our own nonviolent ethic. I firmly believe myself that it may well be the only way in which Mississippi can in fact be *disarmed* and *transformed*.

There is a sense in which young people ought to have "protection", though they have made it magnificently clear that they are not looking for an easy life. Is it out of the question to ask decent Mississippians to act as escorts for each team of volunteers? Or the parents or other relatives of the volunteers might act in that capacity. Or clergy in pairs from various parts of the country. I gather that some of these ideas are already being considered.

More Aggressive Nonviolence

There are two final observations. One of the reasons, in my opinion, why nonviolence has become obnoxious to many Negroes is a pattern often followed in civil rights struggles. When the struggle in a city like Birmingham reaches the point where a significant breakthrough seems imminent, the powers that be become tougher and more violent. They accuse the nonviolent leaders of provoking violence and that any blood if it is shed will be on their hands. The latter are deeply troubled. The outcome is the setting up of a bi-racial committee which is to work out steps toward integration. The struggle is thus relaxed or even initially abandoned. And nothing happens. I suggest this pattern be avoided in the future. The struggle should be maintained until some specific steps towards integration are assured.

Secondly, the typical struggle involves large numbers but is usually at a low level of intensity, in the sense that leaders and rank and file expect to be bailed out promptly, with the result that very large amounts of money are tied up indefinitely which has a crippling effect financially on future activities. A sounder nonviolent strategy would be to refuse to put up bail or spend large sums on trials, to remain in jail, for those able to do so to fast or go on hunger strike, and so on. This in turn would deeply stir the community, Negro and, at least to some extent, also the white, and would contribute towards the political force and effectiveness of the movement.

What has appeared up to this point was written before the adoption of the civil rights bill. It is obviously too early to make a definite analysis of the effects of its adoption and of the way it is or is not being enforced. Nevertheless, the first impact of the new situation, the post-adoption period, has occurred and we cannot avoid trying to make a provisional assessment of what this means for future strategy.

It seems to me clear that the adoption of the bill, whatever its shortcomings, is a notable gain. We have only to think for a moment where we should now be if a filibuster were on and the bill had failed of adoption. By no stretch of the

imagination can the adoption be laid to violence on the part of the integration movement. It is the fruit of a militantly nonviolent struggle.

Secondly, it is clear that the struggle is not over. There have been revolting instances of violence on the part of segregationists and there is no reason to think that we have seen the last of them. At the moment of writing the Goldwater nomination seems more assured than ever. This may have ominous implications for American society in the election campaign.

There are dramatic instances such as that of the businessmen and Mayor Allen C. Thompson of Jackson, Mississippi, standing together "against the White Citizen's Council in a decision to comply with the Civil Rights Act". Peaceful integration of hotels, motels and restaurants has, "to the surprise of many of the Mississippians", as the New York *Times* reports, actually taken place. I think of another example, close to myself and the whole nonviolent movement, in which such organizations as the War Resisters' League and the Committee for Nonviolent Action are involved, viz. Albany, Georgia. Reports from the scene there reveal that there also integration of hotels and eating places has taken place without incident, and the atmosphere is on the whole relaxed ! It is difficult for anyone who was close to the ordeal which the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Peace Walkers experienced in Albany earlier this year to believe that this could possibly be true ; yet it is.

Without going into further detail, it is clear that in so far as any conclusion can be drawn from the latest developments they point to the application of a militant and imaginative strategy of nonviolence. They certainly give no support to an abandonment of that strategy.

Violence as the Enemy

The civil rights movement has its own task and must deal with the problems and dilemmas which spring directly from it. However, its leaders and many of its members already are

aware of the fact that civil rights in a meaningful and decisive degree can be achieved only in the context of a Triple Revolution which will also solve the problem of jobs and the problem of peace. Both have to be solved, obviously, for all; there is no such thing as a solution for some and not for others.

The problem of "peace" relates to the relations between nations in the era of nuclear technology. But it relates to much more. Any force of "violence" that has social dimensions and implications takes on new evil meaning because it may "escalate" into war, get out of hand and bring on the danger of extinguishing civilization, if not the race itself. Furthermore, as daily events testify, alongside refinements in modern culture, we are confronted with frustration, alienation, swift change apparently beyond human control, and consequently with violence in many forms. It can no longer be considered a minor matter for those seeking to combat the "anti-human" in any form whether violence is to be resorted to for the sake of a seemingly good and necessary end or whether a decision for or against violence itself is now basic for every human being and especially for committed devotees of any "cause".

The great French novelist, philosopher and hero of the Resistance, Albert Camus, some time ago came to the conclusion that the latter is indeed the case. In 1947 he wrote an essay which states the challenge to break with murder and violence and suggests how that may be done. His is a voice that will be listened to not without a measure of respect on both or all sides of the lines that divide men into warring camps and sometimes lead to a proliferation of violence on many levels which make us wonder whether mankind is dominated by a wish to die. The essay is entitled "Neither Victims Not Executioners".[3] Crudely put, it points out that in a world saturated in violence we may not have a choice as to whether or not to be victims but we can still choose not to be executioners. "For my part", he concludes, "I am fairly sure that I have made the choice.... I will never again be one of those, whoever they be, who compromise with murder." The basic decision that must be made, he elaborates, is "whether humanity's lot must be made still more miserable in order to achieve far-off and shadowy ends, whether we should accept a world bristling with arms where brother kills brother; or whether, on the contrary, we should avoid bloodshed and misery as much as possible so that we give a chance for survival to later generations better equipped than we are".

Camus in 1947 assumed that only a few at first would take the course of rejecting murder as a social instrument and embracing nonviolence, the course of "discovering a style of life". Even so he felt that precisely such a minority would exhibit a "positively dazzling realism". But may it not be that in the nuclear age multitudes on both sides of barriers may indeed be driven both by necessity—the need for bare survival—and by moral passion, to commit themselves to nonviolence?

Even Camus a decade or so ago could not reject the possibility of such a development and accordingly concluded his essay with this beautiful expression of hope that "the thirst for fraternity which burns in Western man" might be satisfied. He wrote : "Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion, a struggle in which granted, the former has a thousand times the chance of success than the latter. But I have always held that, if he who bases his hope on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the face of circumstances is a coward."

1. Committee of Federated Organizations (working for civil rights in Mississippi, U.S.A.).
2. "Rifle Squads or the Beloved Community", Reprint, *Liberation* magazine, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
3. Available in pamphlet form from *Liberation* magazine, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

ASPECTS OF NONVIOLENCE IN AMERICAN CULTURE

MULFORD Q. SIBLEY

American culture, it is sometimes said, has been peculiarly violent, both in outlook and in practice. It has exalted physical force, praised rough action, and placed in the forefront such cynical statements as "fear God and keep your powder dry". One of America's leading Presidents[1] is well-known for his advice to "speak softly but carry a big stick". Violence has been associated with the frontier spirit, the Westward movement, treatment of the American Indian, the rise of business corporations, and the development of labour organizations. Violent crimes are more numerous proportionately than in most other nations of the world; and the police, by contrast with those in Britain, are heavily armed. Popular culture, moreover, if we are to take radio, television, cinema, and pulp magazines as indicators, exults in violence.

Now all this is in some measure true. Yet there is another side, which is the theme of this paper. Obviously an essay of this length can only hint at certain aspects of the tradition of nonviolence—the notion of principled nonviolence in early American religious thought and practice; elements of nonviolence in the theory of federalism ; the struggle against compromise in the American peace movement; nonviolence and American labour; and nonviolence in the struggle for

social justice, particularly in the movement for racial desegregation.

Early American Religious Thought and Practice

Explicit doctrines and practice of nonviolence were reflected during the seventeenth century, when Mennonites and Quakers (the Society of Friends)—two important heterodox sects of the Protestant Reformation—settled in the colony of Pennsylvania. The Quaker William Penn was granted the colony by Britain's King Charles II and because religious toleration became the watchword of Pennsylvania, it attracted groups like the Mennonites who sought refuge from persecution in Europe.

The Mennonites were part of the great Anabaptist movement, which had been so bitterly attacked by the orthodox during the sixteenth century. Theologically, Mennonite doctrine had much in common with Lutheranism, in that it tended to dichotomize the world into the Kingdom of Grace —that in which the saved lived—and the Kingdom of Power, which was ordained by God to control the unsaved through coercive and therefore violent political relations. But whereas the Lutheran believed that the good Christian had to serve in both realms, the Mennonite tended to attempt to separate them. Thus while the Lutheran said that one must observe the Sermon on the Mount[2] in private relations of Christians, one was equally obliged, when the State called, to serve in the army, go to war, and execute criminals. Mennonites, while recognizing the Christian's obligation to obey the State passively[3] in matters that did not involve direct taking of human life, felt that on the whole the life of pure "Grace" could best be kept free from violence if believers lived separately from the world in largely-agricultural communities.

Mennonites held that all active participation in politics would impair their testimony against violence. Hence, while they paid taxes, in accordance with what they believed to be the New Testament command,[4] they refused to serve as

magistrates, policemen, jurors, or soldiers. Theirs, we might say, was an ethic of withdrawal; or, as they themselves have put it, one of *non-resistance* rather than of *nonviolent resistance*.[5] In their early Pennsylvania communities they had an influence on American life far out of proportion to their numbers; for although they did not believe that the political world could be redeemed by human effort—it would remain violent, corrupt, and coercive to the end of time—their personal example of inoffensiveness was undoubtedly important.[6]

Pennsylvania Quakers, by contrast, tended to believe that political and group as well as personal relations could be redeemed. It was possible, through appropriate institutions and positive action, to engulf evil indirectly, or, in the words of the New Testament, to "overcome evil with good".[7] Quaker political principles were reflected in William Penn's organization of Pennsylvania. There was no army or militia; the death penalty was virtually abolished, in a day when more than 200 crimes were punishable by hanging in Britain; religious toleration was guaranteed; the Assembly, relative to seventeenth century practice, was democratically based; and jails were to be rehabilitative rather than punitive. Relations with American Indian tribes were to be on a plane of absolute equity : compensation for lands purchased was generous ; white men were forbidden to peddle liquor among the tribes ; and fear was reduced by the disarmed state of the colony.[8]

These were among the main features of what Penn called the "Holy Experiment". In considerable measure, the faith of those who initiated it seems to have been vindicated by actual results. For about 70 years—from its foundation in 1682 to shortly before Quakers withdrew from the colonial Assembly (which they controlled) in 1755—there were no Indian wars, even though all the other American colonies were troubled by them. Despite its disarmament—Quakers would probably have said largely because of it—the colony was, in relative terms, a model of order and peace. It is said that throughout this long period, only one Quaker was killed by an Indian—and he had made the mistake, in a weak moment, of obtaining a gun.

In general, we may say that Quakers implicitly accepted the conception of *nonviolent resistance*, rather than the Mennonite idea of *non-resistance*. Thus on one occasion, Quaker judges resisted by resigning their offices, to indicate their opposition to a law which they deemed unjust. Individual Quakers refused to obey illegal statutes and the Assembly itself at many points resisted royal requests for money to support armies.

As the colony grew, it became more heterogeneous and eventually consisted mainly of men not devoted to Quaker principles of nonviolence. Under these circumstances—and under an increasing pressure to make unacceptable compromises—Quakers eventually decided that they should withdraw from the Assembly. Thus ended the Holy Experiment.

Although Pennsylvania Quakers have often been rightly criticized for certain inconsistencies in conduct, the great experiment in nonviolence still stands out as one of man's noblest efforts. Many will agree with Thomas Jefferson[9] in calling Penn "the greatest lawgiver the world has produced . . . in parallelism with whose institutions, to name the dreams of a Minos, or Solon, or the military or monkish establishments of a Lycurgus, is truely an abandonment of all regard to the only legitimate object of government, the happiness of men".

Nonviolence and the Theory of Federalism

In Pennsylvania, a careful distinction was made between non-killing force discriminately applied under law, on the one hand, and military force, together with war, on the other. Pennsylvania Quakers accepted the legitimacy of genuine police work but rejected what they thought of as the almost inevitably destructive and indiscriminately applied force associated with war. The latter they associated with violence.

In the formulation of the Federal Constitution in 1787 a similar, although not identical, issue was posed : should provision be made, in implementing decisions of the national

government, for military coercion of States ? After debate, the Convention came to the conclusion that the answer must be "No". Forcible sanctions were to be available against individuals but not against States as such.

The basis for this decision was the contention that States as such could not be coerced without undergoing serious risk of war. To embody in the Federal Constitution such a notion would, therefore, defeat one of the major ends of the union itself—order and public peace. The principle of coercion of States would have provided a remedy far worse in its effects than the disease to be cured.[10]

The framers of the American Constitution seem to have reasoned wisely, in terms of historical experience. Whether in federal unions (early nineteenth century Switzerland is an example) or in international organizations, inclusion of the idea of military threats against States seems to have been both unworkable and an incitement to violence. If we are to build a genuine world community in the twentieth century, this lesson must be learned. Although it may not take us far in the philosophical discussion of violence and nonviolence, it will surely make no slight contribution to our never-ending quest for forms of organization which will minimize violence in practice.

Nonviolence and Compromise in the American Peace Movement

The organized peace movement in the United States dates from the late twenties of the nineteenth century. Its history is complex. Here, however, we concentrate on the perennial conflict between "relativists" and "absolutists"; between those who hold that while war in general is to be repudiated, some wars may be necessary, and those who maintain that no war can ever be justified.[11]

The discussion began early in the last century when some advocates of international peace—notably the Rev. John Lathrop in 1814—attempted to make a distinction between "aggressive" and "defensive" wars. The argument was deemed invalid by men like David Low Dodge, who often

based their opposition to all war, in part at least, on what they thought had been the moral degradation which followed even the allegedly defensive American Revolutionary War.[12] The efforts of absolutists like Thomas S. Grimke, a lawyer and judge, eventually led the influential American Peace Society in 1837 to reject the relativist position.

Many of the absolutists, however, were also vigorously opposed to slavery and when the Civil War came they were confronted by the dilemma of whether to support the war ostensibly being fought against slavery or to reject it as utterly contrary to their pacifist principles. Some of those reckoned as pre-war absolutists shifted to the relativist position : this was true, for example, of William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist, and of James Russell Lowell, who during the Mexican War had called war "murder. . . plain and flat".[13] Even Henry David Thoreau, who had refused to pay his poll taxes during the Mexican War and whose *Civil Disobedience* is one of the classics of nonviolent resistance, supported the war supposedly fought against slavery. On the other hand, the remarkable self-educated blacksmith and scholar of Greek, Elihu Burritt, one of the greatest of the absolutists,[14] refused to be deceived : just as he opposed the use of violence in the great nineteenth century European revolutions, while agreeing with many of their ends, so he declined to endorse the Civil War. Burritt advocated use of the disciplined nonviolent general strike as one means of emancipation from social injustice of all types.

After the Civil War and down to our own day, the basic conflict between absolutist and relativist positions has continued. By and large, the great bulk of the peace movement has been relativist : like the proverbial vegetarian between meals, it has been against war only between wars. When, for example, absolutist organisations like the Universal Peace Union opposed the Spanish American War in 1898, they were boycotted by respectable leaders of the peace movement.

After World War I, the burden of carrying on the absolutist position passed to relatively small organizations like the

Fellowship of Reconciliation (founded during World War I), the War Resisters' League, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (one of whose founders was the eminent American social worker, Jane Addams).

Intellectually, the absolutist stand was greatly strengthened between World Wars I and II by the writings of men like C. M. Case and Richard Gregg, the former a sociologist and the latter a lawyer.[15] Case emphasized that nonviolent resistance, however much it might be differentiated from violence, was still a form of coercion; Gregg endeavoured to understand some of the psychological ramifications of nonviolent attitudes.

The days immediately before World War II were characterized by contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, there was great enthusiasm in colleges and churches for the peace movement in general and a not inconsiderable interest in nonviolence as a principle. Thousands of ministers of religion said they would never support another war and college students were taking the so-called Oxford pledge never to bear arms. On the other hand, it was precisely at this time that doctrines of men like Reinhold Niebuhr were beginning to reinforce the relativist position by developing a "realistic" ethics and politics that termed pacifism "utopian" and therefore irrelevant.[16]

In the end, when World War II came, most of those who had sworn that they would never again support another war did in fact do so, as their ancestors had done in the Civil War and in World War I. There may have been as many as 100,000 conscientious objectors of registration age; but in comparison with the millions who were either supporters of or acquiescers in the war, this was a pitiably small number indeed. Once more, most Americans, sincerely no doubt, believed that however much one might repudiate military violence in general, one must support this particular war.

Since World War II, perhaps the most significant development has been the increasing awareness by scientists of the political implications involved in the use of modern weapons.

Although most have not yet accepted views which could be identified with the absolutist position, there can be little doubt that the military technology of the post-war period added a new dimension to the old issues central to the ethic of nonviolence.[17]

How, absolutists of mid-century were asking themselves, can believers in nonviolence help shape the policies of the most powerful and most highly armed nation in history ? Although the answer was not always certain, it was being asked by some of the most dedicated absolutists in the entire history of the American peace movement.

Nonviolence and Labour

The vital role which organized labour must necessarily play in highly industrialized societies makes its attitude to violence and nonviolence of unusual importance. Two contradictory tendencies have been present in American labour. On the one hand, its lack of political sophistication and difficulty of gaining recognition have all too frequently involved it in the violence of a capitalist culture. On the other hand, it is from certain leaders of labour, active as they are in the practical day-to-day problems of negotiating agreements and considering strikes, that some of the best insights into the power of nonviolence have come.

Legal recognition and protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively were won only after much travail : the story begins early in the nineteenth century, when labour organization was ruled a "conspiracy" under common law, and extends to the passage of the National Labour Relations Act during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since Roosevelt, problems of large-scale organization and bureaucracy, jurisdictional conflicts, and leadership issues have provided new temptations to violence.

During the period between the Civil War and the New Deal, business corporations often stooped to almost any methods to control labour, not excluding private police, professional strike breakers, and actual physical force. It is not

surprising that in this context workers often resorted to violence in retaliation, particularly since the corporations were so frequently supported by public authority.

In part, the tendency of labour to sometimes turn to violence was, as Robert Hunter argued,[18] the result of its lack of political sophistication. Despite the arguments of Socialists within its ranks, it refused to develop an independent political movement which might have related its own immediate interests to long-run considerations of fundamental public policy. Its very lack of commitment to revolutionary change subjected it to the imperatives of an often violent culture. Even the sit-down strikes of the thirties (in industrial Michigan), which might have become the inspiration for a philosophy of nonviolent power, were marred by acts of violence. Although the industrial union movement (Congress of Industrial Organizations) helped remove some of the frustrations of an American labour organization hitherto dominated by narrow craft unionism, the very rapidity of growth which resulted, combined with continued absence of an over-all political philosophy for guidance, subjected post-World-War II American labour to many stresses. Sometimes labour organizations were allied with the underworld of violent crime; and on occasion certain leaders resorted to violence to maintain their own power or that of their organizations.

But the other side of the picture is also important. In the early days, many were impressed by the way in which German socialists resisted—largely by nonviolent methods—the repressive legislation of Bismarck; and they noted the comment of Wilhelm Liebknecht that "moral force" had preserved the integrity of the labour and socialist movement. To some extent, the ideology of the general strike, which had its devotees in the United States, exalted the principle of nonviolent coercion. The novelist Jack London, in a graphic essay,[19] portrayed a vision of what the general strike might do to paralyze the whole machinery of industry and government without firing a shot, thus inaugurating a truly nonviolent revolution.

Several American anarchist theorists, too, thought that both labour and society in general were to be emancipated primarily through political enlightenment and passive resistance to social wrong. Thus Benjamin Tucker, a well-known individualist anarchist, maintained that while governments can usually quell violent resistance, no army can in the long run defeat men who simply stay home from the polling booths, refuse to enter the army, firmly and peacefully demonstrate, or decline to pay taxes.[20]

From a more orthodox point of view, Tom Mooney, a well-known American labour martyr, observed : "Violence is the weapon used by the employers. Violence wins no strike . . . only education and organization."[21] Other labour leaders from time to time have repeated his sentiments, contending that the greater the violence, the less likely it is that a strike will be successful. And in post-World-War II America, as a matter of fact, most spokesmen for labour would undoubtedly have endorsed this position.

Although American labour itself had not by the post-war epoch developed a general philosophy of nonviolence (as contrasted with more or less pragmatic observations), the idea of the perfectly nonviolent and self-disciplined strike had become a model for the thinking of those, like R. B. Gregg (himself a lawyer interested in labour matters), who had worked out such a philosophy.

To the student of nonviolence observing labour in the sixties of the twentieth century, a number of questions might occur. Was there a chance that, under stress of rapid technological change, labour might at long last develop an overall political philosophy that would embrace a theory of nonviolence ? Could it re-think its position vis-a-vis an American State so committed to preparation for war ? Could it come to realize its vast potentialities for leading American society away from notions of military defence to conceptions of nonviolent resistance to invasion—conceptions that might well rely on its own experience of the strike ? The possibilities appeared so great ; yet the vision, on the whole, remained so narrow.

Social Justice : the Negro Struggle and Nonviolence

As for nonviolence and the struggle for racial justice, it had its antecedents in earlier movements and particularly in the conflict for the emancipation of women. After first turning to respectable methods without many results, women like Alice Paul, who had been brought up in the Quaker tradition, suggested more dramatic and less orthodox action. A recent writer has thus described the methods used after Alice Paul's techniques came to be adopted : "The militants staged massive parades and kept them marching while the women were subjected to obscene insults, spat upon, slapped in the face, tripped up and pelted with burning cigar stubs. Early in 1917, Alice Paul launched her most belligerent effort —the day-after-day picketing of the White House with purple-white-and-gold banners shrilling : Mr President, How Long Must Women Wait for Democracy ?"[22]

Negroes, like women, had been exploited, denied human dignity, and for many years been kept in a condition of near-servitude. In the fifties of the twentieth century, they decided that they had had enough and in effect asked the same question as the early feminists, How Long Must We Wait for Democracy ? They turned to direct nonviolent action, aided and abetted by such legal decisions as that of the Supreme Court declaring, in 1954, that racial segregation in the public schools (a common practice in many States) was a violation of the constitution of the United States.

By nonviolent direct action they began not merely to undermine the structure of racial injustice but also to develop a sense of self-confidence and dignity. Just as Gandhi found that the Indian masses had first to eliminate their own slavish attitudes before they could effectively oppose imperialism, so Martin Luther King, a leader of the Negro struggle, emphasized destruction of the "Uncle Tom" mentality. He observed : "The nonviolent approach does not immediately change the heart of the oppressor. It first does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it.

It gives them new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had."[23]

The power of nonviolence to develop a sense of dignity and self-confidence as well as to accomplish social results was demonstrated in the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott of the fifties and in such later examples of nonviolent direct action as freedom rides, sit-ins, wade-ins, and street demonstrations. In the bus boycott, thousands of Negroes walked to work, often over long distances, rather than surrender their objective, the desegregation of buses. In sit-ins, mixed Negro and white groups would deliberately order food in segregated restaurants and, if ill-used physically, would refuse to retaliate in kind. Wade-ins involved similar action in segregated swimming pools. As for freedom rides, groups of Negroes and whites helped break down segregation patterns in buses. Street demonstrations, which were unusually well disciplined considering provocations, sought among other objectives to affect patterns of employment and to secure implementation of and respect for equal opportunity laws already on the statute books.

Although there were many frustrations and full Negro freedom may involve struggles for another generation, nonviolent direct action helped revive the conscience of the United States, provided implementing power for court decisions and statutes, and built up the courage of Negroes for future action. In terms of immediate results, too, it appeared to be effective. Thus the Montgomery bus boycott did break down segregation in the buses of the city; and Martin Luther King tells us that between 1959 and 1961, lunch counters in more than 150 cities were actually desegregated by "sit-in" direct actionists.

The major stream of Negro action, moreover, was animated by principled nonviolence and not merely by expediency. Men like Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy were deeply influenced by Gandhi, as well as by their interpretation of Christian teaching. Although King at no point in his life had wondered whether there was validity to the thesis that group action could not or need not abstain from

violence, Gandhi's teaching appeared to remove any doubts he may have had.

Negro nonviolence did not lack its challengers, however. Some doubted whether it could be "effective" in the long run. Others frankly thought of it as a mere expediency, at best. It was by no means certain, as this is written, that the exponents of principled nonviolence would continue to occupy the centre of the stage.

Were nonviolence to be repudiated by the American Negro, it would be a sad day for the Negro, for America, and for the world. For the Negro, it would cut off a promising development in mid-stream and almost certainly help frustrate the quest for freedom : repudiation of nonviolence would restore the initiative to segregation leaders and alienate public opinion as well. America as a whole would lose, since the abandonment of nonviolence would probably strengthen the many forces of authoritarianism and militarism undoubtedly present in the United States. Finally, the world would find compromised and clouded the case-studies on the Negro emancipation movement which it might otherwise have used as bases for the development of principled nonviolence elsewhere, especially in international relations.

American Nonviolence and the Future

Thus despite the unfortunately high incidence of violence in American society and culture, there has been an important tradition seeking to counteract it. The religious heritage of non-resistance and nonviolent resistance has provided a focus of reference for theories of nonviolence in general and has also affected the outlooks of major religious bodies; the principle which repudiates coercion of States gives us at least a point of departure for thinking about problems of organization in a hoped-for world community ; the absolutist stream in the peace movement reminds us of the all too easy way in which we are accustomed to justify particular wars ; American labour, despite its ambivalence, has at least developed much experience with the strike and considerable understanding of the

need for nonviolent discipline; and Negro nonviolence has been a marvellous exemplification of Satyagraha, a near-model for those seeking to achieve social justice, and a possible basis in experience for the development of a nonviolent national defence.

To the extent, too, that American culture and society have aspired to democracy, however hesitantly, they have exalted the idea of nonviolence ; for democracy, it would seem, is the socio-political order most compatible with nonviolence both in method and in ends.

Whether non-violence as a principle will gain in acceptance depends on many factors, but in considerable measure on whether Americans can be convinced that there are more efficacious methods of national defence than military force. Pragmatists as they often tend to be, they must somehow be shown that violence and its threat are "impractical" as well as "immoral"—and for any purpose. They must, moreover, gain a more profound understanding of the implications of the democratic ideals to which most of them are committed and come to see that the defence of democracy by military means—particularly in the modern world—is utterly impossible. In the development of their thinking, they will find her own heritage a source of help.

1. Theodore Roosevelt.
2. Matthew V, VI, and VII, in which occur such well-known admonitions as "Resist not evil", "Judge not that ye be not judged", and "Love your enemies".
3. Here Mennonites as well as Lutherans cited Romans XIII, where St Paul admonishes early Christians to "obey the powers that be".
4. Luke XX : 25; Romans XIII : 6, 7.
5. See Guy F. Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* (Scottdale, Pa. : The Herald Press, 1944).
6. One might also note in passing that the Mennonite suspicion of "politics" is very similar to a not untypical general American cultural attitude to the political world.
7. Romans XII : 21.

8. See Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government* (Philadelphia : A. J. Ferris, 1898).

9. Letter dated "Monticello, Nov. 16, 1825"; quoted from *Poulson's Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 28, 1826, in *The Friend*, Philadelphia, v. I (1828), p. 104.

10. The argument against coercion of States in federal unions is developed in *The Federalist*.

11. For a detailed account of the theme down to the period following World War I, see Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace* (New York : Macmillan, 1930).

12. Absolutists frequently cited Sylvester Judd, *The Moral Evils of Our Revolutionary War* (1841).

13. In *The Bigelow Papers*.

14. Much of his pacifist agitation was carried on in his paper, *The Christian Citizen*.

15. C. M. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion* (New York : Century, 1923) and Richard Gregg, *The Power of Non-Violence* (British Ed., London : Routledge, 1938).

16. See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (N. Y. : Scribner's, 1932).

17. One organization of scientists and technologists deserves special mention : the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, one of whose founders was Albert Einstein, includes many conscientious objectors to all war and encourages its members to work in occupations not connected with the military. It seems to be sympathetic with the absolutist position.

18. *Violence and the Labour Movement* (New York : Macmillan, 1914).

19. *The Dream of Debs* (Chicago : Kerr, 1919).

20. *Individual Liberty* (New York : Vanguard, 1926).

21. Tom Mooney Molders' Defence Committee, Press Service, August 26, 1936.

22. Eric F. Goldman, "Progress—By Moderation *and* Agitation", *N.Y. Times Magazine*, June 18, 1961, p. 5.

23. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence", *Christian Century*, April 13, 1960, p. 444.

24. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Time for Freedom Has Come", *N.Y. Times Magaztne*, 10 Sept. 1961, 119.

SATYAGRAHA AS A MIRROR

RICHARD B. GREGG

On the faculty of the University of Wisconsin there is a psychiatrist, Dr Carl R. Rogers, who has spent many years giving counsel to people of many ages who are in personal emotional or mental trouble and cannot seem to solve their problems unaided. As a result of his professional experience he has come to believe that nobody will change his habits of thinking, feeling or acting until something happens to change his own picture or concept of himself. Other things being equal, for example, a student will give up preparing to become a journalist and begin to study for the law only when he can see himself as a practising lawyer. A thief will abandon that way of life only if he can see himself as happier in a different way of life and know how he can attain it. For most people, the matter of self-regard is of primary importance.

Dr Rogers's method of treating the person who comes to him for help is not the usual way of most mental physicians, of asking questions and then giving advice. No, he just suggests that the patient start to tell his story and explain his difficulties. Dr Rogers merely listens; makes no comments ; tries never to judge by word, manner or tone of voice; offers no advice. Once in a while at a favourable moment he repeats something that the patient has just said, perhaps

rephrasing it slightly. Suppose the patient is a boy with a very domineering father. The boy has told Dr Rogers a number of instances of that sort of domestic tyranny he has experienced, and finally, overcome with emotion, the boy bursts out, "I hate my father !" Dr Rogers might then calmly say, "You say that you have finally come to feel that you hate your father". The boy feels relieved by his confession, but wants to justify his feeling and so talks on. Later there will be another moment in which Dr Rogers repeats a statement by the boy, perhaps this time a happier statement. In this manner Dr Rogers holds up a mirror, as it were, to the patient, and lets him see himself in substantially his own words, but uttered as an echo by another person. The mirror is the repetition of the patient's own statement, reflected back to the patient without condemnation or approval or comment of any kind.

Dr Rogers finds that by this means the patient comes to see himself objectively, and the patient then can make his own comparisons more coolly, and gradually sees how to find his way out of his difficulties. Dr Rogers helps the patient thus to help himself. The first step has to be a change in the patient's own picture of himself. This is an interesting example of the power of the self-regarding attitude.

I would like to suggest that among the many aspects of Satyagraha, it may be regarded as a sort of mirror held up to the opponent by the Satyagrahi, and that this would be true of both individual and mass Satyagraha. Furthermore, such a mirror seems to help the violent opponent to "cure" himself for some of the same reasons that Dr Rogers's method helps his patients to cure themselves. Let me elaborate on this idea.

Biologically speaking, man is a single species. There are, of course, different races, nations, tribes, castes and religions, and different individuals, but the similarities between people are deeper, wider, stronger, more enduring and more important than the differences. There is first a biological unity among people of all kinds. A man of any race, nation, caste or religion may marry a woman of any other race, nation, caste

or religion and have children by her. Secondly, the young of human beings have a longer period of helplessness and learning than the young of any other species. This is what gives man his enormous power of learning. Thirdly, there is a physiological unity. We all have the same bony structure, nerves, blood circulation, lungs, heart and digestive organs. If any person of any race, nation, caste or religion has an infected appendix, the surgeon operates him exactly the same way regardless of any superficial differences. If an Eskimo gets typhoid fever, the physician treats him just the same way as he treats a Negro who has typhoid fever. Fourthly, all people have some sort of language by means of which they cooperate and find meaning in life. All people have some sort of culture, some sort of tools, some sort of dress; they use some sorts of symbols, believe in some sort of myths, and base their lives on some sorts of assumptions. All people, regardless of superficial differences, have emotions—love, anger, fear, respect, hope, etc. These emotions may be called forth by different sights, events, or actions, but all people without exception, have emotions. All people have minds and use them. Their concepts, the contents of their minds, may differ, but thinking is common to all.

None of these considerations contradicts any belief as to the essential spiritual nature of mankind. But some people can see these aforesaid elements of human unity more easily, clearly and surely than they envisage spiritual unity.

Growing out of these several elements of human unity, we find that man is a gregarious and social creature, and we are at all times aware of and sensitive to the attitudes of other people around us. This awareness is not lessened in times of conflict, but is then rather enhanced. We are always eager for the approval, if possible, of our fellowmen. Writ large, this is the reason for the enormous amount of time, thought and work devoted to propaganda by all governments. Another recognition of this fact is the development within the past twenty years of "public relations" men employed by large corporations and even by universities, to make public explanations and propaganda for their employers. In private life

we adhere to the customs of clothing, speech, food and festivals of our own social group, race or nation in order to retain their approval or at least tolerance.

When a conflict between two groups develops and gains enough intensity so that one group employs violence and, let us suppose, the other group offers Satyagraha, the voluntary suffering of the Satyagrahis is an appeal for recognition by all parties including the spectators, of the unity of all men. The suffering of the Satyagrahis is, as it were, a mirror held up to the violent party, in which the violent ones come gradually to see themselves as violating that human unity and its implications. They see themselves as others see them. The attitude of the onlookers is another mirror. The Satyagrahis do not shout at the violent party, "Now look at yourselves! We'll *make* you realize how unjust you are, what villains you are!" No, there is no such coercion by the Satyagrahis.

It is the very human nature of the violent attackers themselves that compels their attention to what happens before them. They cannot escape for long the recognition of their common human unity. They will try to escape from or hide themselves from that unity, but as long as they are alive they cannot dodge the fact that they are of the same species as the Satyagrahis. Nor can they blink the implications of that fact. The voluntary suffering of the Satyagrahis is so unusual, so dramatic, so surprising, so wonder-provoking. Wonder naturally evokes curiosity and attention. And the desire of the violent party for approval of the onlookers draws attention to the contrast between the behaviour of the violent opponents and the behaviour of the Satyagrahis. When the violent opponents see this contrast in the mirror which the situation has provided, they begin to get a different opinion of themselves. Then they sense the disapproval of the onlookers, and wanting social approval, they begin to search for ways to save their faces and yet change their actions so as to win that approval. This process is now taking place in the Southern States of the United States. Righting an ancient wrong takes time. It took Gandhiji twenty-eight years to win freedom for India, and it will take time for the correction of the racial

injustices in the United States. But all social processes move faster now than fifteen years ago, so we live in high hope that the nonviolent resistance of the American Negroes will soon win their struggle.

All this suggests that Satyagraha operates at a level deeper than nationality, politics, military power, book education or socio-economic ideology. It is a process working in the very elemental human nature of mankind as a biological species. As Satyagraha becomes more widely employed, it will, partly by virtue of this capacity as a mirror, help in the development of man's self-consciousness and confidence in his own capacities.

GANDHI'S POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TODAY

GENE SHARP

On 30 January 1948 on his way to prayers Gandhi was assassinated, killed by three bullets in his abdomen and chest. The young assassin was a fanatical Hindu who among others had been inflamed by Gandhi's efforts to bring reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims in riot-torn independent India. After a year of bloody strife, Gandhi's fast had brought peace to Calcutta and all Bengal. Later, sensing an incendiary situation under the surface, he fasted the last time in Delhi and restored an atmosphere of peace. For these and similar acts, he was not loved by all. In Calcutta a mob attacked his residence, a brick was thrown at him, and someone swung a heavy bamboo rod (lathi) at his head. Both narrowly missed. During his Delhi fast some shouted outside his quarters, "Let Gandhi die!" A week before his death, a small home-made bomb was thrown at him from a nearby garden during afternoon prayers.

With those three bullets came the bitter fruit of the murder of an important political leader. India and the world were saddened. Political leaders and ordinary people alike felt a personal loss.

In the years which have passed since that January day, many important events have taken place which have altered

the world significantly : the death of Stalin, the Communist victory in China, the development of the hydrogen bomb and intercontinental missiles, the Hungarian Revolution, the trial of Eichmann, the end of the British and French colonial empires, President Kennedy's assassination, and the "Negro Revolution" in the United States, to list only a few.

After such events in a world in which history now moves so quickly, does Gandhi still have any political significance? Now, with the passing of years and the opportunity for a more distant perspective, how is Gandhi to be evaluated ? Are there points at which our earlier judgment must be revised?

For a Westerner—and perhaps particularly for an American —Gandhi poses special problems in such an evaluation. Often his eccentricities get in the way so that it is difficult to get beyond them, or to take other aspects of his life seriously. Even for religious people in the West, his constant use of religious terminology and theological language in explanation or justification of a social or political act or policy more often confuses than clarifies.

The homage which most pay to him by calling him "Mahatma"—the great-souled one—usually becomes a kind of vaccination against taking him seriously. If he was such a saint and holy man, it is thought, this is a full explanation of his accomplishments; we need investigate no further. As a Mahatma, he can be revered while being placed in that special category of saints, prophets and holy men whose lives and actions are believed to be largely irrelevant to ordinary men.

It is sometimes the case that Gandhi's own candid evaluations of himself and his work now appear to be more accurate than the opinions of some of his followers and the homage-bearers. "I claim", he once wrote, "to be no more than an average man with less than average ability". Indeed, in important respects this was probably true. He only went to South Africa after having failed in his attempt to be a lawyer in India.

Nor was he pleased at the homage given him, although he

cherished the affection of people where it was genuine. "My Mahatmaship is worthless", he once wrote. "I have become literally sick of the adoration of the unthinking multitude." "I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wears, and am, therefore, as liable to err as any."

There are further difficulties in evaluating Gandhi. These include widespread misrepresentations of Gandhi and his political opinions. These misrepresentations are not usually deliberate, but often are made by people who have just not made a detailed study of Gandhi's views on the point in question. It is, for example, widely claimed that Gandhi approved of Indian military action in Kashmir, that he would have approved of the Indian invasion of Goa, and even that he would have supported the present nuclear weapons program.

Such misrepresentations are not only made by Westerners, but commonly by educated Indians who often assume, because they are Indians, have read newspaper reports and repeatedly discussed Gandhi, that they know what they are talking about. Gandhi's own scepticism about the degree of understanding of his nonviolence and views among Western-educated Indians continues to be verified.

Part of the difficulties in understanding Gandhi's views on such questions as these have roots in the attempt to fit Gandhi into our usual categories. It is, for example, assumed often that he must fit the traditional view of a pacifist or that he is a supporter of military action. When he asserts the existence of political evil which must be resisted, many people assume that he thereby "of necessity" has supported violence.

Gandhi's thinking was constantly developing, and early in his career he did give certain qualified support to war. But at the end of his life this had altered. But this did *not* mean he favoured passivity. Thus, while believing the Allies to be the better side in the Second World War, he did not support the war. Similarly in Kashmir while believing the Pakistanis to be the aggressors, and while believing that India must act, he did *not* favour military action.

Instead, he placed his confidence in the application of an alternative nonviolent means of struggle against political evil. Here he was constantly experimenting, and his advocacy of the efficacy of nonviolent action in crises was not always convincing to the hard-headed realists. This sometimes meant—as at the time of Kashmir—that he was not politically "effective". But that is quite different from claiming that he had rejected his own nonviolent means.

As we shall note later in more detail, it was Gandhi's primary contribution, not only to argue for, but to develop practically nonviolent means of struggle in politics for those situations in which war and other types of political violence were usually used. His work here was pioneering, and sometimes inadequate, but it was sufficient to put him outside the traditional categories. Gandhi was neither a conscientious objector nor a supporter of violence in politics. He was an experimenter in the development of "war without violence".

A final confusion handicaps our attempt to evaluate Gandhi. His politics are sometimes assumed to be identical with those of the independent Indian government under Nehru. Although Nehru has long had a very deep regard for Gandhi, and although Gandhi cooperated with the Indian National Congress in the long struggle for independence, the policies which Gandhi favoured are not necessarily those of the Congress government today.

Indeed, saddened by the riots between Hindus and Muslims and busy in Calcutta seeking to restore peace, Gandhi refused to attend the independence ceremony and celebrations on 15 August 1947. The riots saddened him both for their own sake and because he believed they reflected a weakness in Indian society which could bring India again under foreign domination by one of the Big Three (which included China).

Gandhi had opposed partition into Pakistan and India Congress leaders had accepted it. His plea for nonviolent resistance in Kashmir with nonviolent assistance from India was ignored. Gandhi had dreamt that a free India would be able to defend her freedom without military means.

Yet in the provisional government before independence, and in the fully independent government, military expenditure and influence increased, while Gandhi warned of the danger of military rule and of India's possible future threat to world peace. Her freedom could be defended nonviolently, Gandhi insisted, just as by nonviolent means the great British Empire had been forced to withdraw.

Political independence had not brought real relief to the peasants, who Gandhi had said ought nonviolently to seize and occupy the land, and even to exercise political power.

Gandhi's picture and name are widely used by the Congress Party in election campaigns. Yet Gandhi had written: "We must recognize the fact that the social order of our dreams cannot come through the Congress Party of today...." The day before his assassination he drafted a proposal for abolishing the Congress as it had existed and suggested a constitution for converting it into an association for voluntary work to build a nonviolent society and guide India's development from outside the government.

Gandhi must be evaluated on the basis of his own outlook and his own policies, not those of others. And it is also important that we re-examine some of the views about Gandhi and the nonviolent struggle which he led which are widespread in the West. In large degree these are views which have masqueraded as "realistic" assessments. I suggest, however, that as we shall see these views are often contrary to the facts and may be more akin to rationalizations which help one to avoid considering Gandhi and the Indian experiments seriously. Let us look at six of these a bit more closely.

Outside of India, during and for some years after the Indian nonviolent liberation struggle, it was widely said that such nonviolence was simply a characteristic of Indians who were presumed to be, for various reasons, incapable of violence. The implication of this was that the Indian experiments with nonviolent action deserved very little further analysis. For fairly obvious reasons this assumption that Indians were incapable of violence for political ends is almost

never heard any longer. But the implications of this altered view are likewise almost never explored.

It is forgotten (except in India) that the 1857-59 Indian War of Independence—which the English called the "Mutiny"—ever occurred, and this included not only guerilla campaigns but full-scale battles. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a terrorist movement developed among Indian nationalists (especially in Maharashtra, Bengal and the Punjab) which was responsible for a number of assassinations by bombings and shootings. Even after Gandhi was actively on the scene, the terrorists continued their actions. For example, as late as 1929 bombs were thrown and shots were fired in the Legislative Assembly in New Delhi. At the end of that year a bomb exploded under the train carrying the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (later known as Lord Halifax when he was British Foreign Secretary and Ambassador to the United States). And that was not the end of the terrorist movement.

Subhas Chandra Bose by 1928 had achieved an impressive following with his cry of "Give me blood and I promise you freedom". That year both he and Jawaharlal Nehru (later a supporter of Gandhi's methods) favoured an immediate declaration of independence to be followed by a war of independence.

Bose was President of the Indian National Congress in 1938 and was elected at the 1939 convention though he then resigned under pressure from Gandhi. During World War II, Bose headed the "Indian National Army" and fought on the side of the Japanese, capturing the imagination of a significant section of the Indian public.

The religious riots prior to and after Independence are well known. Thousands were killed. Five millions migrated across the new borders of India and Pakistan. There were well-grounded fears of war—first civil war, and later between the newly independent countries. Troops faced each other in Kashmir.

During the Sino-Indian border conflict, it became unmistakably clear that when faced with a crisis affecting its

frontiers the Indian Government was prepared to involve itself in large-scale military preparations. By and large the Indian people shared this reaction. Indeed, the most vocal critics of the government felt that it was not being sufficiently ready to go to war. The indications of the Indian invasion of Goa and the war in Nagaland, that the Indian government was ready to use military force, were emphatically confirmed. This was as Gandhi had expected. The Indian Government had demonstrated that when it came to military defence, it differed little in its basic approach from other governments.

Indeed, it can be expected that when China gets nuclear weapons, India will not be far behind, despite her non-alignment policy and Nehru's aversion to such means.

All these facts should make it quite clear that the Indians have all along been quite capable of using violent means, and that there must have been something special which led them to rely on nonviolent struggle as the main strategy for achieving independence.

It is of course true that there were elements in Indian religions and traditions which were conducive to Gandhi's approach, and that as Gandhi drew upon these and spoke in their language, the religious peasants understood him. The most important of these was probably the principle of Ahimsa, which roughly meant non-injury to living things in thought, word, and deed. These elements were doubtless important, but, as we shall note later, when Gandhi drew upon them, he always gave them new and vital interpretations.

But just as there are in Western civilization traditions and principles counteracting the Christian principle of love for one's enemies, so in Indian religions and traditions there were also counteracting principles. Sikhs and Muslims, for example, believed in military prowess. And the Hindu caste system itself provided for a warrior caste. The *Bhagavad Gita*—which Gandhi so revered and which he re-interpreted symbolically—related the story of physical warfare and dwelt upon the justification for fighting.

In the light of these various evidences of the Indians being willing to use violence in political struggles, the view

that the Indian independence struggle was predominantly nonviolent because Indians were incapable of approving of violence collapses.

While for strategic reasons a full-scale war with traditional front-lines might not have been possible, a major guerilla war certainly would have been feasible. (Assuming that the percentage of casualties in proportion to the total population would have been about the same in such a struggle in India as later proved to be the case in Algeria, that would have meant between 3,000,000 and 3,500,000 Indian dead. The estimate of Indians killed or who died from injuries incurred while participating in the nonviolent struggle given by Richard Gregg is about 8,000. One cannot claim that the French are by nature that many times more cruel than the English !)

Thus, rather than Indian nonviolence being entirely natural and inevitable, it is clear that Gandhi deserves considerable credit in getting nonviolent action accepted as the technique of struggle in the grand strategy for the liberation movement. It is clear that this acceptance by the Indian National Congress was not a moral or religious act. It was a political act which was possible because Gandhi offered a course of action which was nonviolent but which above all was seen to be practical and effective.

It is widely believed that Gandhi was simply a personification of Indian traditions. As we have pointed out, however, and as has been amply demonstrated by Dr Joan Bondurant of the University of California, wherever Gandhi drew upon traditional Indian concepts, he gave them a fresh and vital interpretation which differed significantly from the original. At the same time, it is usually forgotten how un-Indian Gandhi was in many ways. He openly in words and actions defied widely accepted traditions and orthodoxies. His fight against untouchability which he undertook several decades ago when it was many times more entrenched than today is simply an example. His whole experimental approach to life and to politics (he called his autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth") has overtones of influence by Western science.

Gandhi's basic assumption that one must not "accept" or "understand" evil but *fight* it, although supported by some, also was in diametrical opposition to other schools of Hindu philosophy which held that one must not fight evil, but transcend it, seeing the conflict between good and evil as something which ultimately contributes to a higher development, and hence about which one ought not to be particularly concerned.

Gandhi's activity and sense of struggle not only challenged (or ignored) those schools of Hindu thought. They went contrary to widely established patterns of actual behaviour. Passivity and submission were such common traits among Indians of his day that Gandhi found frequently that these qualities, not the British, were the main enemy blocking the way to independence. Gandhi is widely credited with a major influence in their reduction and replacement by action, determination and courageous self-reliance.

"Nonviolence", wrote Gandhi in 1920, "does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant.... And so I am not pleading for India to practise nonviolence because she is weak. I want her to practise nonviolence being conscious of her strength and power."

A third popular view of Gandhi and the Indian struggle has been especially expounded by Marxists. They have frequently argued that Gandhi's nonviolent action had little or nothing to do with the British leaving India, but that they did so because it was no longer profitable for them to hold on to the subcontinent.

These Marxists often demonstrate their ignorance of Gandhi and his nonviolent action by their assumption that these had nothing to do with reduced economic benefits to the British rulers. This assumed separation is manifestly untrue. The new spirit of resistance and independence among the Indians to which Gandhi contributed, in turn increased the difficulties and expense of maintaining the British Raj, especially during the major non-cooperation and civil disobedience campaigns.

But even in purely economic terms of trade with India, Gandhi's program had a significant impact. This is particularly demonstrated by the impact of the boycott during the 1930-31 civil disobedience campaign. This coincided with the world depression, but as will be demonstrated, the drop in purchases of British goods by India was not solely the result of that depression but significantly also attributable to the boycott programme.

The British Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons in late 1930 (according to J. C. Kumarappa) credited the general depression with a 25 per cent fall in the export trade to India, and credited the balance of 18 per cent in the fall directly to the boycott programme carried on by the Indian National Congress. Total British exports to India according to statistical abstracts declined (in millions of pounds sterling) from 90.6 in 1924, to 85.0 by 1927, then to 78.2 in 1929 and in the boycott year, 1930, to 52.9.

The total import of cotton piece-goods by India from all countries rose from 1.82 billion yards in 1924 to 1.94 billion yards in 1929 and declined only to 1.92 billion yards in 1930. However, the *British* export of the same commodity to India fell from 1.25 billion yards in 1924 to 1.08 billion yards in 1929—a decline of 14 per cent. Then it fell to 0.72 billion yards in 1930—a decline of 42.4 per cent. Between October 1930 and April 1931, when the boycott was at its height, there was a decline of 84 per cent.

This is, of course, no attempt to evaluate the variety of specific factors influencing the achievement of political independence by India. But this should make it clear that the Marxist view that economic factors were completely separate from Gandhi's nonviolent action is not based on facts.

A fourth view, often expressed by political "realists", is that Gandhi's nonviolent action is incapable of wielding effective political power, and is hence irrelevant for practical politicians. This view frequently presumes both naivete on Gandhi's part and that the kind of action he proposed was impotent and no real threat to a political opponent. Neither of these presumptions is borne out by the facts.

Some of Gandhi's statements at the beginning of the 1930-31 civil disobedience campaign are enlightening. "The British people must realize that the Empire is to come to an end. This they will not realize unless we in India have generated power within to enforce our will." "It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death." "The English nation responds only to force." "I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round. Sedition has become my religion. Ours is a nonviolent battle."

Rather than being ignorant of the need to wield political power, Gandhi sought to exercise it in ways which maximized the Indian strength and weakened that of the British. By withdrawing the cooperation and obedience of the subjects, Gandhi sought to cut off important sources of the rulers' power. At the same time the non-cooperation and disobedience created severe enforcement problems. And in this situation, severe repression against nonviolent people would be likely, not to strengthen the government, but to alienate still more Indians from the British Raj and at the same time create—not unity in face of an enemy—but dissent and opposition at home.

This was thus a kind of political jiu jitsu which generated the maximum Indian strength while using British strength to their own disadvantage. "I believe, and everybody must grant", wrote Gandhi, "that no Government can exist for a single moment without the cooperation of the people, willing or forced, and if people suddenly withdraw their cooperation in every detail, the Government will come to a standstill."

The view that Gandhi was ignorant of the realities of political power and that his technique of action was impotent

would have been vigorously denied by every British Government and Viceroy that had to deal with him and his movement.

In a most revealing address to both Houses of the Indian Legislative Assembly in July 1930, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, declared : "In my judgment and in that of my Government it [the civil disobedience movement] is a deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action, and . . . it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive. Mass action, even if it is intended by its promoters to be nonviolent, is nothing but the application of force under another form, and when it has as its avowed object the making of government impossible, a Government is bound either to resist or abdicate." "So long as the Civil Disobedience Movement persists, we must fight it with all our strength." Apparently the political "realist" who has dismissed Gandhi and his technique has some re-thinking to do.

A fifth very common view, especially in Britain and among some Indians, is that Gandhi's nonviolent campaigns were only possible because the opponent was a British Government who were, of course, only very gentlemanly. While this has an element of truth in it, the degree of validity is almost always exceeded so that rather than this being a useful contribution to an analysis of the events, it becomes a means of dismissing those events without thought.

Admittedly, the British were not nearly so ruthless as Hitler or Stalin would have been, but they were far more brutal in repression than is today remembered. People not only suffered seriously in foul prisons and prison camps, but literally had their skulls cracked in beatings with steel-shod bamboo rods (lathis) and were shot while demonstrating. In a more famous and grave case, the shooting at Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar, unarmed Indians holding a peaceful meeting were without warning fired upon. According to the Hunter Commission 379 were killed and 1,137 wounded.

If the British exercised some restraint in dealing with the nonviolent rebellion, this may be more related to the peculiar problems posed by a nonviolent resistance movement

and to the kind of forces which the nonviolence set in motion, than to the opponent being "British". The same people showed little restraint in dealing with the Mau Mau in Kenya, or in the saturation bombings of German cities.

It is interesting that Hitler saw no chance of a successful nonviolent or violent revolt in India against British rule. "We Germans have learned well enough how hard it is to force England", he wrote in *Mein Kampf*.

The view that nonviolent action could only be effective against the British was more credible in the days when the Indian experiments were the main example of nonviolent action for political objectives. Now that this is no longer true and the technique has spread to other parts of the world under a variety of political circumstances—as we shall shortly note—including Nazi and Communist rule, more careful examination of the circumstances for effectiveness is required.

The last popular view which we shall examine is this : Nonviolent action for political ends is only practical under the particular set of circumstances which prevailed in India during Gandhi's time. People outside India interpret this to mean that nonviolent action is impractical for them, and Indians mean that whereas it once was practical for them, it no longer is. Sometimes, the view is even more specific : that such nonviolent action is only possible for people who share the peculiar Hindu religious outlook.

This last view is repudiated by the Indian experience itself. Among the most courageous and consistent of the nonviolent Indian freedom fighters were the *Muslim* Pathans of the rebellious and never fully conquered North-West Frontier Province. These men, with a long tradition of military prowess and skill in war, quickly became under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan expert and brave practitioners of nonviolent struggle.

Although this is not our main concern, it should be noted that there are Indians who believe that nonviolent action is still possible in India. There has been a considerable use of the technique domestically since independence, and there are exponents of its use in place of military resistance in dealing with any possible invasion, as by China or Pakistan, although it is true that detailed preparations have not been completed for meeting such an eventuality.

□

One of the most remarkable developments of the twentieth century has been the development and spread of the technique of nonviolent action. Nonviolent action includes the types of behaviour known as nonviolent resistance, Satyagraha, nonviolent direct action, and the large variety of specific methods of action, such as strikes, boycotts, political non-cooperation, civil disobedience, nonviolent obstruction, etc. This technique has a long history, but because historians have been more concerned with violent conflicts and wars than with nonviolent struggles, much information has been lost.

In modern times the technique initially received impetus from three main groups : (1) social radicals, such as trade unionists, anarchists, syndicalists and socialists, who sought a means of struggle—largely strikes, general strikes and boycotts—for use against what they regarded as an unjust social system; (2) nationalists who found the technique useful in resisting a foreign enemy (such as the Hungarian resistance vs. Austria, 1850-1867, and the Chinese anti-Japanese boycotts); and (3) individuals, both pacifist and non-pacifist, who were pointing a way by which a new society might be achieved (such as Leo Tolstoy in Russia, Henry David Thoreau in America, Gustav Landauer in Germany, etc.)

Little serious attention was given, however, to refining and improving the technique, to the development of its strategy, tactics and methods of action. Neither was it linked with a general programme of social change. The technique remained essentially passive, the action being in most cases a reaction to the initiative of the opponent.

While religious groups, such as the early Quakers, had

practised nonviolent action as a reaction to persecution, the link between the moral qualities of nonviolence and the technique of action in social and political struggles was rarely made, except by individuals such as Tolstoy, and even then remained on the level of ideas.

It remained for Gandhi to make the most significant political experiments to that time in the use of non-cooperation, disobedience and defiance to control rulers, alter policies and undermine political systems.

With Gandhi's experiments with the technique, its character was broadened and refinements made. Conscious efforts were now made in developing the strategy and tactics. The number of specific forms or methods of action was enlarged. He linked it with a programme of social change, and the building of new institutions.

Nonviolent action became not passive resistance, but a technique capable of taking the initiative in active struggle. A link was forged between a means of mass struggle and a moral preference for nonviolent means, although for participants this preference was not necessarily absolutist in character.

This technique Gandhi called Satyagraha, which is best translated as the firmness which comes from reliance on truth, and truth here has connotations of essence of being. A rather philosophical term, perhaps, but this technique was in Gandhi's view based on firm political reality and one of the most fundamental of all insights into the nature of government—that all rulers in fact are dependent for their power on the submission, cooperation and obedience of their subjects. "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."

Following the widespread experiments under Gandhi, this technique of nonviolent action spread throughout the world at a rate previously unequalled. In some cases this was directly and indirectly stimulated by the Gandhian experiments. Where this was so, it was often modified in

new cultural and political settings. In these cases, the technique has already moved beyond Gandhi.

One of the most important instances of this development is of course the adoption of nonviolent action in the American Negro struggle against racial segregation and discrimination. This was a possibility envisaged by Gandhi, as he revealed in conversations with visiting American Negroes. In 1937 Dr Channing Tobias and Dr Benjamin Mays visited Gandhi, and asked him what advice they might relay from him to the American Negroes, and what he saw as the outlook for the future of their struggle.

Gandhi called nonviolent action the way "of the strong and wise", and added : "With right which is on their side and the choice of nonviolence as their only weapon, if they will make it such, a bright future is assured."

Earlier, in 1936, Gandhi told Dr and Mrs Howard Thurman that "it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world".

Contemporaneously with the spread of Gandhi-inspired nonviolent action in other parts of the world, there emerged in Communist countries and Nazi-occupied countries independent demonstrations of the technique under exceedingly difficult circumstances.

While no totalitarian system has been overthrown by nonviolent action, there has been more such resistance than is generally recognised. In these cases the fact that the resistance was nonviolent often seemed almost an accident, often without any conscious choice and certainly not the result of moral or religious qualms about violence. Often the nonviolent action even accompanied violence or was tinged with violence, but nevertheless remained basically dependent upon the nonviolent solidarity in non-cooperation and defiance of men and women acting without external arms.

The Norwegian resistance during the Nazi occupation is perhaps the most significant case. It was largely through such resistance that Quisling's plans for establishing the Corporate State in Norway were thwarted. The heroism

of the Norwegian teachers in refusing to indoctrinate school children with the National Socialist ideology or to become part of the fascist teachers' "corporation" is perhaps the best known part of this resistance. But it is by no means the only one. Clergymen, sportsmen, trade unionists and others played their part too.

Other important cases include : major aspects of the Danish Resistance, 1940-45, including the successful general strike in Copenhagen in 1944 ; major aspects of the Dutch Resistance, 1940-45, including large-scale strikes in 1941, 1943 and 1944 ; the East German Rising of June 1953, in which there was massive nonviolent defiance including women in Jena sitting down in front of Russian tanks; strikes in the political prisoners' camps (especially at Vorkuta) in the Soviet Union in 1953, which are credited with being a major influence for improving the lot of the prisoners; and major aspects of the Hungarian Revolution, 1956-57, in which in addition to the military battles there was demonstrated the power of the general strike, and large-scale popular nonviolent defiance. Also, the impact of popular pressure in Poland for liberalising the regime was considerable despite the difficulties.

The degree of "success" and "failure" varies in such cases. These instances have occurred without advance preparations, with neither serious thought, nor training, nor preparations for such action. These cases are nevertheless significant, for they prove something that is often denied: that nonviolent action is possible under at least certain circumstances against a totalitarian system, and that in certain conditions such action can force concessions and win at least partial victories.

In some circumstances such action may lead—and has led in Denmark, East Germany and Hungary, for example —to increasing unreliability of the regime's own troops, administration and other agents. Mutiny is simply the extreme form of this.

Other significant developments of nonviolent action have taken place in various parts of Africa, Japan, South

Vietnam and elsewhere. The process is continuing.

Already this technique has moved very far from its role in politics when Gandhi first began his experiments with it in South Africa, and later in India. Contrary to the former situation, now for the first time people and some social scientists operating as yet with the most meagre resources are attempting to study this technique, and to learn of its nature, its dynamics, the requirements for success with it against various types of opponents, and to examine its future potentialities.

The view that this technique can only be used in the peculiar Indian circumstances at the time of Gandhi is thus seen also to be one which has little basis in fact. Indeed, it was argued a long time ago by an Indian sociologist, Krishnalal Shridharani, in his doctoral thesis at Columbia University (and later in his book, *War Without Violence*) that the West was more suitable than India for the technique: "My contact with the Western world has led me to think that, contrary to popular belief, Satyagraha, once consciously and deliberately adopted, has more fertile fields in which to grow and flourish in the West than in the Orient. Like war, Satyagraha demands public spirit, self-sacrifice, organization, endurance and discipline for its successful operation, and I have found these qualities displayed in Western communities more than my own. Perhaps the best craftsmen in the art of violence may still be the most effective wielders of nonviolent direct action."

This view has in the intervening years become not only more credible but one for which there is increasing supporting evidence. This is supported by an elementary examination of a large number of cases of nonviolent action which reveals that, contrary to popular belief and the rather conceited assumption of pacifists, in an overwhelming number of such cases leaders and followers have both been non-pacifists who have followed the nonviolent means for some limited social, economic or political objective. This has profound implications.

Thus Gandhi emerges, along with the technique of action,

to the development of which he contributed so significantly, as being important for the world as a whole. Gandhi and nonviolent action clearly can no longer be pigeon-holed and dismissed without serious consideration by informed people.

Gandhi's role in politics was rather peculiar. He was not a student of politics, as we would think of one. He was not a political theoretician or analyst. Nor was he inclined to write, and perhaps not capable of writing, a systematic treatise on his approach to politics. These were serious weaknesses and have continued to have important consequences. Indeed, he admitted that he could not lay claim to "much book knowledge".

Yet, despite this Gandhi was an innovator in politics. He often demonstrated that despite his lack of political "book knowledge" he had a very considerable understanding of political realities. He relied upon this and his intuition, as well as his constant "experiments". He had a capacity to sense the feelings and capacities of ordinary people about political issues, clearly understanding the peasants better than his more intellectual fellow nationalists.

His capacity to inspire people to act bravely and to gain a new sense of their capacities was combined with great organizational ability and attention to details. The combination of these various factors resulted in his important contributions to the development of "the politics of nonviolent action". Dr S. Radhakrishnan, now President of India, wrote in his introduction to the Unesco edition of Gandhi's writings that "Gandhi was the first in human history to extend the principle of nonviolence from the individual to the social and political plane".

This development which has taken place side by side with the most extreme forms of political violence—typified by the Hitler and Stalin regimes and by nuclear weapons—has led some people to ask whether the solution to such violence is developing while the problem is becoming more acute.

After the achievement of political independence, the new Indian Government did not—as Gandhi had hoped—assert its confidence in nonviolent means to defend the newly won

freedom. The assumption of some pacifists that after experience with nonviolent action people would rather easily adopt the whole "gospel" was not borne out. Although Gandhi had hoped to the contrary he had expected independent India to have its army.

The Indian nationalists were willing to adopt the nonviolent course of action which Gandhi proposed to achieve political freedom, but when the struggle was won, they did not automatically continue their adherence to nonviolent means. This was a somewhat natural and predictable development.

This is because the adoption by India of the nonviolent struggle to deal with British imperialism was not a doctrinal or a moralistic act. It was a political act in response to a political programme of action proposed to deal with a particular kind of situation and crisis. A distinguished Muslim President of the Indian National Congress, Maulana Azad, once said : "The Indian National Congress is not a moral organization to achieve world peace but a political body to acquire freedom from the foreign yoke."

Thus, for most Indian nationalists, it happened, almost parenthetically, that this nonviolent programme offered by Gandhi was morally preferable to violent revolutionary war.

In addition to strategic and tactical advantages, this choice of nonviolent means in some ways increased the strength of the movement by giving it an aura of moral superiority. It was also probably psychologically and morally more uplifting to the society as a whole and to individual participants. But these were certainly not the prime factors determining its acceptance.

In this new situation in which independent India no longer followed his nonviolence, Gandhi was unsure about the best way to proceed, except that he was convinced of the importance of having people who believed in "the nonviolence of the brave and the strong" out of moral convictions. He was so busy with the riots and other problems that he did not work out a satisfactory solution to the new problem before his assassination.

In the years after, the Gandhians were for some time uncertain as to how to proceed. When they gained a strong sense of direction it was to follow the initiatives of Vinoba Bhave and the land-gift and associated movements for social and economic reform which he launched. Vinoba, however, is a very different person from Gandhi and is often content with broad generalizations where detailed policies are needed.

When he launched the Shanti Sena, or Peace Army, of a core of volunteers committed to the development of alternative nonviolent ways of dealing with the tasks normally assigned to the police and soldiers, the programme was not worked out in such a way (as Gandhi had done) to appeal to the hard-headed realist and the political leaders. There are now—with the shock of the Indian government's actions in Goa and the Chinese border—signs of new life within it, but the Shanti Sena still is far from adequately developed.

Meanwhile, the Indian Government sought to pursue a "neutralist" foreign policy while continuing a conventional military defence policy. Inevitably this meant that if confronted with international dangers the Indian government would demonstrate in action the same faith in military defence as other countries.

If this was not to be, someone would have had to formulate at least the framework for a consciously adopted, carefully prepared, systematically trained programme for the nonviolent defence of India's newly gained freedom. No one did this.

In this situation it is significant that now Jayaprakash Narayan—who left politics to work in the nonviolent movement, although many expected him to be the next Prime Minister after Nehru—has come to a new awareness of the importance of this task.

In a speech in May 1963, Jayaprakash declared that he rejected both "meek submission to the Chinese injustice to us" and "compromise with cowardice". "There is no failure in a nonviolent war and we cannot forget all Gandhi taught us. The alternative to violent war is total disarmament and nonviolent rearmament. If we actually demobilize the army, what would this mean ? It would mean that we had

shed all our fear of the Chinese, Russians and others and were determined not to bow our head before any aggressor; we will offer nonviolent resistance to them."

This was probably the first time such words had been heard from the lips of so prominent an Indian since that fateful afternoon of 30 January 1948. Obviously, however, the extraordinarily vast and difficult problems which are involved in the preparations for and execution of such an undertaking require the most serious programme of research and planning. There are not yet signs that this is being undertaken. The financial requirements of such a program of investigation are large : £ 1,000,000 a year could be spent very usefully, given the right projects and personnel. Is the Indian Government likely to help ? It is doubtful, although it is widely recognised that the present military programme is going to increase seriously India's economic problems, and hence may help indirectly to increase the strength of the Communists within India. Yet Nehru recognised the importance of further investigation of the nonviolent technique. He told Joan Bondurant : "I do not pretend to understand fully the significance of that technique of action, in which I myself took part. But I feel more and more convinced that it offers us some key to understanding and to the proper resolution of conflict." Gandhi's way showed achievement, Nehru said. "That surely should at least make us try to understand what this new way was and how far it is possible for us to shape our thoughts and actions in accordance with it."

However, the problem of tyranny and the problem of war are the problems not only of India, but of the whole world. Even if one thinks the chances of nonviolent action turning out to be an effective substitute for war are very small, the desperate nature of our situation is such that even such a small chance deserves full investigation.

This is the kind of tribute and remembrance which Gandhi would have appreciated. He was never one to claim he had all the answers or the final truth. He did not want people to be thinking always of him, but of the task which

he had undertaken.

"I am fully aware that my mission cannot be fulfilled in India alone", Gandhi once wrote to an American correspondent. "I am pining for the assistance of the whole world.... But I know that we shall have to deserve it before it comes."

The quest for an alternative to war is now our common task in which Gandhi pioneered so significantly. Is it not now time that a full investigation into the potentialities of nonviolent action is deserved and required?

SATYAGRAHA VERSUS DURAGRAHA : THE LIMITS OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

JOAN V. BONDURANT

Every leader who seeks to win a battle without violence and who presumes to precipitate a war against conventional attitudes and arrangements—however prejudiced they may be—would do well to probe the subtleties which distinguish Satyagraha from other forms of action without overt violence. There are essential elements in Gandhian Satyagraha which do not readily meet the eye. The readiness with which Gandhi's name is invoked and the self-satisfaction with which leaders of movements throughout the world make reference to Gandhian methods is not always backed by an understanding of either the subtleties or the basic principles of Satyagraha. It is important to pose a question and to state a challenge to those who believe that they know how a Gandhian movement is to be conducted. For nonviolence alone is weak, non-cooperation in itself could lead to defeat, and civil disobedience without creative action may end in alienation. How, then, does Satyagraha differ from other approaches? This questions can be explored by contrasting Satyagraha with concepts of passive resistance defined by the Indian word, Duragraha.

Duragraha means prejudgement. Perhaps better than any other single word, it connotes the attributes of passive

resistance. Duragraha may be said to be stubborn resistance in a cause, or wilfulness. The distinctions between Duragraha and Satyagraha as these words are used to designate concepts of direct social action are to be found in each of the major facets of such action.[1] Let us examine (1) the character of the objective for which the action is undertaken, (2) the process through which the objective is expected to be secured, and (3) the styles which characterize the respective approaches. Satyagraha and Duragraha are compared below in each of these three aspects by considering their relative treatment of first, pressure and persuasion, and second, guilt and responsibility. Finally, we shall have a look at the meaning and limitations of symbolic violence.

I. PRESSURE AND PERSUASION

The Objective

If non-cooperation, Civil disobedience, fasting, and non-violent strike represent only partial—but never essential—expressions of Satyagraha in action, this is because the Gandhian method goes well beyond the more simple and direct use of pressure. The objective of Satyagraha is the constructive transforming of relationships in a manner which not only effects a change of policy but also assures the restructuring of the situation which led to conflict. This calls for a modification of attitudes and requires fulfilment of the significant needs of all parties originally in conflict. The fulfilling of needs is both an objective and a means for effecting fundamental change.

The immediate cause for action, both of a Satyagrahic and Duragrahic nature, is an allegedly unjust policy. The search for a solution to the conflict which results, once the policy and its proponents are opposed, is understood by the Duragrahi in terms of applying pressure with skill and in sufficient strength to force the opponent to stand down. In Satyagraha the search itself partakes of the objective, for it affords the stimulation and provides the satisfactions which attend all

creative efforts. The dynamics of Satyagraha are end-creating. The objective is, conceptually, only a starting point. The end cannot be predicted, and must necessarily be left open. As we shall see below, the process, as it relates ends to means, is complex.

In contrast, Duragraha approaches the conflict with a set of prejudgements. The opponent is, *ipso facto*, wrong. The objective is to overcome the opponent and to destroy his position. The task the Duragrahi sets himself is to demonstrate the fallacious or immoral character of the position held by the opponent, and to substitute for it a preconceived correct and morally right position. A Duragraha campaign has the often satisfying advantage of being direct and simple. The objective is given, and the end conclusive.

The Process

The uses of pressure are valued by both Satyagrahi and Duragrahi. Pressure, as the action of a force against some opposing force, has a place in both approaches. But in Satyagraha this mechanical meaning of the term describes only the initial action in a complex system of dynamics. The Satyagrahi develops an interacting force (with the opponent) which produces new movement and which may change the direction or even the content of the force. The opponent is engaged in a manner which will result in the transformation of relationships into a form or pattern which could not have been predicted with any precision. The subtleties of response from the opponent are channelled back into the Satyagrahi's movement and these responding pressures are given the maximum opportunity to influence subsequent procedures, and even the content of the Satyagrahi's claims and objectives. This process has been described elsewhere as the Gandhian dialectic.[2]

Pressure is understood in Duragraha in the sense of steady pushing or thrusting to effect weight or burden, and usually it results in distress. Pressure in the mechanical sense is not developed further into a process reflecting influences

from the opposition or, to be more exact, Duragraha does not develop such a process through design. The strike is typical of this straightforward application of pressure. The strike is commonly used to effect economic pressure, and is intended to hurt business, or to strain relationships so that normal functions are brought to a halt, or at least inhibited. Normal functioning cannot be resumed until policy changes are instituted.

In the field of labour relations, sophisticated forms of collective bargaining represent an advanced technique of negotiation and compromise. Relationships do indeed change, but these changes are in degree, and only to the extent that degree can become so great as to represent kind do they reflect fundamental transformation. The process of strike, or passive resistance, or Duragraha in its most common forms, amounts to the intensification of pressure or the shifting of points of attack until a settlement is reached through capitulation or through compromise. The objective does not partake of a search, nor does it require an explicit intent to discover solutions which will satisfy the opponent. Duragraha seeks concessions; Satyagraha sets out to develop alternatives which will satisfy antagonists on all sides.

Creativity is essential in Satyagraha—not only in devising techniques adapted to given instances of conflict, but also as an inherent part of the philosophy which underlies Satyagraha. Satyagraha may be likened to the thought process objectified. One can draw upon Dewey's analysis of purposive action to suggest the process in operation. Satyagraha on the field of action is reminiscent of the process of inquiry and solution of problems as described by Samuel Beer: "An enquiring mind comes to a problem with certain purposes, but in its contact with fact those purposes are modified and enriched. New traits in a situation may be perceived and that perception will modify the purposes which were brought to the situation. Thus creative solutions arise. In the continuum of inquiry, the inquirer's perspective is continually developed. The purposes and interests which he brings to inquiry guide him in his contacts with the facts.

But what he learns about the facts in turn guides the development of his interests and purposes. If he is to learn, he must start from what he already knows. In that sense his approach to the facts is limited and biased and he is "blind" to many aspects of the facts. But we must not forget that he can learn and that in the course of learning his initial purposes may be greatly enlarged and deepened."[3]

The Style

Over against the harassment and distress commonly effected in Duragraha is set the fundamentally supportive nature of Satyagraha. As the Satyagrahi moves to bring about change in the situation through persuading his opponent to modify or alter the position under attack, he seeks to strengthen interpersonal relationships and intrapersonal satisfactions through acts of support and, where appropriate, through service to the opponent. This approach goes well beyond the nebulous and often platitudinous insistence that all men are brothers and that love for the opponent dominates the feeling and dictates the action. It is based upon a psychologically sound understanding about suffering and the capacity of man to change.

The discovery that fundamental change is accompanied by suffering can be understood through a bit of self-introspection. The more rigid and fixed the attitude, or the more habitual the behaviour, the more painful the process of change. Persisting, obstinate attitudes are not without their cause. They perform a function which has its origin in personal history and they are part of an intrapersonal economy, any disruption of which will be experienced as distress and even as a major personal threat. It follows from these elementary psychological facts that change can best be effected in the context of reassurance and through efforts to delimit the area of attack. It may, indeed, be impossible to bring about a change in attitudes and to achieve the transformation of relationships without extensive reassurance and support. Otherwise the conflict becomes exacerbated, the

opposition hardened, and the prospects of a life-and-death struggle enhanced.

When the dispute is over a simple policy change which does not challenge long-standing custom or in which the emotional investment is low, then Duragraha may well succeed. The undermining of the opponent may result in sufficient distress to bring about compromise and concession within tolerable limits of change. But when fundamental attitudes and long-established beliefs are challenged, the required change may be impossible to tolerate without considerable supportive effort. When change of such fundamental nature is involved, the harassment of a strike, demonstration, or other form of Duragrahic attack will not achieve the response or perhaps will achieve it only through overwhelming the opponent and destroying the possibility of a sound, transformed relationship.

Some form of destruction is involved in all change. In Satyagraha the more serious the expected change (and, therefore, the more radical the destruction of established patterns), the more essential it is to undertake counter and parallel constructive efforts of a high order.

The creative process of Satyagraha is applied in a supportive style towards a restructured end. This integrative mode of approach does not depend upon ideal views of mankind, but, rather, it is based upon the knowledge of the psychological needs common to every man.

II. GUILT AND RESPONSIBILITY

Wherever nonviolent movements are undertaken in the interest of asserting or establishing human, or civil or "inherent" rights, the atmosphere is ripe for the emergence of an attitude which threatens constructive solutions. Self-righteousness is an extension into the realm of personal ascription of the sounder quality of moral indignation. Self-righteousness attaches to the actions of some through a failure to examine personal motives or to appreciate its affect in the objective circumstance. But to others, self-

righteousness follows upon an explicit use of alleged, or assumed, guilt of others. For there are those who set out to disclose the guilt of others, and to use this disclosure as a technique in prosecuting their "nonviolent" attacks. The purpose of this emphasis upon guilt and the manner in which guilt disclosure is intended to function is not always clear. It may be dictated by a consideration indirectly related to the given conflict, as, for example, a commitment to an ideological position not germane to the conflict at hand. Among such commitments, perhaps the best known is the doctrine of class warfare.

The author has on occasion heard participants in phases of the American civil rights movement instructed to disrupt business in retail shops for the purpose not only of putting pressure upon shop-owners to integrate their work force, but also of harassing customers so that they will recognize their own guilt. The argument is that the ordinary American housewife goes about her business in the markets with a false sense of innocence. She must be brought to understand that she, too, is guilty of discrimination. It may be that the unconcerned third party is in this way forced to recognize a fault and, in recognizing guilt, he (or she) will join or at least tacitly support the demonstrators. Such an expectation is, on its face, somewhat unrealistic, but however the expectation is to be assessed, the procedure reveals a point of critical significance. When a group is enjoined to disclose guilt on the part of others, while at the same time they set about demonstrating their own guiltlessness, the mechanism suggests psychological projection, the true meaning of which is an unconscious sense of guilt in the demonstrators themselves. It may be guilt of prejudice against the middleclass of which the American housewife is such an eminent representative. Or it may reflect unconscious guilt on the part of the demonstrator against the very persons upon whose behalf he is demonstrating. The symbolic meaning of such action is noted below (section III) in the discussion of symbolic violence. Whatever the objective, the interest in producing a sense of guilt through discomfitting others is destined to

exacerbate the conflict. This may indeed be its intent, and certainly it might succeed, in uncomplicated situations where simple Duragraha has some chance of success. But where extensive and fundamental change is desired, reliance upon this procedure will fail of any clear and constructive purpose. For guilt is a destructive force and is closely related to fear and hatred.

The central point of criticism of the active use of guilt is not that the self-righteous demonstrator may himself harbour guilt, but, rather, that he is evidently unaware of his own guilt. The freely informed and acutely aware individual does not point the finger of shame at others. He sets about his task in quite different ways. And in recognizing his own prejudices—wherever they may lie—he engages with his opponents, as well as with his companions, in the struggle in order to search for constructive solutions and to transform relationships. Gandhi repeatedly warned of the dangers involved in focussing upon the misdeeds of the opponent. "After all", he observed, "no one is wicked by nature... and if others are wicked, are we the less so? That attitude is inherent in Satyagraha."[4] Earlier, Gandhi had written, "Whenever I see an erring man, I say to myself, I have also erred",[5] and again, in opposing the use of sitting Dharna, he explained: "We must refrain from crying 'shame, shame' to anybody, we must not use any coercion to persuade other people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves."[6]

Among the most constant and abiding efforts of the Satyagrahi is the extension of areas of rationality. He recognizes the significance of the irrational, but, in contrast to the Duragrahi, the Satyagrahi seeks to minimize and not to use the irrational.

The relationship to those one seeks to change calls for a high level of responsibility. It is incumbent upon the Satyagrahi actively to concern himself with the problems he is presenting to his opponent. His recognition of the burden his demands place upon his opponent is prerequisite to action. He is expecting his opponent to renounce or reject

patterns of behaviour to which he has long been accustomed —and oftentimes behaviour which appears not only justified to the opponent, but which may also seem to him to accord with high moral standards. If conventional social forms are involved which carry sanctions for failure to comply (as in the law or established custom), the demonstrator, by his act of contravention, is presenting to the opponent and to third parties formally not involved in the conflict, the necessity to make a choice. This choice may well require an act of faith on the part of the opponent. For the demonstrator is stating a position contrary to hitherto accepted form and usage. He is saying, in effect, "The established conventions and authorities are wrong; what I am doing is right ; accept my way". In acting upon this assertion, the demonstrator is calling for the opponent to have faith in the demonstrator's judgement. A well-launched demonstration is calculated to confront the opponent in such a manner that he is forced to make a choice. Opponents and otherwise uninvolved onlookers are faced with the need to examine their own behaviour. Conduct which was formerly taken for granted is in this way questioned. If the opponent and the onlooker persist in the old way, the behaviour which was formerly habitual and automatic now is consciously taken, and for that very reason it is likely to gain the strength of conviction.

The responsibility for forcing a choice requires to be seriously weighed. Questions should be raised about one's justification in asking the opponent to trust this judgement which is alien and unwelcome. When responsibility of this order is carefully studied, the need for supportive activity to the opponent can be more clearly understood. The details of support and the manner in which it may be undertaken can best emerge in the course of examining the extent of this responsibility within the context of a given conflict situation. When conscious decision is forced upon others, it becomes all the more important that guilt be dispelled, fear abated, and passions controlled. The forcing of new choices is a tactic for effecting change in a static situation. At the critical juncture when choice is forced, the Satyagrahi must

shoulder his greatest burdens. He will be confronted by persons seized with doubts and uncertainties and it is his obligation to tolerate their abuse, should it be offered, and to find ways in which to strengthen and reassure his opponents. His own strength at such junctures is put to the greatest test, and his own capacity for creative thought and imaginative act is taxed to the fullest.

As the Satyagrahi engages his opponent in constructive conflict, his responsibility is to be understood also in terms of responsiveness. The open-ended nature of his objectives and the transforming function of the process require that he extend to his opponent not only the respect implied by humanistic values, but also a measure of trust which goes well beyond that tolerated by proponents of Duragraha. It is of the essence of Satyagraha that every response from the opponent be accepted as genuine and that all undertakings of the opponent be considered to have been given in good faith. In Satyagraha this is not only a matter of strategy, based upon an active search for truth, but it is also an effective tactic. If the opponent gives any indication of changing his position and altering his behaviour—in either direction —this indication must be given full recognition. It is essential to accept as genuine threats of violence or acts of hostility as well as any expression of intent on the part of the opponent to move towards a resolution of the conflict. To demonstrate acceptance and belief in the opponent's good faith will serve to hold the opponent to his word, to diminish his hesitation, and to encourage the realization of his perhaps shaky intent. It is a basic principle of Satyagraha to consider as genuine all counter-suggestions.

The proponent of Duragraha is characteristically conditioned to doubt every move made by his opponent, and to suppose that his opponent is acting in bad faith. The opponent must be actively opposed, his every act suspected. This readiness to doubt the good faith of an opponent may be put forward as a piece of sophistication, based upon experience or knowledge of human nature. In operation such an approach is poor strategy and worse tactics. The

Satyagrahi's move to credit the opponent with genuine intent requires the capacity to tolerate abuse (as in instances where the opponent has, in fact, acted in bad faith) and to exercise forbearance. Gandhi once said that "impatience is a phase of violence".[7] In Duragraha, efforts on the part of the opponent are oftentimes flaunted because they may upset the timetable of planned demonstration and result in inconvenience to the demonstrators. At such times the opponent is especially likely to be suspect. The manner in which the Duragrahi readily places demonstration at the top of his priorities, even at the cost of resolving the immediate conflict, is illustrated by many of the student demonstrations organized in support of the civil rights movement in the United States. The author witnessed one such demonstration in a university city. A civil rights group, largely made up of students, challenged merchants to include non-white employees in proportion to the city's non-white population. After serious consideration the merchants did, in fact, take steps towards the integration of their employees and moved through the city's welfare commission to set up a training program for potential employees from the minority group. Nevertheless, demonstrations and picketing were launched. When asked why they persisted in demonstrating even though the merchants had taken steps towards the desired objective, the leader of the demonstrators replied that the merchants had not acted in good faith, that their proposals were empty promises, and their hiring of a few Negroes amounted only to "tokenism". In this instance there was considerable evidence that the merchants had, indeed, acted in good faith. To announce that the opponent was not acting in good faith could result only in bitterness and further conflict. One of the results in this case was the alienation of many townspeople who had initially supported the movement and who were potential supporters of all civil rights efforts.

The demonstration in question illustrates these two characteristics of Duragraha : failure to accept the opponent's moves as being taken in good faith, and taking action according to the convenience of the demonstrators. The timing

of this demonstration had been scheduled for Christmas week. Students had a holiday during these days and were free to demonstrate and picket. An even more important consideration was the business loss merchants would incur through interference with Christmas shopping. Paralleling these considerations was the suspicion that the merchants would do anything to prevent disruption of business during this most profitable season. The allegations that the merchants were acting in bad faith were conditioned by and to some extent arose out of this suspicion.

In the incident cited above, the demonstrators were of the opinion that they were using Gandhian tactics. Any familiarity with Gandhian Satyagraha would have precluded this misjudgement. Indians will remember well the occasions upon which Gandhiji refrained from taking action against opponents when inconvenience *to the opponent* was evident. He would not allow a movement aimed directly at Englishmen to continue during Easter Sunday and, out of respect for his opponent's susceptibility to tropical heat, he would call off action during the hottest hours of the day. It would have been in the Gandhian spirit had these student demonstrators (1) taken the merchants' proposals as a geniune indication of their intention, (2) explained to the merchants that, even though their demands had not been met in full, they would withdraw their pickets during the important Christmas week so that business would not be unduly hurt, and (3) turned their efforts into solving the problems of organizing a training program to provide skilled workers from the non-white community.

III. THE LIMITS OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

Those who lead movements aimed at effecting change have a choice of means, and in the storehouse of strategies symbolic violence ranks high in popularity. There is no denying that all forms of violence have some chance of success in securing immediate, well-defined objectives. Symbolic violence, as a form of violence, and Duragraha as a form of

symbolic violence share this potential for success. We have seen above how Satyagraha, as contrasted to Duragraha, has superior potential in situations of conflict in which fundamental changes of attitude and behaviour constitute the objective. A concluding word may be said about the nature of Duragraha as symbolic violence and the limitations inherent in its use.

"Symbolic" pertains to something that denotes or stands for something else. The distinction should be made between, on the one hand, that which stands for something else because it has been given consciously a conventional or contrived significance and, on the other hand, that which represents an unconscious wish (in this case, to be violent), a counter-desire (in this case, to be nonviolent), or both at once. Those who consciously set out with violent intent and destructive objective to prosecute their action through means which are not physically violent may be said to engage in symbolic violence in the first sense—their non-violent acts have the contrived significance of violence once-removed. Those who, on the other hand, are attached to the ideals of nonviolence while at the same time they unwittingly engage in destructive acts, may be involved in symbolic violence described in the second (psychoanalytic) meaning of "symbolic".

The individual who uses symbolic violence but who believes that he is using no violence may be unaware of the substitute nature of his behaviour which, in its unconscious meaning, is violent and destructive. The behaviour of those who consciously contrive to use symbolic violence, as well as those who believe their actions to be free from violence, may both be substitutive in nature. The manner in which the guilt of others is used to promote a "nonviolent" movement, as illustrated above (in section II), can be better understood by applying this second meaning of "symbolic".

The destructive effects of violence are widely recognized, and it is readily conceded that these effects extend beyond the physical. Violence once-removed, through unconscious symbolization, and acted upon in ways which exclude the

cruder physical forms of destruction may indeed be more treacherous than frank and open violence.

The use of a symbol, if the results are to be understood (to say nothing of controlled), requires a high degree of awareness. Those who consciously set out to apply symbolic violence have a better chance of control and effectiveness than those who proceed with forms of Duragraha without the recognition that they are involved in violence once-removed. It is for this reason that the leader who would organize a movement without violence should be pressed to understand his techniques and to explore his strategies.

Wherever men meet to consider how they shall struggle against great odds for freedoms or for cherished rights, the name of Gandhi readily comes to their lips, and his image of greatness and success strengthens their will. Let them know the distinctions between Gandhian Satyagraha and forms of struggle which are here described as Duragraha. For without this understanding, the seminal contribution of Gandhiji could be lost.

For those who do understand the many ways in which Satyagraha is distinguished, a challenge is posed : the methods must be refined and techniques developed for this age of advanced technology. The Gandhian philosophy of conflict is sound. Who is to press forward the experiments in technique ? The first step is to reject the falsity and failure which inhere in Duragraha. New strategies for the constructive conduct of conflict, building upon and advancing beyond Satyagraha, can be designed, and techniques to implement them await invention. In the face of unparalleled risk, there are few challenges which present such scope for creativity, and perhaps none holds out so much promise.

1. Satyagraha, as a word coined to describe the technique Gandhi first used in South Africa and continued to develop in India, is readily understood to mean the Gandhian method of conducting conflict without violence. The word Satyagraha is a compound of two Sanskrit nouns : Satya, "truth" (from Sat, "being", with a suffix-*ya*) and Agraha, "firm grasping" (a noun made from the verb Agrah, which is the root Grah, "seize, grasp", with the verbal prefix *a*, "to, towards").

Duragraha is infrequently used in the sense of social action. The prefix *dur* (used in compound for *dus*) denotes "difficult". One meaning of Duragraha is "bias". I am introducing the word here not only to enable the discussion at hand, but also to promote the refinement of language in describing techniques of social action. Many so-called Satyagraha campaigns could more accurately be described as Duragraha. The usefulness of the word in this context will become clear as the text progresses.

2. Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence. The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton, N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1958), Chapter VI.

3. Quoted from Samuel Beer, *The City of Reason* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 42. Professor Beer develhps "the philosophical ideas which support the theory of a free society", and a political theory derived from Whitehead's metaphysic "based on reason and directed toward liberty". The philosophy on which his form of ethics is based "emphasizes the relativity of all institutions . . . the gulf between the ideal and the actual is never bridged, although the duty of man is continually to try to bridge it".

4. D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma : Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. V, 1938-1940 (8 vols ; Bombay : Jhaveri and Tendulkar, 1952), p. 328.

5. *Young India*, 7 June 1920.

6. *Ibid.*, 9 February 1921.

7. *Young India*, 18 October 1927.

VIOLENCE AND POWER POLITICS

STEPHEN KING-HALL

Since the beginning of the story of the human race there have been a few Saints and many Sinners. Both Saints and Sinners recognized that differences of opinion have always existed between men and groups of men whether organized into tribes, nations or empires.

The Saints maintained that when their differences erupted into strife the correct reply to attack, to aggression, to injustice was peaceful resistance and indeed the exercise of love and charity to those who wished evil. Jesus Christ said it all in the Sermon on the Mount and the principles he expounded were implicit in Gandhi's teachings and the work of Sri. R. R. Diwakar.

Nevertheless the Sinners continued to believe and practise the doctrine of the use of violence and on the short-term view it seemed as if logic was on their side. The British who conquered India did so using superior violence and William of Normandy practised the same technique when he conquered England in 1066.

In my life-time two great World Wars have stained the pages of the history of mankind. In India countless thousands were slaughtered, when Moslems and Hindus separated after the departure of the British.

For thousands of years the use of violence has been the basis and ultimate sanction of power politics. Power politics when pursued to the ultimate was called War.

This habit of war is deeply ingrained in men's minds. Indeed it is impossible to imagine what history would have been like if (say) two thousand years ago, by some miracle, the logic and morality of pacificism had conquered men's minds.

War, *i.e.* the use of physical violence against an opponent, was taken for granted as being as much a part of the whole make-up of man as sex. A world without war was unimaginable. The small company of Saints who declared that, far from being unimaginable, to eschew violence was the course of wisdom were occasionally respected and tolerated (as was the case in Britain in World War II—but not in World War I) but usually persecuted as traitors.

It was taken for granted in the exercise of power politics between nations, that the greater the capacity, actual and potential, for physical violence possessed by a nation, the higher its status in the table of precedence of Great Power. If you were able to unleash a great deal of violence you were a Great Power ; with less violence capacity you were a Lesser Power.

The Saints and, indeed, the more intelligent Sinners were able to point out that very often these wars settled nothing, and that after a great expenditure of blood and treasure we were sometimes back where we started.

I recall that at Dartington Hall in Devonshire, somewhere about 1932, Rabindranath Tagore startled me by saying : "You British have no right to prevent India finding her soul if need be through a blood bath." I asked him what he thought the thousands of simple people would think about this, and whether they might not ask whether the search for the Indian soul could not proceed without the shedding of their blood.

□

It is common knowledge that great changes are often pre-

ceded by little indications whose significance is not recognized at the time. A few gusts of wind barely shaking the tree tops will presage a mighty storm; a laboratory experiment may be the start of an industrial revolution; an exchange of looks across a room between a man and a woman may be the beginning of a life-long comradeship.

During the 1914-18 war one of these preliminary symptoms took place in the field of Power Politics. It was assumed throughout the war and written on parchment at Versailles in 1919 that the vanquished would pay the costs and preferably a bit more. It was discovered after years of endeavour that this was a fallacy. The defeated Germans could not be made to pay for the war, even though they were lent vast sums of money to help them be good payers. This attempt to achieve what Sir Norman Angell in his book, *The Great Illusion* (1911), had declared would be impossible in "the next Great War" was a contributory cause to the Great World Slump of the 1930s, whose consequences in Germany did much to create conditions favourable to the rise to power of Hitler.

What had gone wrong ?

It had become apparent by 1939 when the second Great War started that violence in power politics had become inconveniently large. This meant that in order to achieve one's political aims through military victory it was imperative to use so much violence that the enemy was ruined, flat on his back and unable to pay reparations. This painful discovery of the limitations of the use of violence in its modern forms *in the pre-nuclear age* was taken into account in World War II.

I was a member of Parliament in that War, and I never recall anyone suggesting that after we had used violence to bring about unconditional surrender (a stupid war aim) and got rid of the Nazis, there was the slightest hope of the Germans paying for the war. Indeed it was generally recognized amongst those who could see further than the end of their noses that the victorious allies would have to pour money and aid into a defeated Germany so as to avoid a slum in the middle of Europe.

I recall that Sir Winston Churchill questioned the desirability of continuing the heavy bombing of Germany in 1945 and made the common-sense remark : "Where are we going to live when we get there ?" So it was established by the beginning of 1945 that military victory could only be obtained, at any rate in a considerable conflict, if a degree of violence was used which made it impossible for the defeated nation to pay reparations. On the contrary it had now become clear that part of the price of a military victory was the need for the victors to give economic help to the vanquished.

This had the unexpected and puzzling result that since the victors by using superior violence had destroyed all the capital equipment of the vanquished, the latter naturally and inevitably replaced what had been destroyed with new capital goods. Thus within a few years the defeated nation became a dangerously efficient competitor in world markets, because the victorious nation was still having to make do with old capital equipment.

For instance after World War I the Allies seized a lot of German merchant shipping, much of which was becoming old. Within a few years the German shipping lines were equipped with *new* ships largely paid for by aid from the Allies. It would have been more realistic to force the defeated Germans to keep their old ships, and forbid them to build new ones.

All this can be summed up by saying that, in the decades before the arrival of the nuclear weapon, the level of violence in war between Great Powers had reached so great and destructive a degree, that it was now only possible to use it to obtain a political objective (*i.e.* the overthrow of the Nazi Regime) and not both a political and economic purpose. Then in August 1945 came the atom bomb and soon after the H-bomb.

□

The degree of nuclear violence is so enormous and indeed virtually unimaginable, that the Saints and the Sinners

are now on the same platform. Morality and expediency have become Siamese twins. "It is wicked to use violence", say the Saints. "It is mutual suicide to use it", say the Sinners. Some of the erstwhile sinners, such as myself, therefore argue that since nuclear violence is logically unusable, and terribly expensive, it should be abandoned. We are in a minority because most people cannot break through the thought-barrier in this problem and bring themselves to believe that violence, certainly in nuclear form, has become useless.

The reason for this is that from the point of view of the Sinners, who would perhaps prefer to be called *the realists*, their world, in which violence seemed to them to be useful, has been turned upside down too quickly. It has all happened within the life-span of one generation.

We have seen that between World Wars I and II the realists were obliged to admit that conventional violence had become so great, that it could no longer be sensibly used to achieve political *and* economic objectives.

But although half the apparent usefulness of violence had gone, the other half remained. It seemed that violence could still achieve political purposes and its supporters said : "It is true that great violence was used, but we did get rid of Hitler and the Nazis."

It is not relevant to their argument, so the realists would claim to say—as indeed I was saying in 1936/37—that one could have got rid of the Nazis by nonviolent methods if we had known how to use political warfare.

If there had been a third World War with conventional weapons and perhaps a 25 per cent increase of violence over World War II, then it might well have turned out that the educational process would have been completed. People might have said : "It is now clear that this idea of settling disputes by violence is obviously absurd. No one has won World War III."

But instead of mankind taking one more step towards the goal of realizing that violence had outlived its usefulness, it has made a leap into the nuclear age. We know, and our leaders keep on telling us, that nuclear war is mutual

suicide but we still cannot swallow the fact that this is the end of the long connection between power politics and violence. The situation is still further confused by the fact that in non-nuclear situations, such as China's attack on India, violence can still appear to have a use.

What of the immediate future ?

Clearly a very urgent and practical requirement is the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons and, therefore, of violence capacity in its most deadly form. The hour is late and this objective will not be achieved unless the Americans and Russians can come to terms about this problem. It is also clear that the collaboration of the People's Republic of China would also be indispensable.

I do not believe that we can hope to get rid of the use of violence in non-nuclear form in power politics in one great and revolutionary world-wide act of renunciation. So the next step towards the disappearenace of violence must be to concentrate its existence and control in the United Nations. It should be possible in the next ten years, to make some progress towards the establishment of a United Nations police force on a permanent basis. The Italians have a saying : "He who goes slowly goes safely ; he who goes safely goes a long way."

Much as I would like to think otherwise it is only by adopting these principles that we can progress towards the ideal of the elimination of violence in international power politics.

SOCIALISM OR SOCIAL JUSTICE ?

J. B. KRIPALANI

Before the modern industrial age in the West, "socialism", meaning the idea of economic equality, or better still of social justice, was conceived by the religious and humanist reformers. Jesus advised his followers : "Freely ye have received, freely ye give. Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purse, neither two coats nor shoes nor staves . . . for the worker is worthy of his meat." When he so advised his followers he was thinking both of their salvation here-after and some kind of social justice here. He did not want his followers to appropriate superfluous wealth. Again when he advised the rich man, who had approached him for guidance to the Kingdom of Heaven, to give up all he had and give it to the poor, he was likewise thinking not merely in terms of the Kingdom, but also of the hard condition of the recipients, which he wanted to be mitigated. It is significant that he did not ask the rich man to throw away his wealth but to give it to the poor, as a mark of human brotherhood and some sort of social justice. Though it was held that "the poor are with us always", it was also thought just and proper to mitigate their hardship and suffering. Afterwards when the Church Fathers preached to individuals that to possess more than "competence" was

sinful, they were again thinking in terms of some kind of social justice. However, for the ordinary individual not in monastic orders, who was advised to provide for the rainy day, it was only a venial and not a mortal sin to possess more than was needed. It could be expiated and atoned for by giving a portion of one's wealth to the poor and the needy. Among the Muslims it is obligatory to set apart a prescribed portion of one's income for charitable purposes. Among the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and followers of other faiths, laying aside a part of one's income to relieve human suffering is enjoined by their scriptures and is customary. It is considered an act of piety and service to humanity, which is usually equated with the service of God. It is held that God appears in the guise of the poor, as Daridranarayana.

Service to the poor indicates some recognition of the fact of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and the idea that "we are one of another". In India rich people, including kings, periodically distributed among the poor their accumulated wealth, to begin life anew. Religious institutions of every faith fed and clothed the poor. Such ideas of alleviating the sufferings of the poor and the needy were characteristic of all the great religions of the world. Those who gave were enjoined not to entertain towards the recipients any ideas of superiority. To give to those in need was the duty of the rich as human beings and as a recognition of the fact that we are all sons of one God. It was even held that thereby the rich were making some kind of restitution. The monastic orders of all religions were organised on the basis of no-private-property. In these institutions the Marxian idea of "from each according to ability and to each according to need", though not yet attained by the communists, was more or less realised. In religious establishments like Mathas, monasteries, Viharas etc. no distinction is made between manual, intellectual or artistic workers. Rather, it is said, he who would be first must be the last and he who would lead must be the first servant.

Social Justice and Humanism

With the beginning of the modern age in Europe, the idea of social justice and equality was advocated more and more on humanistic principles, based on the ideas of fraternity, the brotherhood of man and social justice, than on the religious grounds of the Fatherhood of God or personal salvation. Some of the humanist reformers wrote Utopias, describing what they imagined a just and egalitarian society should be like. They, however, unlike the religious, did not rely on individual charity to mitigate poverty and diminish inequality. For necessary reform they relied on some kind of social action. This could be initiated by a just and benevolent monarch, the philosopher king of Plato's conception, or by an enlightened and reforming aristocracy. It was, however, by some kind of organised social action and not through unorganised individual charity that the egalitarian social order was to be brought about. Since Marx this type of socialism is called "utopian".

After the industrial revolution and up to the present century the conditions of labour in the newly industrialised countries of Europe were very depressing and there was cruel exploitation by the capitalists of the workers in mills and factories. At this time Marx, who was an exile from Germany, studied in the British Museum the reports of the Royal Commission appointed by the British Parliament to enquire into the conditions of factory labour in England. Marx had not much personal knowledge of these conditions. Most of his material was drawn from the reports of the Royal Commission.

After an elaborate and painstaking study of the labour conditions as they existed in England and having some knowledge of equally bad conditions in industrial Germany, he like the utopian socialist enunciated an egalitarian goal for society, describing what the new social order should be like. However, unlike them he also suggested the sole method to achieve this goal. He said that "so far philosophers have tried to explain the world but the task is to change it".

The goal that Marx laid down was to establish throughout the world a classless egalitarian social order, wherein the state, as the embodiment of evil, will fade away and there will be perpetual progress based upon universal peace. The method of achieving this goal was through a violent class-war, revolution. The Marxian goal, it will be seen, is as idealistic and utopian as that of the "Utopians". The method of class-war was, however, something new, and was thought to be far from visionary. If the "possible" is the "scientific", the method of change advocated by Marx was scientific. Otherwise there was nothing scientific about it. It was contemplated that as the revolution will be world-wide, the workers, in every country, whose interests are identical, will unite on a supra-national basis against the world capitalists, whose interests in the exploitation of labour are also identical even in different countries. This method of change through a violent revolution appeared to be the only method that Marx could think of, to establish a new egalitarian social order. The revolution was considered not only necessary but inevitable, necessitated by the science of society and the march of history to its predestined goal of a classless society. It would come whether men wished it or not, only the process of change would be expedited by the recognition of the historical march and goal and by conscious effort.

Marxian Errors

Marx systematically and logically worked out his thesis, with whatever material he had about labour conditions and labour-capital relations then existing in the newly industrialized countries, selecting whatever suited his grand formulation. In this he made a few mistakes which were not quite apparent at the time. In some quarters they are not apparent even today. The greatest mistake was that he conceived that there is in the present industrial age only one conflict in the world and that between capital and labour. If there are other conflicts, as between one nation

and another, between imperial and colonial countries, or within the nation, between agriculture and industry, between industry and commerce, between one industry and another industry or between the dominant bureaucracy and the common citizen etc., all these international and internal conflicts are created directly or indirectly by one supreme conflict, that between capital and labour. If this conflict is resolved, all other conflicts, as arising from it, will disappear. Also, as there is only one conflict so there can be only one remedy: a violent class-war or revolution. When a physician feels that there is only one disease in the world and all other diseases flow from it, then there can be only one universal remedy. But when a doctor thinks like that he ceases to be scientific. He degenerates into a quack. But a quack would never be consulted if all his diagnosis and nostrums were wrong and failed. Some of them must and do turn out to be true and they succeed, to inspire confidence and faith. Some of the predictions made by Marx appeared to come true. But most of them have refused as yet to yield to his dialectical logic.

The other mistake of Marx was to suppose that the ownership of the instruments of production in private hands must necessarily lead to the exploitation of labour and their poverty, misery, ignorance, and various other undesirable results. It was held that once these instruments are put in the hands of the newly created dictatorial states, after the revolution, there will be no more exploitation of any kind and society will be established on an egalitarian and classless basis. Before the modern industrial age, the only instrument of production was land. Industry everywhere was organised on a handicraft basis, when every artisan generally owned his own instruments of production. Historically land everywhere was appropriated by those who commanded political power. The greatest mistake, however, was to confuse social justice, which should be the objective of any worthwhile change, reform or revolution, with the rigid and fanatical creed of the so-called scientific socialism or communism, which was considered inevitable and which was to

be worked out in accordance with the instructions laid down by history and as interpreted by Marx. There could be no deviation from this well-defined course. It was set by the laws of economics and of history. (History too was considered to be an exact science whose laws, methods and goals are preordained by its own dynamics.) The laws of the social sciences were as certain and inexorable as those of the physical sciences!

However, history and society refused to conform to the laws discovered and laid down by Marx. It took a different turn and established in the industrial West the poise of new social relations, which has generally been working more or less towards the aims socialism and communism had in view and which they have yet to attain, though in a measure they have been attained in the industrial West.

Marx had confused the means, the wresting of the instruments of production from capitalist hands and nationalising them, that is, putting them in the hands of the new revolutionary state authority, with the end of achieving equality and social justice. He did not imagine that identical results can be achieved through a variety of means. Nor did he see that new privileged classes may be created of those who wielded political power and their camp followers. Further the analysis on which Marx laid the foundations of his generalisations was of conditions as they existed in the then industrialised countries in the West. But even in the time of Marx conditions were being created in those countries which would falsify Marxian analysis and the forecasts based upon it. The new changes in social relations would also make the remedy of a violent revolution superfluous, if not also harmful and cruel.

Let us, however, see what happens when the instruments of production are nationalised. As the instruments are not to be under the ownership of private individuals or corporations, to be worked for private interest, they must be in the hands of some public organisation. Such an organisation, after a successful violent revolution, can be put up only by those who brought it about. This body of revolu-

tionaries must necessarily be in charge of the new politico-economic organisation. It will be a new state whether one calls it so or not. As a matter of fact it is so called. Its supreme executive will be the Government, with dictatorial powers as envisaged by Marx. This dictatorial Government, having both political and economic power, will in effect regulate and control the whole life of the citizen, both individual and collective.

The Public Good

Experience has shown that Governments do not necessarily or always regulate or work the economic life of the community or, for the matter of that, its political or any part of its life for the public good. They often work for purposes of their own, sometimes even when they are brought to power by democratic processes. How much more then must this be the case with an unchecked and uncheckable dictatorship ! A military state bent upon expansion, as history has often proved, will use the instruments of production and everything else for aggressive ends and not necessarily for the good of the nation or the proletariat as desired by them. A clique or coterie or a party in control of the Government, if it has dictatorial powers, may use economic and political power for perpetuating its own authority. It may use it for external aggression. The danger of absolute power was never realised by Marx and his followers. It was fondly believed that a socialist Government without a private profit motive will always use power for purely beneficent public purposes. It was further believed that a socialist Government will never be aggressive. The pro-Chinese communists in India even today say that China has committed no aggression against India because no communist Govermnent can commit aggression. It has only been stupid—as if aggression can be committed without stupidity. It is asked, "Against whom will a communist state commit aggression?" Surely not against the proletariat of another country! In that case it would be presumably fighting against

itself. However, experience has shown that even communist and socialist governments of today refuse to work according to Marxist logic. They have proved themselves to be aggressive and sometimes wantonly so, as in the case of China on our Himalayan borders. They have put down popular upheavals as did Russia in Hungary. In the other satellite states in Eastern Europe, Communist regimes are maintained against the will of the people, the proletariat, by the colossal military might of Russia. The communist countries can and do denounce each other and work against each other, for what they consider their national interests, though under the garb of ideological differences. In their fights with each other, the communist countries harm the proletariat of their respective countries, which support them on the basis of nationalism and not on the basis of differences in ideology, which they do not understand. Instead of the world proletariat uniting, even that of the communist countries refuses to unite and work for a common purpose. As soon as the last war was over there were differences between Russia and Yugoslavia, both communist countries deriving their inspiration from Marxism-Leninism. The differences between Russia and China can no more be concealed. The differences are not, as we have said, due to varying interpretations of Marxism-Leninism as is sought to be made out. They have very much to do with divergent national interests. If the satellite countries in Eastern Europe were really free, they too may not be in alliance with Russia. They, in their national interest, may remain neutral or side with the democratic West in the international field. Their economic interests, as matters stand today, would be better served by remaining neutral or even in alliance with the West. Hungary declared itself neutral under its brief national regime. The upheaval there was not anti-communist but anti-Russian. It was against Russia's domination in the internal and external affairs of the country.

All this goes to prove that at the present stage of human evolution, the division of the world into nations is so firmly fixed in human psychology that even the proletarian revolutions have made no difference. In the last World War the com-

munist rulers of Russia enthused their people to resist Hitler's invasion by appealing to their national pride and patriotism. There was little talk in Russia in those days of saving the revolution or of the unity of the Russian and German proletariat. The proletariat of the two countries killed each other with as great zeal and patriotism as are usual in international wars. The Russian people were asked to save their hearths and homes from the cruel and barbaric German people, the German proletariat. Neither did the revolution make the Russian soldiers more loyal and more brave than the Japanese or the German soldiers, fighting for capitalist and imperial regimes, nay fighting for false and retrograde ideas. It would appear that the proletariat of various countries consider their national interests to be separate and antagonistic to each other and fight for them at the bidding of their rulers, whoever they may be and however they may have acquired power and domination. Whether it is Hitler or Chiang Kai-Shek or Stalin or Khruschev or Mao, their nationals follow their respective leaders wielding state power to the bitter end and even to their self-destruction, as they may be doing in this nuclear age. In international conflicts, questions like ideological identity and identity of interests of the world proletariat as against world capitalists and imperialists do not arise or affect the conduct of the masses of the respective countries. What counts is nationalism, whatever form it may take.

It was held by Marxists that the capitalist economy had its stranglehold on the workers and the general consumer because of its monopolistic character. It could dictate the wages and regulate the prices. It is now found that the state, when it enters the field of commerce and industry, is even more monopolistic than the capitalists. It is monolithic in character. It has no rival and is all-powerful. The capitalist cannot altogether eliminate competition, native or foreign. The state can effectively block it. Even under a democracy, when the state is engaged in commerce and industry as in India, it has blocked all competition in several industrial concerns it owns, even against the interest of the general consumers, the public. For instance, in Delhi with its ever-

expanding population, there is a transport bottleneck. Yet under no conditions is the Government there prepared to ease the situation by allowing private agencies to ply their buses. There is an acute bottleneck in rail transport in our country. Yet to protect the monopoly of the inefficiently managed railways, various handicaps are imposed on road transport. The Railway authorities at the Centre would not allow competition even from State-owned monopolistic road transport. There are plentiful examples here and in other countries to prove that where the state enters the fields of commerce and industry it refuses to allow competition from private enterprise and it is not always that state enterprises give better and cheaper service. In Communist countries, of course, the question of competition does not and cannot arise. State monopolies there have often worked against the best interests of the consumer and of labour, more effectively than capitalist monopolies. The latter can at least be regulated to some extent by the state, however much it may be under their influence.

State Capitalism

The modern state, democratic or dictatorial, works with the aid of a bureaucracy. As the complexity of the state functions increases, the bureaucracy becomes more powerful and less efficient and public-spirited. Also, there is enormous increase in red tape. All these traits do not disappear when the state owns the instruments of production and monopolises trade and industry. To the great political power that the bureaucracy already has is added economic power. Under such circumstances the bureaucracy becomes all powerful. Its interests do not always happen to be identical those of the consumer and the labourer. Wherever there is conflict, the interests of the bureaucracy prevail. In Communist countries the bureaucracy which consists of party men is all-powerful. It has become there, on the admission of communist reformers, a separate economic class by itself, with unified interests to protect and with power to protect them. A class-

society is again established with a new exploiting class, whose emoluments bear no relation to their ability or public utility, and who hold power even more directly and more effectively than did the capitalists in the 19th century.

The capitalists cannot have all their own way today. In every country there is a powerful trade union movement. The trade unions insist on collective bargaining, demanding a say in the matter of the fixation of just, fair and adequate wages and other conditions favourable to the workers, through negotiations with the capitalists. If capitalists are unreasonable, labour unions use against them the weapon of the strike. Labour can thus match, and often does match, through the organised strength of its numbers, the power of the wealth of the capitalists, whatever may be their standing with the Government of the day. In a so-called capitalist democracy with universal franchise, the Government cannot easily interfere in favour of capital in a labour dispute. The party in power has always an eye on the next election, when labour will exercise its overwhelming vote. In the long run it has been found that in modern democracies the trade union movement has prevailed in its struggle against the capitalists. The many advantages which labour enjoys today are largely due to trade union activity which in democratic countries is often helped by the State. There has been elimination of long hours of work, child labour, woman labour in certain industries and unequal wages for men and women and many other handicaps from which labour suffered in the 19th century. Labour has also wrested from the capitalists many advantages not dreamt of in the days of Marx, such as annual bonuses, holidays and sick leave with pay, maternity benefits for women, healthy conditions of work and housing etc. There are in some capitalist countries today trial-schemes for profit-sharing and co-management of industry by representatives of workers, technicians and owners. Sometimes Western democracies are run by Labour parties.

The trade union movement will suffer a great setback if all the instruments of production are in the hands of the

Government and it manages all commerce and industry. In that case the workers will be merely state-employees. We see the result of this even in a democratic country like ours. The last general strike of the employees of the Central Government indicates the mentality even of a democratic socialist Government. The strike was bound to fail. Yet the Government was in a hurry to crush it. It changed the law overnight by issuing an ordinance making the strike illegal, and broke it even as it was disintegrating. For such future emergencies the Government even drafted a Bill which, if passed, would have made strikes by its employees illegal, however justified their grievances. In the Communist countries the position is much worse. There are only nominal trade unions there. They are created and subsidised by the state. They can never organise a strike, whatever the conditions of labour. Socialism which puts all the instruments of production in state hands will thus become the greatest enemy of the free trade union movement.

Since the time of Marx democracy has expanded to the utmost possible limits. This expansion covers the entire adult population of a country, male and female. The universal vote helps the growth of the trade union movement and its power to negotiate with capital. The putting of all instruments of production in state hands is bound to impair this extended democracy. Almost all citizens will be turned into government employees. As such they cannot play any conspicuous role in politics and influence them, even if democratic forms are maintained. Democracy prospers best in a pluralist society. There will be little individual freedom and choice if the whole of the economic life of the country is left in the hands of the government, however wise and good. In Russia and China no worker can change his occupation or place of employment, except at the will and with the consent of the Government. The change can take place only if it suits the convenience of the authorities. No regard is paid to the needs of the worker. Under these circumstances there can be little social mobility. There may be as little change for the better in the scale of wages of the labourers

and the benefits they get. A socialist Government does not cease to be an employer of labour. It will generally bring to its task largely the same mentality that characterises an ordinary employer of labour. It too will try to save as much as possible, maybe for future production. But the fact remains that conditions of labour are not likely to improve under state ownership and management of the whole economic life of the people. If even a democracy were to put all the instruments of production in the hands of the government, making it the dispenser of all favours and advantages, it would soon become a dictatorship. Enormous economic power is added to its already great political power. It has been wisely said that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely".

Under government-managed commerce and industry, do workers necessarily receive a more favourable deal than under the new regulated and controlled private enterprise, as it has generally developed in democratic industrial countries in the present century ? This has not been a common experience. Some far-sighted capitalists give better wages and conditions of work to their employees than do the governments. For instance, in India a firm like the house of Tatas provides better facilities for its workers than the Government. This is to a certain extent natural under present circumstances. Often the total loss due to a strike to the capitalist is greater than the cost of facilities he may be required to provide for the workers. However, the price paid for a strike in a government establishment is paid by the general public. The private employer is, therefore, likely to be more careful in his dealings with labour than the Government. It has also been found that the profits a government expects and demands from its economic transactions are not necessarily less than those demanded by private individuals or corporations. Governments too need capital for expanding production. This can come from savings or taxation. There are practical limits to a democratic government's capacity to increase taxes. Labour charges are the one main item in the cost of production in an industry. If the state must

make profits, to provide capital for future production, it may not necessarily be able to pay better wages to labour than a private employer. Both private and state enterprises must provide for interest on capital, and depreciation fund savings for future expansion. Private enterprise must also make provision for income-tax and other property taxes from which as a general rule the state enterprise is exempt. If after meeting all the charges any profit is left, under private enterprise, it is shared among those who provide the capital, an ever-expanding group these days. In the case of state enterprise it is appropriated by the ever-expanding bureaucracy, following the well-established and well-known formula of the Parkinsonian law. It is notorious that the state employs more workers per unit of work than do private industrialists or corporations. So far as sweating of labour is concerned it is kept in check these days both by law and the vigilance of trade unions. Both these checks may be absent under state enterprise. There will thus be little difference so far as profits are concerned between private and state enterprises, if both are managed with equal efficiency, care and integrity. Under such circumstances the wages paid by private enterprise and state undertakings may not differ. Experience in the matter bears out our contention. Anyway the rise in the wages of workers expected by Marx, through the ownership of the instruments of production by the state, has not come about.

There are other reasons also for this. Often experience has shown that the government bureaucracy cannot manage commerce and industry as carefully and efficiently as a private capitalist or a corporation. If private business fails and there are losses they have to be borne by those who have provided the capital on a voluntary basis. The employees of the capitalists know that if they do not keep the concern going at a moderate profit, they will get the sack. The capitalists also know that if the concern is not managed well and efficiently they may lose the whole of their investment. The apprehensions of those who provide the capital and their employees are absent in the case of state enterprise.

Government employees, as a rule, do not get the sack for indifferent or inefficient work. This is at least the experience in India. It may be otherwise under a dictatorship of any variety. If a government concern fails, the losses are borne by the present and future generations of tax-paying citizens. The losses are virtually written off. No government is known to have gone into liquidation for losses suffered through the mismanagement of its industrial and commercial concerns. This is not the case with private enterprise. The capital here, as we have said, is raised by the individuals who are not indifferent to losses. Also in Government concerns, if there are any profits they do not necessarily go to provide capital for future production. Often they sink into the bottomless pit of government finances.

This is exemplified by what has been happening in recent years even in a so-called socialist country like India. There was the abolition of the Zamindari system. It was a bad system. It needed to be abolished. But did the cultivators get from this revolutionary change any relief ? The cultivators have to pay the same revenue demands. The share paid by the cultivator to the Zamindar has now been appropriated by a more powerful and impersonal Zamindar, the state, without a soul. In case of non-payment of dues the Zamindar had a remedy in the civil court. The Government demands must be paid without any reference to courts, and if not met drastic measures including confiscation of land would follow. Take another example. In recent years the Government subsidy from foreign oil interests has been increasing ; but the prices of petroleum and its products instead of falling have been rising. All the profit derived from the increased subsidy is appropriated or rather misappropriated by the Government.

Further in conducting commerce and industry, the Governments often observe the same moral standards as do the private capitalists. Governments too sometimes indulge in black-marketing. When they do so it can rarely be stopped even after detection. Our coinage system was changed after independence. The Government made a profit by

the change, as any private black-marketeer would have done given the opportunity. For this the Government cannot be dragged into any court of law and made to disgorge the gains. These will go on from year to year. The State Trading Corporation, in some commodities it handles, has raised prices by more than cent per cent. Recently the Telegraph Department sent lakhs of telegrams by post. People were charged telegraphic rates, while what they received was only postal service. They were not even informed of the change. If some papers had not drawn public attention to the fraud, it might have gone on indefinitely. Even after exposure the system continues. Instances can be multiplied about the black-market practices of governments in their dealings with the people. If such things can happen in democracies, one can well imagine what must be happening under totalitarian regimes, where the entire political, economic and social life of the country is managed and controlled by the government, as in Communist countries.

It has also been found that the managers and employees in private enterprise often work more efficiently and harder and with greater integrity than is the case with employees of Governments, in both their higher and subordinate ranks. The former Defence Minister of the Government of India, Sri. Krishna Menon, once declared that the state employees worked, on an average, for two hours and a half per day. This could not have been an exaggeration, for Ministers in India have always showered praise on the services. This state of affairs was known to the public long ago. It is good that somebody in the Government arrived at the same conclusion. It is also well-known that their counterparts in private enterprise work for at least eight hours a day. The Second Pay Commission, appointed by the Government of India, discovered that in many offices of the Government half the seats were found vacant one full hour after opening time. No wonder that there are heavy arrears of work and letters and files are often neglected, misplaced or lost. So much is this the case that private firms maintain high-paid and well-connected executives to look after their interests

in Delhi. Even State governments have to depute senior officers to see that their work is properly and expeditiously done, without papers and files being misplaced or lost. Such a state of affairs will never be tolerated in any private establishment. About one steel plant in the public sector, the one at Rourkela, the Commission appointed to examine its working, as the report goes, has said that the plant has suffered from too rapid changes in top management, changes in raw material specifications, over-bureaucratisation, poor maintenance and absence of a labour policy. It is also said that the Commission has opined that a large number of engineers trained in Germany are on posts for which they have not been trained. This may be the worst case ; but the conditions of management and work may only be slightly better in other public enterprises. The wonder is that all these things are widely known but the authorities are either unwilling or unable to mend matters.

Thus we see that socialism, which according to the teachings of Marx means the putting of the instruments of production in the hands of the state, the nationalisation of industry, which in effect means state capitalism, has not yielded the results which were expected from it by even its least ardent advocates. The Communist dream of heaven on earth has not been fulfilled.

In state enterprise, competition having disappeared, the general price level of commodities and services, which was expected to fall with increased production, has rather been rising. The state, as we have said, is as anxious to accumulate capital and make profits as any private capitalist or corporation. Nay, it is blamed by radical thinkers if it does not make adequate profits. Further, Communist governments dominating and controlling the whole economic life of a nation, have not always worked for the public good, except as measured by their own arbitrary standards, which change from one dictatorial regime to another and from one communist country to another. These regimes have not been internationally less aggressive than earlier imperial regimes, whose aggression is said to be the product of a capitalist

economy ; though historically imperialism has not been the sole monopoly of capitalist regimes. It was in existence before the industrial revolution in the West. It also affects the Communist regimes. It is no use saying that regimes cannot be imperilled because of their ideology. So also democratic ideologies precluded the idea of imperialism. It would appear that as long as the world is divided into national states they would think that their national interests are best served by expansion. Sometimes expansion is found to be necessary for national defence both by democratic and communist regimes.

Nationalised industry, as we have said before, has not shown more efficiency and economy than private enterprise. It has been more often than not costlier. The labour which was supposed to be the greatest beneficiary of nationalisation has not benefitted in wages and other amenities of life. Rather it has lost its most powerful weapon in its fight against exploitation and monopoly, the right to combine and the right to strike. Labour has also lost its mobility and with it its liberty. The morality of the market as we have seen has not improved, there being no check on the black-marketing tendencies of the new holders of combined economic and political power. The greatest loss has, of course, been that of freedom. Concentrated economic power in the state is bound to impair democracy.

Socialist Confusion

For all these reasons socialists especially of the democratic variety are rather confused at present. They do not know whether it is right to advocate, under existing circumstances, the nationalisation of industry, putting it in the hands of governments. Though they continue to denounce the capitalist economy or free enterprise, as it is called now by its advocates, they do not feel as enthusiastic as before about state management of industry and commerce, nationalisation. They see in practice what has been achieved thereby. It is not socialism but state-capitalism or national-socialism.

It was this national socialism that brought about the last destructive world war. The socialists also do not know today whether trade union activity should be allowed free scope, without certain necessary curbs put on it, in the public interest. Trade unions today have become so powerful that for the narrow selfish interests of organised labour, they sometimes injure public interest by their hasty and ill-conceived actions. Above all, the socialists are doubtful if the addition of economic power, to the already great and increasing political power of modern governments, will serve the cause of freedom and democracy and ultimately of socialism itself. They have discovered that the bureaucrat does not become more hard-working, efficient or honest, when he works for the state than when the like of him works in a private establishment. There he is not entirely his own master. Democratic socialists have also come to believe in a pluralist society, without which there can be no freedom. For all these reasons there is no unity in socialist parties in most of the countries. Also it would appear that when people have once rebelled against established authority, they find it difficult to conform. There are no divisions in the conservative parties. There are none in the Catholic church. The Protestants have divided themselves into innumerable sects and denominations.

Take for instance, the Praja Socialist Party in India. It criticizes, inside and outside the legislatures, the inefficiency, the waste and the corruption that exist in nationalised industry ; yet when it gets angry for something or the other done by private industry, its spokesmen call for greater nationalisation, even under a bureaucratic, inefficient and corrupt government, riddled with red tape and nepotism. The P.S.P. spokesmen were as great advocates of state trading as the communists, while average congressmen doubted its utility. They are great advocates of the freedom of trade unions. They want the maintenance of civil liberties of the people. They are against security laws, which dispense with the rules and procedures of modern democratic jurisprudence. The party is also against the increase of the power

of bureaucracy. It is against red tape. But because of its rigid socialistic creed, it supports the government's economic plans, though it knows through the experience of the last ten years that these plans are based on incomplete and unreliable data and are therefore not scientifically conceived. In its support for the plans the P.S.P. even forgets that execution is an essential and integral part of planning, when the planners and the executors are the same. In the name of planning the party is willing to tolerate inflation, high prices, increase in indirect taxes and heavy borrowing from outside. The P.S.P. like the Government evidently thinks that foreign loans are never to be repaid. It is no wonder that people feel that there is little difference between the Congress as represented by its top leaders and the P.S.P. Sometimes Congressmen are more critical of the Government plans and their execution than the P.S.P. spokesmen. Such is the identity of views in essentials between the Congress and the P.S.P. that Sri. Jayaprakash Narayan has advocated the merger of the two parties and the party chairman wonders if it will not be better to dissolve the party. (Since this was written some members of the P.S.P. have done the logical thing and joined the Congress.)

In England, the Labour Party is divided on the issue of nationalisation of industry. Many among the leaders believe that in the interests of the public only some key industries need be nationalised. What industries should or should not be nationalised is also a matter of controversy among them. But they feel that this question should be decided on practical grounds and not on theoretical considerations of socialism, much less on the basis of Marxian or Communist ideology.

Further, the socialists realise today that in order to be scientific they need not believe in materialism, whether dialectical or any other. There are in Europe Christian socialist parties. They too stand for social justice. It is no more considered necessary, it never was necessary, to renounce or denounce religion in order to be a scientific socialist or generally to have a scientific outlook. Rather many great and outstanding scientists have been and are

ardent believers. After all, science has little to do with values or with the Final Cause. Religion need not, therefore, work as the opiate of the masses that Marx thought it did. It can be, and historically it has been often, used for higher purposes of civilising and humanising men and women.

It is, therefore, no wonder that there should be disunity and confusion in the socialist camp everywhere. It is not only in the camp of democratic socialism that there is discord and disunity. Similar conditions prevail today in the communist camp. However, owing to dictatorship there is apparent unanimity within each Communist country. The Russian proletariat is supposed to have understood and endorsed the brand of Marxism-Leninism advocated by the holders of power there, even as it did earlier the Stalinist variety. The Chinese proletariat stands for Marxism-Leninism of the type approved by Mao and Chou En-Lai but not by Khruschev. That is revisionism. In Yugoslavia the proletariat there have understood and freely accepted the Titoist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. The different varieties are given choice names by their opponents. Such is the confusion created that it is hard for the uninitiate to understand what real Marxism-Leninism is. Every variety of it is dubbed as revisionism by its opponents. There is such a thing as left revisionism, which is taboo to the Russian Communist, though it was orthodox under Stalin. Then there is the right revisionism which the Chinese utterly abhor. Further, there is the Titoist variety of communism which both the Russian and the Chinese Communist parties once equally denounced. Today they are not quite so united in denouncing the Titoist variety. The reasons for this may not be ideological. They may have something to do with national interests. Such confusion as we have described is bound to exist in all fanatical creeds and ideologies whether political or religious. As a matter of fact, the phenomenon with which we were familiar in Christendom, a couple of centuries back in the religious field, is being re-created in the political field today. Every variety of communism claims to be orthodox. In its name it is as eager to destroy the other varieties as did

different Christian denominations after the Reformation. Also the territorial ambitions of princes and kings were often discussed under the garb of spreading the true religion against the spread of unbelief and paganism. If the different religious sects in the Christian world in their fight had only destroyed each other there would have been no great regret. But unfortunately they dragged into their deadly quarrels innocent people who did not understand what they were fighting for and had nothing to do with their quarrels. The whole of society was degraded. In politics the same thing is happening today. The common people the world over would like to be left in peace, free to follow their own pursuits, but the politicians will allow them no peace. They must drag them into the intricate meshes of their quarrels. It is a great battle and victory will be as great, but nobody knows what it is all about !

However, it is undeniable that socialists in the West who have freed themselves from the rigid formulations of Marx-Lenin have introduced many valuable reforms and otherwise done much good in the countries where they have been in charge of governments. They have also energised the other democratic parties to think more and more in terms of social justice. But all this they have been able to do by doing some violence to the strict logic of their creed and by making compromises with their theories. Such have been their compromises that they can no more be credited with following Marx and Lenin. There are also democratic parties which without calling themselves socialist have established a great deal of social justice. The condition of the masses in advanced democracies is much better than under communist regimes. Today if the Labour Party comes into power in England, it will be called a socialist country, though the Labour Government may do no more in the direction of social justice than the present Conservative Government. It is a pity that the socialist leaders in several countries have not been able to communicate their changed views about nationalistion of industry to their rank and file. The socialist parties in many countries are the most determined opponents

of communism. But this has not interfered with some of the groups still swearing by Marx and calling themselves Marxist. They are Catholics without the Pope, be he Stalin, Khruschev or Mao.

Modern Capitalism

Let us see what capitalism has been doing, while communism has been destroying governments, uprooting peoples and demolishing institutions held dear and sacred by humanity, and while socialists have been wrangling about what constitutes the essence of socialism. Capitalism of the 20th century, especially after the first world war, is not of the same variety as that of the 19th century. It has discovered that an educated, well-fed and contented labourer is more efficient and profitable than one who is uneducated, ill-fed and discontented. If then he is to be educated and better fed, clothed and housed, he must get adequate wages. All this benefits both labour and capital. It has further been found that higher wages stimulate the demand for goods and increase production. Adequate wages also obviate the need for strikes which by interrupting production diminish profits and therefore the wages paid therefrom. It has been found that contented labour is for the mutual benefit of the employer and the worker. This change in the attitude of capital towards labour has not been spontaneous. It has been effected the hard way. Many of the advantages which labour enjoys in industrial countries today have been wrested from reluctant and fighting capitalists. But they are there today, falsifying the Marxian theory of the increasing misery of workers under capitalism. Also the fruits of increased wealth and prosperity have not been appropriated entirely by the capitalists as anticipated by Marx. The bread of prosperity has been divided between capital and labour. In this labour has been powerfully helped by expanding democracy. As a matter of fact the trade union movement and democracy have mutually helped each other. As democracy has expanded, some of the promises, made at election times

by even the most conservative political parties in advance of the *status quo*, have been fulfilled. These have benefitted the generality of the people. Most of the election-time promises of political parties are of course rarely fulfilled. But no political party can altogether ignore the next election. Further the party which gets the vote has somehow to justify itself. With never-ending free elections in democracy, on party can afford to be indifferent to popular demands. This must work for greater and greater social justice and equality. The progress already made is such that even the conservative governments of today would have been considered even by the radicals in the days of Marx as dangerously revolutionary.

The popular democracy of today is not like its counterpart of the 19th century, which generally favoured capitalist interests. Democratic governments of today put curbs on the monopolistic and profiteering tendencies of capitalism which work against the public good. In democratic countries today there are laws against combines and cartels. Everywhere there are factory laws and minimum conditions of pay, work, housing etc. These rights are justiciable. The benefits so far wrested by the trade union movement and democracy from the unwilling hands of the capitalists have now been consolidated. Such has been the change that every government, democratic or totalitarian, today claims to be working for the establishing of a Welfare State. The workers everywhere in democracy have become more or less the masters of the state. They have the vote which the politicians badly need. Each individual vote may not count for much; but in the aggregate it can make or mar the career of any politician, political party or the Government. If today the common voter puts, as in England for example, a Conservative Government into power he does so evidently for his own advantage. He perhaps considers himself better served under a liberal Conservative Government for the time being. He may be mistaken but in a democracy he is allowed to make mistakes and learn. Under autocracy the people are precluded from making any mistake, except the grand one of accepting slavery.

It is, therefore, no wonder that among the Marxist parties, whether they are communists or socialists, there is a great deal of confusion and want of unity. The same is the case with the socialist parties in the West who have accepted, by and large, the formulations of Marx.

We have said that among the many mistakes made by Marx the greatest was to equate socialism, a clearly defined, logically worked out and rigid conception, with the flexible and changing idea of social justice. The Marxist analysis of the relations between capital and labour, which were in a flux throughout the latter part of the 19th century and after, was fixed, fanatical and static. The analysis was based upon conditions as they existed in Western industrial countries at a particular point of time. From this viewpoint it can be said that the attitude of Marx, in his analysis of social phenomena, was unscientific. Marx took it for granted that the direction that the relations between labour and capital had taken, after the Industrial Revolution up to his time, would continue to be the same. He thought that, as capitalism developed, the plight of labour will go on worsening and there will be ever-increasing misery. He also imagined that all the fruits of increasing production will be exclusively misappropriated by capital, leaving to labour the bare means of subsistence. In his hatred for capitalism he denounced even democracy, as if the only democracy possible was the 19th century one in the West, working for the benefit of the capitalist class. He also denounced the trade union movement as reformist and as hampering the advent of revolution, by trying to improve the condition of the masses. Marx made no provision for the fact that capital-labour relations may become reformed by the advance of democracy and the trade union movement, resulting in the creation of many institutions which would work towards greater social justice and equality. The other socialist and labour parties which were powerfully influenced by the Marxian analysis of social phenomena, as it existed then, also confused their own brand of socialism with social justice. They identified socialism with the nationalisation of industry, with putting

it in the hands of national governments. The result was that the establishment of some kind of socialism became the sole objective of various socialist parties. It was forgotten that socialism and communism were merely instruments for achieving social justice. It was possible for such a mistake to be made in the 19th century. The circumstances prevailing in industrialised Europe then were such that to the impatient reformer or revolutionary there appeared no other way to establish social justice than the nationalisation of industry. However, means can become the aim and the goal.

Social Justice

Today it is seen that it is possible to establish social justice through other means than any kind of rigid and doctrinaire socialism or communism, as these creeds have developed after the social philosophy of Marx. Other means than nationalisation of industry and capture of power through a bloody revolution and dictatorship are being employed in many countries in the West for bringing about social justice. Today social justice can be achieved by prohibiting the formation of combines and cartels and allowing competition to have more free play in the economic life of the country than the capitalist would want. To this end several schemes of decentralisation of industry can and are being tried in some democratic countries. Yugoslavia, a communist country, is trying in its own way schemes of decentralisation. Khruschev too, has been favouring some kind of what he calls decentralisation. But whether there can be any genuine decentralisation under a communist or totalitarian regime may well be doubted. Today decentralisation is specially needed in under-developed and over-populated countries. It will not only make for greater social justice but also solve the most crucial problem of unemployment and under-employment more effectively than centralised industry. The removal of unemployment is in itself a step forward towards greater social justice. Decentralisation today is more possible with the use of electric power than with the

steam power which was the only means available for mechanisation of industry in the 19th century. Steam power can be used profitably only in centralised big mills and factories. It cannot be subdivided or carried to long distances. Electricity, on the other hand, can be subdivided and carried to long distances and can be made available in every hamlet and village home. It can be used for the performance of very heavy and very light household jobs. Its use need not diminish the mass production characteristic of factory production. Rather decentralisation of industry through the use of electric power has many other advantages over factory production, into which we may not enter here.

A measure of social justice today can be achieved through income-tax, death duties and other property taxes. But they must be collected with honesty and efficiency and not as in India. Social justice can and is being brought about by further widening of the base of capital through joint-stock companies. It can also be done through schemes of joint management and profit sharing as between capital and labour. It can be brought about through the spread of the cooperative movement. It can also be made possible by the moral education of the people so as not to think merely in terms of satisfying ever-increasing physical wants. In the realm of the spirit one man's gain is not another's loss. Rather the gain of others is to one's own advantage. Today so many facilities are provided by every state that their exclusive possession is more for ostentation than for real enjoyment ; for instance, public libraries, museums, gardens, health resorts etc. Social justice today can be brought about without disturbing society through a violent revolution, by merely allowing democracy to perform effectively its undoubted political, economic and social functions of establishing justice and equality. It is a truism today to say that great economic inequalities nullify the benefits of political democracy. This was the view held by many earlier social reformers and political thinkers. It was the view held by Jefferson, in America. He felt that great inequalities in wealth defeated

the objectives of democracy. If this was so in earlier days, it is much more so today. The masses in democracy, who have the vote, are now conscious of their rights and their strength to enforce whatever they feel is for their best interests. They have some general and political education. They insist upon getting their share of the good things of the world and of the wealth socially produced.

Social justice in India can be achieved through the Gandhian or the Sarvodaya way, and through the development of Panchayat Raj and extension of the scope of the community projects to embrace the development of industry in rural areas, through the means available to the villager. It can be achieved by the acceptance of the theory of trusteeship, under proper supervision and control. Democratic governments today can effectively regulate private enterprise and make it subserve socially beneficial objectives and not become parasitic. Some time back, our late lamented Prime Minister, Sri. Nehru, speaking in Delhi at a Conference of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, spoke not of socialism but of social justice. In the past he had always kept before his countrymen the ideal of socialism, emphasising the need for progressively substituting public enterprise under Government management in place of private enterprise. He even introduced a measure of nationalisation in commerce by allowing the establishment of the State Trading Corporation. Today he talks of a mixed economy ! His government recently allowed the establishment of a new private shipping company with practically no capital of its own, by lending to it national funds to the tune of 22 crores of rupees. This is something which even capitalist countries in the West do not do. Sri. K. D. Malaviya, the ex-minister of Fuel and Mines, who considers himself a radical socialist in the Congress and the Central Cabinet, offered a better price to the privately owned collieries, though he knew that their owners were making good profits already. The Minister for Shipping, not as radical a socialist as Sri. Malaviya, has enhanced the freightage rates of privately owned shipping companies in India. The big ones in the Government, imi-

tating Sri. Nehru, now all talk in terms of a mixed economy. They forget that in every democratic country in Europe and America there is a mixed economy. It exists in the United States of America, the haven of private enterprise. If then mixed economy is socialism, America has it already. It has even a greater public sector than we have in India. Words these days have ceased to have their dictionary meanings. Socialism today in India means a mixed economy, as even dictatorship in other countries means democracy.

In all the countries today there is a great awareness of the need for social justice. By that is meant not any kind of rigid socialist or communist system but the progressive rise in the standard of living of the masses and elimination of differences in wealth socially created. The labourers seem to fare better in many non-socialist democracies than in the communist countries. There is, therefore, no need to wax eloquent about a violent revolution, to be followed by a dictatorship, euphemistically called the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social justice can be achieved today by steady nonviolent and democratic processes. It can be achieved by various devices detailed above, worked singly or better still in combination as conceived by Gandhiji. If one boasts of being scientific, one must recognise that there may be many ways of achieving identical results. This is true in the physical sciences ; it is much more so in social sciences. The latter deal with living human beings, whose knowledge and awareness, however limited by existing circumstances of time, place and the stage of development, enable them to make a deliberate choice and to regulate action, to change social circumstances. There can be no one fanatical way of achieving social justice. The religious reformers of old could scarcely think in any other terms than private charity for establishing social justice. Their aims were limited by their vision, circumscribed by circumstances, but none the less what they advocated was deliberate action towards some kind of social justice. Marx, though a great thinker in his days, could not conceive of social justice except in terms of a violent revolution and a dictatorship owning all the

instruments of production and controlling both the economic and political life of the country and may be of the world. Gandhiji, working in accordance with the genius of his people and their circumstances and their needs, discovered his own method of achieving social justice through a nonviolent revolution, preserving whatever was good in existing values and institutions. Socialism of one or other variety, therefore, need not be the only method of establishing social justice. The objective of social justice can be achieved by other less drastic and destructive methods and these are being tried and used today in many democratic countries, combining political freedom, which is the breath of a citizen's life, with economic justice and equality. If there is to be clarity of thought and language, the word social justice today will more appropriately describe what is wanted in the economic field. There are so many varieties of socialism that it is no wonder that there is confusion everywhere among the socialist parties.

However, all that I have said here must not be taken to mean that the state should not do what private individuals and corporations are either unwilling or unable to undertake. There are many things, specially in under-developed countries, which private enterprise will not do. The state under these circumstances must necessarily step in. But if democratic freedom is to survive, the state must undertake only such ventures as are beyond the capacity of private individuals or corporations to undertake. This is being done everywhere under present-day capitalism. However in whatever the state does it must take care to see that liberty, as in other walks of life so in the economic field, is so controlled and regulated as to make for greater freedom for the individual. It must also be understood that as an individual and society advance in civilisation and culture the restrictions in their conduct increase instead of being diminished. This makes for their real freedom.

What I have said, however, does not mean that Marx did not make a great contribution towards bringing about what is taking place everywhere today, the widening, broaden-

ing and deepening of the conception of social justice. His very mistakes have taught humanity to find the various other ways of achieving the broad and fundamental humanitarian aim, the establishment of social justice, which we believe he had in view. It has taught humanity to avoid the mistakes made by him and those who claim to be his most ardent followers. It is no use today to destroy old moral values like truth, justice, fellow-feeling etc. which have validity in all social relations. If people do not choose to live in the primitive conditions vividly described by Hobbes, where each is the enemy of each and all, they must combine political liberty with social justice and equality. It is also no more necessary to destroy all old institutions. Some of them were created by the psychology of the human species. All that is necessary is to see that such institutions do not serve narrow and exclusive interests. Further today human institutions must be so reformed and regulated as to subserve the need of one world. More than ever before have we got to be "one of another" if we want to live and prosper in this nuclear age.

EXPERIMENTATION IN NONVIOLENCE : THE NEXT PHASE

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

Two incidents, one from India's agony of the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1948 and the other from the current struggle in the United States for civil rights, pose a problem for nonviolence which has wide implications. The first concerns a Gandhian cadre who died bravely at the hands of rioters. It matters little whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim ; he was one and his assailants were the other ; he endured their death-dealing blows without any gesture of retaliation. The episode is one of several that were reported, and the point made in each case was the bravery and steadfastness of the Satyagrahi. The point I wish to raise here, however, is that in the incident to which I refer there was clearly a total absence of rapport between the Satyagrahi and his attackers. Apparently, indeed, an important source of this man's spiritual strength, enabling him to die unflinchingly, was a sense of his own purity, his very pride in being a nonviolent man. So focussed were his thoughts on the rules of conduct that he was unable to affirm the bond of essential human unity with his assailants. His bravery was armoured with contempt which further inflamed rather than quenching his opponents' hostile feelings. In short, his conduct was moralistic rather than moral ; he had fulfilled the letter of the rules but had neglec-

ted their spirit and intent.

The second incident was reported to me by a Negro civil-rights activist who was leading a nonviolent demonstration, when an undisciplined Negro mob began to form. White bystanders and police were also present, and a riot was clearly in the making. The police obviously did not know how to prevent violence, though in this case they wanted to. It quickly became evident to the nonviolent Negro leader that he must address the unruly masses, but he could not make himself heard above the tumult. Following the standard rules of nonviolent conduct—as outlined in Diwakar's *Satyagraha*, in my own recent *Nonviolence* and elsewhere—he approached the police captain who had an electrically amplified magaphone "bullhorn", explained that he was the leader of the demonstrators and asked politely for the use of the bullhorn. The officer ignored him—how did he know if he was really the leader, or whether a police captain should delegate his authority in this way? The Negro leader became angry, shouted at the captain : "You'd better give me that bullhorn, you stupid——, or there's going to be hell to pay"—and seizing the bullhorn from the startled officer's hand began addressing the crowd, which soon quietened and dispersed.

Conscious of his breach of the accepted rules in venting his anger, the Negro leader asked my opinion as a theorist, and we discussed the episode and its meaning at some length. The nub of it came to this, that he had been in other situations in which he knew that such an angry outburst would bring a hostile response—arrest, clubbing, perhaps shooting —and he was capable of curbing the impulse. But in the situation described above, he sensed rightly that such behaviour would enable him to take charge and calm the mob. There was a risk ; he took it and was vindicated by the result. His anger was not motivated by hatred but by the desire to get through to the mob. Afterwards he had thereby won the respect of the police captain, who was so relieved by the speedy solution that he tacitly forgave and forgot the insult.

This is not an episode that I would want to offer anyone

as a model ; it presupposes a great deal of both insight and nerve as well as the seasoning of experience. Yet one cannot rebuke the leader. The shock of anger was undeniably effective, and certainly the leader would have been remiss if he had stuck to politeness while tension mounted and burst into violence. In its way, his was very much an "experiment with truth", albeit both riskier and more fruitful than the moralistic rote application of the rules which Gandhiji distilled from his own experiments. Moreover, it illustrates something that is fundamental to experimentation. There is a sense in which experiments serve merely to test and validate a hypothesis or to confirm by demonstration the process or mechanics by which it works. How many hours must a psychology student spend in replicating today the classic experiments of Pavlov, Hull, Terman and Skinner. In this sense, every cadre learns his basic nonviolence by replicating the classic patterns of Satyagraha on the model of Gandhiji, Patel, Diwakar, Luthuli, King and others.

But there is also a point at which the advancement of knowledge requires the assertion of new, previously untested hypotheses or the re-exploration of those discarded by earlier pioneers. Perhaps there are new factors that were not formerly taken into acccunt ; perhaps the conditions under which a formerly unsuccessful venture was tried were unusual in some way. So the graduate student of psychology is drawn into a further dimension of inquiry—as must be the seasoned nonviolent cadre.

Floyd Dell, associate editor of the radical American magazine *The Masses*, wrote prophetically in 1916 : "The theory of nonresistance is the prescientific phase of a new kind of knowledge, the knowledge—to put it vaguely—of relationships. Here is a field as yet unexplored save by the seers and the poets. Its laws are as capable of being discovered as those of astronomy or botany ; and the practical application of this knowledge is capable of effecting far greater social changes than the invention of the steam engine. At present, however, we have only rhapsodies and maxims,

the biography of an Oriental god—and a few contemporary anecdotes."

In the half-century since then, we have moved a long way from alchemy and wizardry toward chemistry and science. The word "nonviolence" did not even exist, and it would be decades before it even began to enter the intellectual vocabulary. The whole history of the great Indian Swaraj movement under Gandhiji had not even begun when Dell wrote. During that half-century occurred not only this and other historic events, but the first serious attempts at theory and interpretation and of research above the level of the edifying anecdote, bringing to light earlier historic episodes. The studies of Case, Ligt, Huxley, Gregg, Bondurant, Sharp, Galtung, Kuper, Naess and others in the West, of Gandhi, Diwakar, N. K. Bose, Shridharani, Bhave, Narayan and others in India—not always of the best quality, sometimes lapsing into idle fantasy, but in general building and growing—all of these have indeed lifted nonviolence from the prescientific phase and launched it as a matter worthy of the attention of the scientific mind. It can no longer be smirked at as the preoccupation of sentimentalists, fanatics or saints. As these lines are written, two hundred *unarmed* sailors of the U.S. Navy are on their way to Mississippi under orders from the President of the United States to act in the incredibly tense racial situation there. There is no telling, at this moment, what will happen next. But this much is obvious : such an action would not have been undertaken but for the examples arising from the past half-century of the maturation of nonviolence.

It is fitting, too, that Dell referred to "the knowledge of relationships", for this half-century has witnessed a parallel maturation in psychology and sociology which very recently have become closely interrelated with nonviolence. Corman, Choisy, Frankle, Bettelheim, Frank, Boulding, Lakey, Sibley are among those whose contributions have been most noteworthy, and it is precisely in this dimension that a large degree of further exploration needs to be done.

To be sure, there is a considerable field for historical

research. According to Crane Brinton, a serious study of county chronicles in England could provide documentation for a historic tradition of unarmed peasant revolts and civil disobedience going back to medieval times. This is only one of many neglected and unexplored territories ; another is the general history of religious nonresistance in the West, tracing its various forms and doctrinal contexts. It would be interesting to learn more, for instance, about the relationship of mysticism and humanism, orthodoxy and various heresies to nonviolence.

But even if this kind of information is brought to light, it remains to be interpreted and understood in terms of motivation and dynamics. So many of our ethical norms and valuations are rationalistic or traditional. Consider, for example, Gandhiji's lifelong struggle within the tensions between reason and custom as he came to terms with the problem of Varna. The step from untouchability to the designation of Harijan was a considerable one for a man and for a society, easier to grasp from outside the event or after it, yet the persistence of the problem and of others like it, such as race and class bias, attests to the inadequacy of our present resources to fulfil the mandate. We must at least question all the pat answers—it's just a question of bread, of education, of religious training, etc.—and acknowledge that much of what we do is done in ignorance of how or why or even to whom.

Except in the rarest cases, it is not a question of suspending or abandoning action because we don't know what we are doing. One of the prime lessons of Satyagraha is the necessity of purposive action, whether to affirm or to resist or to construct. Fatalistic acquiescence is no kind of option. But as we act and commit ourselves, and as we observe the responses of others, we also need to strive towards a better understanding of the inner motives, latent possibilities, probable consequences. The chief task of the last fifty years has been to get our facts straight, to sort out the socio-historical from the merely anecdotal, to codify and classify the insights and precepts of the sages and pioneers. Other generations

will have to repeat these tasks with variations, but the ground work has been done. A readier example would be hard to find than Diwakar's concise, tightly organized *Satyagraha*, which spares the reader the necessity of wandering endlessly through volumes of Gandhiji's journalistic writings. It does not render the latter useless but provides the student with a structure or a compass. And, in turn, it makes possible the more expanded yet similarly structured study represented by Bondurant's *Conquest of Violence*. Each builds on the others, and the total result is extremely valuable. But of necessity it remains far from complete and some of the literature may even be misleading. As a case in point, Gregg's *The Power of Nonviolence* was the first book in the field which seriously attempted to provide a psychological foundation. Gregg's concept of "moral jiu-jitsu" still is largely cogent, yet in some respects it has been superseded by Maryse Choisy's post-Freudian conception of the same basic process, and many relatively minor aspects of Gregg's psychology have come to seem makeshift and obsolete in the thirty years since his book was first published. He is not in bad company ; a good deal of Marx and Freud looks rather curious and quaint in retrospect, and we must remember that their wiser successors' wisdom is rooted in their heritage.

I think it is worth noting that sixteen years of development separates the two episodes mentioned at the beginning of this essay. The Negro leader had learned much that was not available to the Gandhian cadre, and indeed he had the opportunity of thinking at leisure and in broad perspective about the very situation in which the latter had to decide and act. But above all, the Negro leader knew that both he and the theoretical equipment of the movement had matured to the point at which new experimentation takes over from the preliminary replications.

Progress is not automatic, and new departures do not necessarily go forward or upward. I am making no sweeping claims here, only indicating a change which at least seems to reflect a growing concern with the content of the interper-

sonal encounter rather than a self-sufficient moral posture. The two men could have been both acting in 1948 or both in 1964—or in Vedic or Biblical times. But there is reason to think that their individual outlooks are symptomatic of a more widespread change. For at the same time, during the past decade or so, that important strides have been made in the study of nonviolence and in the development of existential psychology and other relevant interpretative disciplines, the worldwide nonviolent movement has been undergoing historic crises—the rise and collapse of the Committee of One Hundred in England, the defeat of the African National Congress in South Africa and the desperate turn represented by Poqo and Umkonte We Sizwe there, the impact of the China-India border clash on India's Gandhians, the turn towards fascism in Ghana, the rising voice of black particularism within the Negro community in the United States, the virtual abandonment of nonviolence by the newly emergent African republics, the apparently meteoric rise and fall of voluntaristic international Shanti Sena plans. Michael Scott, writing in the spring issue of *Twentieth Century*, voices the new mood as he assesses the failure of the Committee of One Hundred, which he helped to found. The mood is not one of renegacy or even of slackened commitment, but it is disillusioned in the sense that the high optimism of revolutionary romanticism has yielded to a self-critical realism. The time is past for making extravagant claims for "the method" and its efficacy. As recently as a decade ago, it was possible to think primarily of "defending" or "arguing for" the idea of nonviolence, and facts were regarded as bulwarks of evidence ; whatever did not help to promote the idea tended to be shunted aside or rationalized away. There has scarcely ever been an idea under the sun that did not undergo this sort of infancy. Universal manhood suffrage, the Western working-class movement, the rights of women—each in turn has begun by proposing itself as virtually the definitive answer, the key to the good life and the Kingdom of God. And each has reached a point of equilibrium at which modesty and candour brought disillusionment and a

new perspective—never, to be sure, without the danger of apostasy, when some of the most ardent devotees make a sharp about-face to repudiate "the God that failed".

There are such apostates of nonviolence today, but it is worth noting that most of them were never leaders, however intensely their emotions were committed to the cause ; they have experienced an intellectual sense of betrayal, pivoted to a volatile temperament—not an existential *volte-face*. Michael Scott, speaking from the centre of existential commitment, thus articulates not only the crisis but also the undergirding equilibrium to which nonviolence has come. Paradoxically it is a crisis of success as well as of failure. To revert to an earlier analogy, it is possible to discuss the "crisis in physics" or the dilemma of the "two cultures" as posed by C. P. Snow without raising fundamental doubts about science as such. Nonviolence has reached such a point, and Scott and others, confident that nonviolence has proved itself feasible in history, are now putting aside yesterday's propagandistic zeal and are raising key questions about discipline, organization, tactics, the problem of freedom and order within the movement and between it and the normative society. There seems to be a growing consensus that nonviolence requires certain minimally favourable conditions. Scott, for example, sees a need for a strong impartial international power capable of augmenting the nonviolent movements for justice within or between armed states which have shown how onerous and implacable they can be. To say this is to recognize that nonviolence does not work miracles by itself. Martin Luther King does not hesitate to call upon governmental authorities to use force to restore order when nonviolent Negroes are mobbed by violent whites. This is a tacit admission of the limits of human endurance in the given situation ; it is not possible to ask men to suffer perpetually or to seek victory only through sainthood.

But we would concede too much if we said only that nonviolence is coming down to earth and adjusting to irrefragable human nature, for we do not yet know that much

about human nature. I do not mean the perennial moral debate about its intrinsic goodness, sinfulness, transiency or evil, but rather its inner complexities. This is what distinguishes the two cadres mentioned earlier—the one predicated on a rigid moralism, the other on a risky process of interaction. We need to know far more than we do at present about the workings of human relationships. Why did the police captain respond as he did ? How much of the dynamic was in his specific personality and character structure ? How far can Gandhiji's classic concept of a "soul force" generated from within explain this episode ? Must we try to adapt the "soul force" concept to the situation, or does this case perhaps call for an alternative hypothesis ? In science there are, for example, molecular and wave theories of light. Each is useful ; neither pretends to be a final, exclusive statement of absolute truth.

It is hard to say whether Floyd Dell or Gandhiji or others of the earlier period would recognize or welcome the present phase of thinking and experimentation as compatible with their legacy, for in many ways the terms in which they understood the meaning of science were different from those that apply today. The beginning of wisdom, said Socrates, is the confession of our present ignorance. If a single sentence could sum up the great legacy of Gandhiji and his colleagues, I think it would be this : they led us out of the darkness of conventional wisdom and showed us the falsity of the generally accepted belief in the supremacy of violence. Dazzled by the brilliance of this great deed, we were tempted to see it as magical—as children are prone to do. Now we see where we are, at the foot of the path of enlightenment, scarcely knowing how far it may lead us, but aware that we have a long way to go.

THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF SATYAGRAHA

K. M. MUNSHI

Gandhiji is too near us in time to enable us to judge him from the perspective of history and human thought. Patriots may call him "Father of the Nation"; historians may call him the "Liberator of India". However, it must not be forgotten that he was a Mahatma in the line of the great men who have stood, fought and suffered for vindicating the moral and spiritual values against the forces of barbarism.

The shifting code of behaviour accepted by one age or one civilization had little appeal for him. He stood for the supremacy of the eternal Moral Order, of which the prophets had spoken and the poets had sung. His achievements were all the more notable because he lived and worked in an age which, by and large, ignores God and scoffs at morals in the matter of social and political activities. He did not only stand for the Moral Order ; he tried to translate it into his individual life. He came to pledge himself progressively not only to nonviolence and truth, but also non-stealing, non-waste and non-possession—Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacharya and Aparigraha—described by Patanjali in the *Yoga Sutra* as the Mahavratas (the great vows), which a Yogi has to observe regardless of time and place.

Truth was God to Gandhiji. "Once I believed that

God is Truth", he wrote once. "I now believe that Truth is God". "God as Truth", he wrote, "has been for me a treasure beyond price. May he be so to very one of us." His whole life was an experiment in living for truth, a mighty effort to weld thought, word and deed into a unity. His achievements, great though they were, were only a partial expression of this effort.

Living by Truth in this sense led him to two far-reaching conclusions : first, pursuit of Truth in the individual life can only be the keystone of enduring creative activity ; secondly, whosoever seeks to realise Truth must be ready to back it up with his life. To use the beautiful words of Romain Rolland : "A man's first duty is to be himself, to remain himself even at the cost of his life".

Truth, thus viewed, is the only spiritual charter for free souls. It is the assertion of the dignity of man. It is a revolt against regimentation of life ; against passive subordination to dogmas, social, political or religious; against the despotic unity which is being imposed by the political and social theories of modern Europe which deify the State. At the same time, Gandhiji felt that living for one's truth may become unethical unless it is harnessed to nonviolence. It was this alchemy of welding truth with nonviolence which led him to forge the weapon of Satyagraha (literally "insistence on truth").

If one decides to stand up for the truth as he sees it and backs it up with his life, he must also accept the limitations of nonviolence and abjure the use of brute force. If this is done, the technique acquires a new edge and a fresh meaning. The use of Satyagraha carries with it many and varied implications. The man who adopts the weapon has to direct it against the evil, not the evil-doer, a very difficult thing to do without a continuous process of self-purification. At the same time, he has to see that it does not inflict violence on the other side, but is content to invite suffering on himself. Suffering, deliberately invited, in support of a cause which one considers righteous, naturally purges the mind of the Satyagrahi of ill-will and removes the element of bitterness from the antagonist.

The efficacy of Satyagraha depends upon the tenacity to resist evil which, while it abjures force, develops in the Satyagrahi the faculty to face all risks cheerfully. Thus, the emphasis is transferred from aggression by force into resistance by tenacity. It is only when these requirements are met that nonviolent Satyagraha becomes a mighty weapon of resistance both in the struggle for freedom as well as self-realisation. The results are reached by slow degrees, it is true, but the resultant bitterness is short-lived.

Satyagraha in some form or the other was adopted by various sets of people at different times in history. But it was left to Gandhiji to perfect the technique by which mass resistance could succeed in achieving enduring results without resorting to force and without leaving a legacy of bitterness behind. This technique acquires great importance in the modern world when instruments of coercion and destruction are concentrated in the hands of a few rulers in every country. Those who serve the cause of freedom or collective welfare have no other efficacious weapon left, except Satyagraha. We see this illustrated in the Satyagraha offered by the Negroes in U.S.A.

Satyagraha as a social force is not a negative creed of the pacifists, a pious wish, a faith devoid of passion. It is an activity resulting from an effective will to vindicate the supremacy of the Moral Order. In the hour of danger, it demands the highest form of heroism as well as self-control.

Satyagraha, as Gandhiji often said, is a weapon of the strong, not a cover for the cowardice of the weak. As he himself recognised, in the practical affairs of men there may be occasions when nonviolence may have to be tempered with the defensive use of violence.

Nonviolence is absolute in principle ; but on occasions, as the one which presented itself to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gita*, it has to be a mental attitude, not an absolute refusal to resist violence by violent methods.

The power of Satyagraha lies in the Satyagrahi's firm determination to uphold his truth at the cost of his life in a spirit of humility. This power only comes to a Satyagrahi

when he acquires the faith that the cause he fights for is God-given. This aspect of Satyagraha was thus expressed by Gandhiji : "But who am I? I have no strength save what God gives me. I have no authority over my countrymen save the purely moral. If he holds me to be a sure instrument for the spread of nonviolence in place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way. My greatest weapon is mute prayer. The cause of peace is, therefore, in God's good hands. Nothing can happen but His will expressed in His eternal, changeless Law which is He." "God is a living presence to me. I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. I may live without air and water but not without Him." "You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. But blast my belief in God and I am dead." "Whatever striking things I have done in life, I have not done prompted by reason but by instinct, I would say God."

Gandhiji had none of the sanctions which position, power and wealth give ; the only sanction he possessed proceeded from his nearness to God. It is this which gave him an authority over the hearts of men, an authority which was spiritual and moral. To a world dominated by what Aldous Huxley calls "the false doctrine of totalitarian anthropocentrism and the pernicious ideas and practices o nationalistic pseudomysticism", Gandhiji gave a new technique of spirituality in action.

AS THE GANDHIAN RANKS GROW THINNER

HOMER A. JACK

Those who knew Mohandas Gandhi are fast disappearing. The ranks grow thinner of the immediate circle of Gandhians. In the U. S., John Haynes Holmes died in April. In India, Jawaharlal Nehru died in May. Holmes was the first and major interpreter of Gandhi to the United States. Nehru was the successor to Gandhi in India, if a saint can have a successor. In tribute to Holmes, great newspapers remembered his 84 years on the American scene as clergyman, writer, actionist. In tribute to Nehru, great publications in America remembered him in death with a tenderness that they did not show to him in life.

Coincidentally with the narrowing circle of living friends of Gandhi, a group was called together in the U. S. to plan the observance of the centenary of the birth of the Father of India in 1969. Of the dozen Americans invited to the first planning meeting, some sent their sincere regrets—such as Martin Luther King, Jr., who was actively campaigning in the American South for civil rights. The list of American Gandhians actually present for the first small meeting of the American Centenary Committee was revealing : Bayard Rustin, militant civil rights leader; A. J. Muste, 80-year-old "dean" of American pacifists ; Amiya Chakravarty, Bengali

poet who has been interpreting the spirit of India to America for years ; Stuart Nelson, dean of Howard University who once walked with Gandhi at Noakhali; Robert Gilmore, director of Turn Toward Peace; George Willoughby, fresh from many months on the Delhi-to-Assam peace walk; Robert Vogel, head of the New York office of the American Friends (Quaker) Service Committee; and myself. This was a group of American residents who were Gandhians largely by deed, not word.

Walking to this meeting in the drizzle of downtown Manhattan, New York City, I wondered what possibly we could plan five years in advance. But then we were told by Mankumar Sen, editor of *Bhoodan* who was also present, that some of the Indians—including Vinobaji—planning the centenary hope that parts of Gandhi's teaching will be put into effect by the date of his centenary. That makes more sense. Gandhi was not one to erect a cult. Indeed he wrote in 1926 : "I have no desire to found a sect. I am really too ambitious to be satisfied with a sect for a following." Fourteen years later Gandhi expanded these thoughts : "If Gandhism is another name for sectarianism, it deserves to be destroyed. If I were to know, after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into sectarianism, I should be deeply pained . . . Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi . . . You are not followers but fellow students, fellow pilgrims, fellow seekers, fellow workers."

Gandhi wanted obedience to his teachings, not observance of his life. In this spirit of preparing for the centenary, I understood better the need for five years' preparation.

The Gandhians assembled then had a good discussion of what the American contribution to the centenary could best be. One of the most obvious kind of events is a world-wide Gandhian seminar, attended by such followers as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Chief Albert Luthuli (providing South Africa is free by 1969), not to mention Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda of Southern Rhodesia. This summit would be preceded by a series of national seminars. The practitioners could gather in a newsworthy place—or on a desert isle with the news

media coming to them. Somebody suggested that this seminar could last ten days; another hoped, once these leaders could be brought together, that they should stay together for at least a month.

Another dimension was added when it was suggested that the new contributions to Gandhism will be made, not by those in the anti-colonial struggles where the majority (the people) is working against the minority (the colonialists), but in America where the minority (the Negroes) are working for justice from the majority (the whites). Here is an area for new conceptual thinking about Gandhism. New thinking is likewise necessary for the kind of constructive work appropriate in an affluent society to alternate with nonviolent action.

New "experiments with truth" are being undertaken all over the world. In the U.S. little circles of Negroes and Whites are experimenting in new Gandhian directions. Also, the application of Gandhism to automation, cybernation, and other new fields must be explored. In Philadelphia, the American Friends Service Committee has created a working party to do some thinking and publishing on nonviolent action. In the summer of 1964, several seminars and institutes on this topic are taking place in Europe. It is not known how much academic work is being done on Gandhism by persons of different disciplines in the great world universities. Nobody knows the extent of such studies, as those of Joan Bondurant at the University of California and Gene Sharp in England. Again this material must be brought together.

It was suggested that *Gandhi Marg*, the periodical of the Gandhi Memorial Trust, is a natural medium which should be more frequently used to publish articles of all kinds on Gandhism and neo-Gandhism. Its circulation is still small, especially in the U.S., but certainly the staff is willing to print or reprint anything in the field.

In 1962, a Gandhian delegation visited several world capitals in a plea to stop nuclear weapons tests. There was a strong Gandhian dimension to this effort. Earlier, Albert Bigelow in *Golden Rule* and the Earle Reynolds family in

Phoenix, and other confrontations were made with sovereign nations against nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Now that there is a partial nuclear test-ban treaty, such Gandhian efforts may still play a role as France is readying new testing grounds in the South Pacific and as China is also accumulating plutonium for her first nuclear explosion.

What sanctions can the community of nations take to force all states to sign the test-ban treaty and thus not foul the atmosphere with radioactive fallout? Is there a role for the International Court of Justice to prevent even non-signatory states from testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere? And if the World Court renders a decision against such testing, how can it be enforced? Will a world which is wary about exerting sanctions against South Africa for continued apartheid exert sanctions against France—or China—for continued testing?

If the official world community is hesitant in promoting nuclear justice, what is the role of unofficial citizen groups, of Gandhians? A New Zealand Committee for Nonviolent Action against French Nuclear Tests has been established and it threatens to collect several boats at Pitcairn Island and sail them into the French testing area southeast of Tahiti. Indeed, there is a report that some of the members of the Tahitian legislature rebelled at the proposed tests and had to be treated sternly by France. But is this the extent of Gandhism in these circumstances ? What of the Gandhians in France itself ? What of the Gandhians in the U. S., India, the U. K., and wherever France is recognized and maintains embassies, legations, and consulates ? What of the Gandhians in cities where Air France touches down at airports? Or where French perfumes, autos and wines are sold?

There are many more questions than answers. And first, as Gandhi insisted, the conventional, traditional means—including negotiation and persuasion—must be explored patiently and honestly before some of these other means can even be considered. This very catalogue of possible non-violent direct action methods shows that Gandhism is not a fossilized memory, even though the ranks of the first

generation of Gandhians are admittedly growing thinner. We honour this first generation and, in doing so, we honour Gandhi himself.

WHY DID GANDHI FAIL ?

KENNETH E. BOULDING

As a young man growing up in England I was enormously influenced by Gandhi and the whole idea of Satyagraha and Ahimsa, especially as interpreted, for instance, by writers such as Richard B. Gregg. Even after thirty years I can still recapture the sense of excitement, the sense that a great new idea had come into the world, an idea of enormous importance for mankind. Coming to adolescence in the aftermath of the first World War, I was conscious of the break-up of an old order, of the end of an old era. The whole world of national states and empires, which had seemed so secure and permanent in 1914, was revealed as incapable of providing a decent order and habitation for the human race. War seemed like an absolutely intolerable betrayal of the spirit of man, and the state which demanded it a monster only to be appeased by endless human sacrifice. On the other hand there seemed to be no alternative in the face of the very real conflicts of the world but a passive withdrawal, equally unacceptable to the spirit concerned with justice and the right ordering of society. In this dilemma the message of Gandhi came like a great light, indicating that it was possible to reconcile peace and justice, to reject war and at the same time participate in

a great historical process for human betterment. The idea of a nonviolent struggle which refused to break the community of mankind, refused to exclude even the enemy from this community, and which rested on a view of human nature and of the social process much deeper than the crude arguments of the advocates of violence, was like a revelation. "Great was it in that dawn to be alive, and to be young was very heaven!"

"That dawn" for Wordsworth was the French Revolution, and a false dawn it turned out to be, a dawn not of liberation but of terrible violence and tyranny. Wordsworth's disillusion drove him to retreat into a barren conservatism in later life, and one can hope not to repeat this. No doubt all dawns are false, or rather, each dawn leads only to another day; the great tides of human history submerge the momentary waves of excitement and exaltation. Nevertheless it is hard to avoid a sense of disappointment at the grey day that followed the Gandhian dawn. The second World War was nothing unexpected : it was implicit in the very system of national power. The independence of India likewise was not unexpected, for we had all looked forward to it for years. Some of us hoped indeed that India, because of Gandhi, would be a new kind of nation, rejecting the whole system of threats and counter-threats which had brought the world to disaster. What has happened since 1947 however has been profoundly disturbing for those of us who held these high hopes.

For what has happened? India has become a nation like any other, and even, truth compels me to say with pain, less mature in its foreign relations, less peaceful, less realistic, than many others. In its internal policies there is one outstanding achievement, the maintenance of internal freedom and democracy in the face of enormous problems and difficulties. I happened to witness the military parade in New Delhi last January 26th, on my way to the Pugwash Conference in Udaipur. I felt as if I was back in the Europe of 1914, and hardly knew whether to laugh or weep. It was as if Gandhi had never lived, or had lived in vain. I confess

I never expected to live to see girls in saris doing the goose-step! It is very hard for Indians now to see how they look to the world outside, for they are naturally preoccupied with their enormous internal problems. It is very easy, however, for India's actions to be interpreted as those of a weak and petulant bully, not hestitating to use the old-fashioned threat against a weak enemy, as in Goa, answering provocation with provocation in the case of a strong enemy, such as China, and refusing to make a desperately needed adjustment in the case of Kashmir. I am not saying that this image of India is either true or just, merely that it is a possible interpretation of India's actions. What is abundantly clear is that India's international posture is an enormous handicap in achieving economic development, a handicap so great that it may prevent development altogether, and may have in it the seeds of a human catastrophe on an almost unimaginable scale. The problem of development in a country like India, burdened with a tradition and a religion which for many centuries has produced a heroic adjustment to poverty rather than to a sober and organized attempt to get out of poverty, is so difficult in itself that it requires every ounce of human effort, of talent for organization, and of economic resources to break out of the trap. Every man, every rupee wasted in military effort is a millstone round India's neck, and may condemn billions of her unborn to poverty and misery. Economic development is like a man trying to jump out of a ten-foot hole ; it is no use his jumping nine feet eleven inches, for he will just fall back. At a certain crucial stage a little more effort may make the whole difference between ultimate success and failure. What are we to say, therefore, to a man who tries to jump out of this hole with a cannon deliberately strapped on his back—yet is not this precisely descriptive of India today !

The plain and ugly truth is that in the game of international politics India is going to be a militarily weak nation for many decades to come. In the modern world especially, with the United Nations and the increasing recognition of the illegitimacy of war, it is quite possible for a weak nation

to survive and prosper, and indeed eventually become a "strong" one for whatever that may be worth, which is not much. When it is weak, however, it must behave like a weak nation, and not pretend that it is a strong one. Both India and Indonesia—the latter much more so—seem to be under the illusion that because they are big nations they must, therefore, simply because of their large populations, be powerful. Nothing could be farther from the truth—their very size is a major source of their weakness, for in the modern world small nations have a much better chance of managing their internal affairs well and getting on the road to development than large nations. It is a fatal mistake, however, for a weak nation to behave as if it were a strong one, which seems to me precisely what India is doing.

Quite apart from Gandhian moral standards, then, and even judged by the low morality of international power politics, India is behaving badly and gets a low mark. The child born with such high hopes has turned out not only to be no better than the average, but actually worse. There are, of course, many extenuating circumstances. Colonial rule is a dreadful thing, which corrupts both ruler and ruled, and the ex-colonial countries all suffer from a well-recognised disease of society which might be called the "post-colonial trauma", and from which it may take several generations to recover—indeed, I sometimes think the trouble with England even today is that it never really recovered from the Norman conquest, for it too exhibits many of the marks of a post-colonial society! It takes time to learn mature international behaviour, and the nations—including my own—are all busy teaching each other how to be immature and childish, and learning this lesson all too readily. Still, the nagging question remains : India, because a new light shone into the world there, should have been different—or perhaps one should have expected Gandhi to suffer the fate of the Buddha ! A prophet, as the Christian Bible says, is not without honour save in his own country !

For those concerned with the theory of nonviolence the failure of Gandhism in India to produce a successful develop-

ment process after the "revolutionary" change raises severe problems. Nonviolence remains a powerful instrument of revolutionary change—as we see now, indeed, in the movement of Martin Luther King in the United States. It perhaps has a greater effect on those against whom it is used than on those who use it. In a very real sense Gandhi liberated Britain more than he liberated India ; when I go back to Britain I am astonished at how much richer and happier a country it seems to be than the "Imperial" England of my childhood. In spite of the damage and sufferings of the wars, and though Gandhi can hardly be given all the credit for this, the plain economic fact is that in the twentieth century empire became a burden to the imperial power, not a source of wealth or even power. It is hard, however, to cast aside even burdens willingly, as the case of Portugal (the poorest country in Europe, with the largest empire) indicates. Nonviolence indeed is only effective when it is aligned with truth—Ahimsa and Satyagraha must go hand in hand. When truth is rejected, and when an illusory view of the world clouds the judgement, as it seems to me is true of India today, of course nonviolence will be rejected. The critical problem then, comes down to how we learn to test the reality of our images of social and political systems, for the greatest enemy of nonviolence is the lack of "reality testing". Even violence can be interpreted as a crude and costly method of testing our images of the world—as, for instance, Japan and Germany discovered by violent defeat that their images of the world had been wrong.

Thus, the failure of Gandhism is not a failure of Ahimsa, but a failure of Satyagraha. The modern world is so complex that the truth about it cannot be perceived by common sense or by mystical insight, important as these things are. We must have the more delicate and quantitative sampling and processing of information provided by the methods of the social sciences if we are really to test the truth of our images of social and political systems. The next logical step, therefore, for the Gandhian movement would seem to be in the direction of the social sciences, in peace research,

and in the testing of all our images of society by the more refined means for discovering truth which are now available to us. I am not suggesting, of course, that the social sciences produce "absolute" truth, or indeed that much valid perception is not achieved through common sense and insight. What I do suggest however, is that the problem of truth is so difficult that we cannot afford to neglect any means of improving the path towards it, and that without this, non-violence will inevitably be frustrated.

Everywhere I went in India in my brief and inadequate visits I heard one thing : "There is no alternative". It was precisely the greatness of Gandhi that he always insisted there *was* an alternative. Morality always implies that there are alternatives to choose, for morality is choice. To deny alternatives is to deny morality itself. To perceive alternatives requires imagination, hard thinking, and costly and painstaking study. If the Gandhian movement in India can recapture this great vision of the alternative, India may yet be saved from the disaster towards which she seems to be heading.

GANDHIJI'S ILLUSTRIOUS ANTECEDENTS

ESME WYNNE-TYSON

Rudyard Kipling's famous line, "What do they know of England who only England know ?" could well be paraphrased, "What do they know of Gandhi who only Gandhi know ?" It is quite certain that the majority of people only "know Gandhi". They are quite unaware of the long line of World-Teachers and idealistic philosophers of whose teachings Bapu was the latest and one of the most consistent exponents.

To most people in the West he was a wise (or crafty) politician who played a leading part in ridding his country of its foreign yoke and so earned the title of the Father of the Indian Nation. They know that he was morally a good man and an ascetic who belonged to a Hindu sect—the Jains —who did not believe in taking life : hence his "queer" notions about diet. And there they usually leave the matter. But these inadequate, compartmental and unrelated facts do not begin to describe or explain Gandhi, the Mahatma, whose teachings and whole manner of life were in the tradition of an age-old humane philosophy that I have renamed "The Philosophy of Compassion", and which is traceable in Western history from the time of Pythagoras, the first great exponent of the way of Ahimsa in the West.

It is doubtful whether Gandhiji knew much about Pythagoras, or his influence on Western philosophy. He was a man of action with little time for metaphysical studies. It was the English Theosophists who brought the great Hindu work, the *Bhagavad-Gita,* which was to become his Bible, to his attention, and even then the only time he found in which to study and memorise it was during his morning ablutions. We find in his *Autobiography* : "The operation took me thirty-five minutes, fifteen minutes for the tooth-brush and twenty for the bath. The first I used to do standing in Western fashion. So on the wall opposite I stuck slips of paper on which were written the *Gita* verses and referred to them now and then to help my memory."

This passage is significant in that it shows how little time he had for this sort of study, and explains why we find so few traces in his writings of the knowledge of the great Masters of thought whose tradition he so nobly upheld and whose way of life he sometimes exceeded in austerity. He led an extremely active life as lawyer, reformer and politician. Only by the integrated application of his rapier-keen legalistic mentality to the highest spiritual teachings of his countrymen was he able to gain so much of their meaning in the limited time at his disposal. Had he known more of Pythagoras and his way of life he would not, as a believer in reincarnation, have found the suggestion altogether fantastic that he might once have been this wise philosopher whose name is believed to have been a corruption of the Hindu "Pita-Guru", or Father-Teacher; just as Pythagoras believed himself previously to have been Euphorbus, the son of Panthous, since he clearly recognized his own shield that he had used as a participant in the Trojan war where he possibly lost his taste for violence.

In his day, Pythagoras and his vegetarian-humanitarian community at Crotona in Italy were regarded as wonders of the Western World, even as Bapu was afterwards to be regarded in the East. The Sage of Samos would greatly have approved of Gandhiji's three disciplines. As the "Friend of Wisdom", he loved Truth (Satya) above all

things. He believed, with the priests of Isis who taught him much of his wisdom, that the aim of life for man was to outgrow his animalism, and would certainly have agreed with Gandhiji that this could only be achieved by the practice of Brahmacharya. The keynote of the Pythagorean life was Ahimsa so that, like Gandhi, the Sage of Samos deplored and avoided flesh-eating, the exploitation of the lesser creatures and animal sacrifice. In his *Metamorphoses* Ovid quotes him as saying : "Alas, what wickedness to swallow flesh into our own flesh, to fatten our greedy bodies by cramming in other bodies, to have one living creature fed by the death of another."

Complaining of Roman gluttony, Juvenal wrote in *Satire* XV : "What would not Pythagoras denounce, or whither would he not flee, could he see these monstrous sights—he who abstained from the flesh of all other animals as though they were human ?"

If the present tendency towards flesh-eating continues to increase in India, it will be necessary for a twentieth-century Juvenal to arise to remind the inhabitants of the Pythagorean views of the Father of their nation.

Empedocles, a later follower of Pythagoras, wrote of the Golden Age referred to by his Master as being under the rule of a Goddess when "every animal was tame and familiar with men—both mammals and birds ; and mutual love prevailed . . . nor had these happy people any War-God, nor had they any mad violence for their divinity. Nor was their monarch Zeus or Kronos or Poseidon, but Queen Kypris (the divinity of Love)."

Gandhiji would have found it easy to worship this Goddess, for to him God was Love as well as Truth. In *Harijan* (26-9-36) he wrote : "If love or nonviolence be not the law of our being . . . there is no escape from a periodical recrudescence of war, each succeeding one out-doing the preceding one in ferocity."

His way of Ahimsa was also the way of the Essenes, from whom, as we now know, Jesus of Nazareth gained so much of his wisdom. This vegetarian sect which refused to take

part in animal sacrifice and were so strongly pacifist that they refused even to make weapons of war, undoubtedly found a resurrector of their faith and teachings in Gandhiji of the twentieth century. Above all, they saw the necessity, as he did, for the practice of Brahmacharya for one who aspired to evolve to a higher species than the present "Centaur" man, half-animal, half-human—and to be delivered from the miseries of life lived in the flesh. Pliny describes them as "a solitary race and wonderful above all others on the globe ; without women, renouncing all usual enjoyment, without money. . . . From day to day they are recruited by the flocks of newcomers whom the world drives from itself, all tempest-tossed by the way of fortune. In this way, incredible to tell, the race wherein no birth ever takes place, has endured for thousands of years, so useful for recruiting their numbers is the disgust of other men with the world." This description of a sect so like the Early Christians as to have been confused with them should be compared with Jesus' statement, puzzling to his modern followers, that in the kingdom which he came to establish there would be no marriage nor giving in marriage.

The descriptions of the Essenic communities given by Philo Judaeus, and Josephus who was one of their students, sound like blueprints for the Gandhian ashrams in which, as those who have read Gandhiji's *Autobiography* know, Brahmacharya as well as Ahimsa was obligatory. Yet nowhere in his writings have I found any indication that Bapu even knew of the existence of the Essenes. He was inspirationally reviving and reteaching a philosophy that has been resisted and repressed in the West since the original Christian Gospel was replaced by the State-serving and supporting Churchianity that has plagued and befuddled humanity since the reign of Constantine, when in order to gain the power and prestige of being the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Church abandoned its essential policy of non-violence, and its congregations were no longer forbidden to bear arms in defence of the State. Since that date the gap between Churchianity and the philosophy of compassion,

on which the teachings of the Essenes and the life of Jesus were based, has gradually widened. An attempt was made to bridge it by the Neoplatonists, and for a time the philosophy of Plotinus found in his famous *Enneads* seemed to have effected this reconciliation. In *Origen and Greek Patristic Theology*, W. Fairweather writes of Neoplatonism that, "at the commencement of the fourth century it had become the prevailing philosophy in Christian as well as pagan circles". As it included the wisdom of Vedanta, it might well have led to the spiritual unification of mankind. But the theologians of the victorious "Christian" church which had triumphed over its pagan rivals, continued to invent the most impossible doctrines until, by the sixth century, it became evident, even to the theology-loving Emperor Justinian, that it was impossible to reconcile the two ways of thought : religion as it had become as the result of theological tampering, and the philosophy of religion which had been able to clarify the earlier teachings. So, as the cooperation of a powerful and well-organised Church was necessary for the support of the tottering Empire, *philosophy* had to go. Justinian closed the doors of the Academy of Athens where, until then, it had been preserved and banished the philosophers with their sanity. Small wonder that this folly was soon followed by what is rightly known as The Dark Ages.

Some vestiges, however, of the ancient philosophy survived in the works of classical Western writers and in those books by the pagan philosophers that managed to escape their periodic burning by Church and State. One of these, although part of the fourth and final book has been lost, was Porphyry's famous treatise on *Abstinence from Animal Food*. In reading this, one is constantly reminded of the words and views of Gandhiji. He and Porphyry, who was the disciple of Plotinus and the editor of his *Enneads*, would have been in complete agreement on their view of life. Porphyry quotes Diogenes as saying : "Thieves and enemies are not found among those that feed on maize, but sycophants and tyrants are produced from those who feed on flesh".

Throughout his Treatise this ardent advocate of Ahimsa answers conclusively all the objections of flesh-eaters to a harmless diet, and leaves them, dialectically, "with not a leg to stand on". This book would have enormously appealed to Bapu, and it is surely significant that plans are being made to reprint it in translation this year,[1] after over a century during which it has not been available to the general public, for it at once confirms and calls attention to the deepest teachings of Gandhiji at a time when even his own countrymen seem in danger of forgetting them. It also shows how he has once again provided that bridge of a spiritual unification that was so earnestly sought after in the fourth century and demolished by the act of Justinian. Let us hope that it will be recognized and used by those who wish to maintain what Dr S. Radhakrishnan has called "the Idealistic View of Life", and not be once more rejected for a lower ethic.

The indifference found in the West to the Gandhian philosophy is usually excused by the argument that Gandhi was not a Christian. But, in fact, as I discovered as a result of my researches for my book, *The Philosophy of Compassion*, what he taught and practised was much nearer to the original gospel of Jesus Christ than anything taught and practised by the Churches that profess to be Christian.

Gandhiji explained in his *Autobiography* that the reason why he would not call himself a Christian was that he could not accept what he rightly considered the immoral doctrine of vicarious atonement. "I do not seek redemption from the consequences of my sins", he said to a Plymouth Brother who was trying to convert him : "I seek to be redeemed from sin itself, or rather from the very thought of sin".

This was precisely Jesus' way of salvation, the way of rebirth by water (total purification) and of the Spirit (gnosis, or wisdom), as he explained to Nicodemus (John 3 : 5). To be "saved" a Christian must follow his celibate Exemplar in thought, act and life. He must, as Paul was later to describe it, "put on the Mind of Christ".

The doctrine of vicarious atonement, a wholly Judaic

concept, was just the sort of primitive idea that Christianity was meant to replace. It was introduced by Jewish theologians, in particular the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, long after the crucifixion. Gandhiji's method of self-purification and the outgrowing of animalism was the way of Jesus Christ, as it was also that of the Essenes, the idealistic philosophers and the founders of the pre-Christian Mystery religions.

Jesus said : "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free". Gandhiji declared that "Truth is God", and that God is the only liberator. Gandhiji was a pacifist who taught his followers the way of nonviolent resistance. Origen, the great Alexandrian Father of the Church, wrote of Jesus that he had "forbidden entirely the taking of human life", and said : "No longer do we take the sword against any nation, nor do we learn war any more since we have become sons of peace through Jesus".

In the present century those still calling themselves Christians have already taken part in, or given their consent to, two world-wars, with the blessings of their apostate Church; yet they can consider the nonviolent Gandhiji as less "Christian" than themselves!

Gandhiji deplored the cruelty and violence involved in modern *materia medica* and advocated, instead, nature cure and spiritual healing. Jesus not only taught and practised spiritual healing, but his early followers understood this to be part of the Christian way of life, and were practising it in the time of Origen, who tells us in his book, *contra Celsum*, that he had "seen many delivered from serious ailments and from mental distractions and madness, and countless other diseases which men had failed to cure" (Book III : 24). Yet the modern "Christian" churches, with the exception of the Church of Christ Scientist, insist on the cooperation of a medical service based on animal experimentation and vivisection, described by Gandhiji as "Black Magic", even when they are trying to effect a cure by "faith" and "prayer". The more logical Bapu, referring to spiritual healing by practising the presence of strength-giving Ramanama, writes :

"To claim belief in Ramanama and at the same time to run to doctors do not go hand in hand" (*Truth is God*, p. 31).

As a lawyer, Gandhiji revered justice and therefore found it easier to believe in the doctrine of reincarnation than in the untenable idea propounded by the Christian theologians of a new soul being born with every body yet somehow achieving immortality, despite the fact that whatever has a beginning must have an end. Gandhiji wrote in *Truth is God* : "I am a believer in previous births and rebirths". In this he was not only in agreement with the great thinkers of the ancient Western World—Pythagoras being quoted by Ovid as saying : "Our souls are immortal, and are ever received into new homes, where they live and dwell, when they have left their previous abode"—but also with the Founder of the Christian Faith who proclaimed, "Before Abraham was, I am"; and taught man's co-existence with God in the words : "I and my Father are one". Nor did he rebuke his disciples when they said that his hearers believed him to be a reincarnation of some former prophet ; indeed, he confirmed the doctrine by positively stating that Elisha had been reborn in John the Baptist (Matthew 17 : 11-13). The "Orthodox" teaching of the Resurrection of the body on Judgment Day was an illogical concept borrowed in pre-Christian times from the Zoroastrian religion, and afterwards perpetuated by Christian theologians who preferred anything to agreement with the pagans. Augustine of Hippo complained bitterly of how this teaching was scoffed at by pagan critics who asked "whether the abortive births shall have any part in the resurrection ? . . . They pass to deformities . . . misshapen members, scars and suchlike; enquiring with scoffs what forms these shall have in the resurrection. If we say they shall all be taken away, then they come upon us with our doctrine that Christ arose with his wounds upon him still. But their most difficult question of all is, whose flesh shall that man's be in the resurrection which is eaten by another man through compulsion of hunger ? For it is turned into his flesh that eats it . . . Whether, therefore, shall he have it again that owned it at first

or he that eats it and so owned it afterwards ? These doubts are put into our resolutions by the scorners of our faith in the Resurrection." It is noteworthy that the distressed Bishop did not attempt to answer these rational arguments.

As a man of law, as well as a man of God, Gandhiji taught, as Jesus had done, that what a man sows he reaps, and that rebirth alone can make this harvest possible in the majority of cases.

How wonderfully Gandhiji understood the Mind of Christ is seen when we compare Matthew 22 : 37, 38, where Jesus proclaims the great commandment of the law to be : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind", with Bapu's statement in *Truth is God* (p. 16) where he writes : "Those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows, as, for instance, the vow of truth, the vow of Brahmacharya (purity)—for you cannot possibly divide your love for Truth and God with anything else—the vow of nonviolence, of poverty and non-possession."

This passage reads like a description of the life and conduct of the Founder of the Chritian Faith. But in which Christian Church are these vows taught ? Clergymen preach as though they were almost entirely unconcerned with the first and great commandment, especially ignoring the word "all", which shows what our first allegiance should be. Instead they concentrate on the subsequent commandment advocating love for the brother man, and give it precedence over the first. But it was no accident that both Jesus and Gandhi ranked it *second* in importance. Jesus told his hearers that they must love their neighbour as themselves; but we do not worship ourselves, and should not become obsessed with the human self, either that of our own or of others. What is required is to meet its genuine needs and then leave it free for its real occupation of seeking and finding God.

Instead of which, by concentrating on mankind to the exclusion of the wisdom and Truth which is God, we are ruining the characters of the beneficiaries of Britain's Welfare State by spoon-feeding them with material benefits while

depriving them of a spiritual philosophy of life which is incompatible with the creed of scientific materialism ; while the Freudian psychologists continue to mislead them ethically and morally, especially on sexual matters. With the immense increase of promiscuity, illegitimate births and venereal disease, there is an urgent need for true sex-instruction; but no one has the courage, or is given the opportunity, to teach as Gandhiji did that "the man who is wedded to Truth and worships Truth alone, proves unfaithful to her, if he applies his talents to anything else. How then can he minister to the senses ? A man whose activities are wholly consecrated to the realization of Truth, which requires utter selflessness, can have no time for the selfish purpose of begetting children and running a household. . . . Hence one who would obey the law of Ahimsa cannot marry, not to speak of gratification outside the marital bond." (*Truth is God*, p. 34.)

Does not this passage clearly explain what have been considered the "hard" sayings of Jesus found in Luke 14 : 26 and Matthew 10 : 36, 37 : "A man's foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me : and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me", together with his further proclamation : "I am the . . . Truth".

That this point of view was understood and accepted by the early Christians for centuries after the Ascension, is proved by the fact that Origen castrated himself to make certain of his entry into the heavenly kingdom ! This was a mistaken materialization of what both Jesus and Gandhiji intended to be a purely spiritual process, but at least it established proof of the fact that originally the followers of Christ understood that Brahmacharya was essential to salvation. Why has no modern church dignitary arisen to teach this unpalatable but undoubtedly *Christian* truth to Western congregations ? Does it mean that our Bishops have less moral courage than Gandhiji, and prefer their present undignified arguments about "oral pills" to the risk of unpopularity ? Have they failed to note that "he who

would save his life must lose it" applies to Churches as surely as it does to individuals ? All must be sacrificed to the Truth that Gandhiji called God.

In a letter written in 1924, and quoted by C. F. Andrews in *Mahatma Gandhi : His Own Story*, Gandhiji wrote : "I do not consider myself worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the race of prophets. . . ." Owing to his great humility, it is doubtful whether he ever changed this opinion. Nevertheless, inasmuch as he taught the same liberating Gospel as the greatest Teachers and philosophers of the West as well as the Rishis of the East, it is impossible not to include him among their number. For, as both he and Jesus taught, it is the Truth that sets us free, and it was undoubtedly that Truth which we can now so clearly trace through the teachings of the wisest men of the human race, that Mahatma Gandhi reintroduced to a world that had done its best to forget it. This is always the sign and seal of the divine, or evolved, man : he teaches nothing new, but always advocates the age-old method whereby man can evolve to a higher species, the species that the Teachers themselves, from Pythagoras to Gandhi, have exemplified in their purified and noble lives.

1. By the Centaur Press Ltd., Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex, England.

WAR AND WHAT PRICE FREEDOM

WILLIAM STUART NELSON

In 1928 Mahatma Gandhi wrestled with the problem of war not simply as a theory but as an institution in which he had participated on three occasions as a noncombatant. He wrote : "I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has to go. *I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom.*"[1]

This statement strikes many unfree men as a hard saying. Has not freedom, they ask, almost always been won by wars or some more subtle form of violence ? Are we to believe that what was achieved at so great a price in reality was no freedom? Gandhi himself anticipated this scepticism and cited the French and Russian revolutions in defence of his thesis. Deeper hatred, counter-hatred, vengeance, he characterized sixteen years later, as the fruits of violence. War, for him, in summary, is an unmitigated evil. Indeed, freedom won by violence is no freedom.

Such convictions are politely attributed by some to the visionary. On the contrary, the current record attests to a different trend. Adlai Stevenson currently describes war as containing the possibility of escalation into annihilation of all or most of mankind. Such an authority as the late General Douglas MacArthur spoke of ". . . the utter futility

of modern war—its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissensions". To this may be added General Eisenhower's commentary on "the sterile, stupid business of war and preparation for war."

As late as June, 1964, the President of Columbia University in New York City warned the more than six thousand graduates of that institution that ". . . we must restrain ourselves from the emotionally gratifying but socially dangerous tactics of violence to achieve our ends". Even though we have with us no longer India's late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the votaries of peace can find comfort and perhaps incentive to greater action in his testimony on the futility of hate and violence : "The lesson of history, the long course of history, and more especially the lesson of the last two great wars which have devastated humanity, has been that out of hatred and violence, only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence, and not the most brilliant debate will get you out of it, unless you look some other way and find some other means."

The psychiatrist himself is puzzled at what he calls the paradox of serving life while relying upon weapons of death. Dr Roy W. Menninger, a noted American psychiatrist, suggests that reliance upon weapons of final destructiveness will be abandoned only "when people discover that strength means other things than the capacity to destroy. In the lives of most of us, 'strength of character' is recognized as being stronger than the gun carried by the fearful insecure adolescent. By what means such concepts as 'strength of character' can be translated into national terms and then suffused into national behaviour is a question for which I have no answer. But it seems apparent thar the failure to find a lasting belief in sources of strength other than weapons alone can lead only to the devastating outcome that all of us consider so possible."

Why do nations fight ? Particularly, why do nations prepare to fight with weapons that are patently death-serving to all or nearly all who are involved, directly or indirectly ? Eric Fromm, the eminent German psychologist and psycho-

analyst, searching for an explanation of war, develops the thesis of the necrophilous person—a lover of death. But even Fromm, in suggesting such an unlikely hypothesis, makes this generalization : "Any glorification of violence is not only dangerous, it is based on untruth. Dying is never sweet except for the necrophilous pervert, and killing never leads to the realization of what is human. Killing is always a violation of what is human, both in the killer and in the killed. It is condoned by many as being in the service of life, but it must always be atoned for because it always is a crime against life ; it always hardens the heart of the killer, it always violates humanity."

The great dilemma which faces a morally sensitive nation today is, on the one hand, the sense of war's futility or, at least its dreadful cost, and, on the other, the fear of risking unilateral abandonment. The will to live is powerful and yet men would often rather die than bear the taunt of cowardice. What, then, is required to build an anti-war sentiment in a country ? That the task is formidable is suggested by the confession of Gandhi that he was unprepared to chart the course to a warless society. His resourcefulness was consumed in fashioning an instrument for freeing Indians from colonialism and its multitude of miseries. He did, however, bequeath to us a principle tested on a limited stage. How may we now persuade men to test it on the international stage when the defence of "honour" is still an applauded ritual ? Let us examine some possibilities.

The world recently took special notice of the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife. The word Sarajevo, city of that event, still excites a train of memories as tragic as any the world has ever known. There is the macabre succession of World War I, World War II, fascism, nazism, communism, Japanese militarism, the nuclear age. There is resurgent nationalism with nation-states seeking more and better armaments. Here we deal not with theory and speculation but with facts which have developed within the lives of millions now alive. As the race of man, we have no right to forget

this procession of tragedy. We owe to the future the duty to keep it burning on the memories of mankind ; perhaps that will give us pause and will forestall the fatal act.

We have, however, other persuasive grounds for looking elsewhere than to war for the solution of international problems. One of these is rooted in the nature of man, witnessed to persuasively by eminent thinkers in a wide diversity of fields.

On July 3 past, President Lyndon Johnson of the United States signed the bill passed by the Congress known as the Civil Rights Bill. In its widening of rights for Negroes as American citizens it is judged as second in importance only to Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation signed one hundred years ago. President Johnson closed his statement at the signing ceremony with the following resolve : "Let us hasten that day when our unmeasured strength and our unbounded spirit will be free to do the great works ordained for this Nation by the just and wise God who is the Father of all." Here we have the President of a nation for centuries deeply divided on racial lines evoking a spiritual law pronounced for millenia by prophets and seers and reiterated through the centuries by wise men without number, namely the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Billions of men today worship at the shrines of religions which teach the oneness of their Creator and the consequent brotherhood of the created.

The teaching of man's brotherhood has not remained, however, the exclusive province of the seer and prophet. The poet-clergyman, John Donne, brings his convictions down to earth and reminds us : "No man is an Island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the maine : any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind." The Greek author, Nikos Kazansakis, in his novel *The Greek Passion*, has one of his characters say : "Every man hangs around the neck of all of us."

Walter Lippman, leading essayist in political and moral philosophy, in his book *The Public Philosophy* has come to grips with the basic question of man's inherent relations to man. When, says Lippman, Jean Paul Sartre declares that God

is dead, he is not simply giving up an anthropomorphic God but an *a priori* meaning to life. He is denying that beyond our private world there is a public world and declaring that what is good and right and true is what each of us chooses to invent. This view takes us "outside the traditions of civility. We are back in the war of all men against all men. There is left no accommodation among the variety of men, nor is there in this proclamation of anarchy a will to find an accommodation." Bertrand Russell, Lippman points out, has recognized that this way leaves us without a check on pride and puts us on the road to an intoxication of power and to the danger "of vast social disaster".

Even Voltaire, to whom we cannot impute starry-eyed gazing or sentimentalism, defines in terms of signal horror an act of fatal violence against one's fellowman. He writes : "Twenty years are required to bring a man from the state of a plant in which he exists in the womb of his mother and from the state of an animal, which is his condition in infancy, to a state in which the maturity of wisdom begins to make itself felt. Thirty centuries are necessary in which to discover even a little of his structure. An eternity would be required to know anything of his soul. But one moment suffices to kill him."

Joining this eminent chorus, Sigmund Freud observes : "All that produces ties of sentiment between man and man must serve as war's antidote....The psychologist need feel no compunction in mentioning 'love' in this connection. The other bond of sentiment is by way of identification. All that brings out the significant resemblances between men calls into play this feeling of community, identification, whereon is founded, in large measure, the whole edifice of human society."

Each of us on the basis of each day's experience can testify to man's commonality. We all know that mankind is supported by one universe—the same earth feeds us, the same sun warms us, and the same stars shine upon us all. There is a common quality in our basic emotions. Not only one joy but one sorrow unites us. The emotions of the mother in Calcutta at the death of her child differ little or not at all

from the emotions of the mother in New York or Sydney or Moscow at the loss of her child. In the presence of birth and death, sickness and health, youth and old age, triumphs and defeats, we experience feelings that differ in no fundamental way. We meet these events with joy and sorrow, courage and cowardice, love and hatred. We walk the path from birth to death with basically the same desires—happiness, self-realization, social fulfilment. Certainly, from nation to nation, race to race, family to family, individual to individual our experiences come in sundry forms, our emotions are expressed differently, we seek fulfilment in a variety of ways ; but the basic quality of our emotions and the basic direction of our natures are the same. We are one people.

It may appear strange and yet it is true that all this in man's history—fear of death, the voices of prophets, poets, and philosophers, the assurances of scientists—have not sufficed to prevent the tragedy of slaughter through war. We have been warned, however, by the American philosopher, William James, that men will not be persuaded easily to abandon war, that war against war is no holiday excursion or camping party.

James saw no hope of avoiding war except by inventing its moral equivalent. He would have the government conscript youth to wage a war against nature. These youths would work in coal mines, on fishing fleets in winter, on the frames of the tallest buildings, all according to their choice. "Such a conscription", he wrote, "with the state of public opinion that would have required it, and the many moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace."

No nation, I believe, has followed James's prescription but the title of his essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War", remains to haunt us. We, in our time, must discover that equivalent. The first step is to create a national character which is antithetical to war and the qualities which breed war. This suggests not simply a struggle with nature, as James proposed, but a struggle with the anti-social manifestations of human nature.

The purpose around which a struggle can be mounted is that of making one's own nation a nation of justice in which mutual confidence and concern dominate, rather than suspicion and hate. This means a land, for example, where politics is a spring of well-being rather than a stage on which a struggle for power and power alone is waged ; where commerce exists to serve the whole people rather than to create profits for the few; where religious institutions are the bearers of truth rather than the seats of theological and organizational divisiveness.

Gandhi laid great store by his constructive program. For him it was not an embellishment but an essential to the struggle for freedom. He saw freedom from colonialism as an illusion without the character, the national solidarity inherent in a spirit and program of mutual helpfulness among the people. " . . . we can never reach Swaraj", he said, "with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body". Freedom under such a circumstance he called a meaningless term. It would appear clear that only the discipline productive of internal harmony can bring a people to oppose an external enemy nonviolently—discipline which has withstood abuse, alienation, perhaps even death, but also discipline which has turned hatred into fraternity, combativeness into cooperation, suspicion into mutual confidence.

Facing the difficulties of bringing a people to the mood necessary for unilateral disarmament, the devotees of nonviolence must understand the problems of the political establishment which seeks by slow and even halting steps, political in nature, to lay the foundation of peace with another nation or nations : a treaty here, partial disarmament there; cooperation in some international understanding ; building bridges of understanding between even small segments of their country with another. Politicians are not miracle workers ; they are heads of states, not saints. They do not operate from Ashrams. They are leaders but also they are subject to the dictates of the people. Devotees of a nonviolent world bear, in relation to them, three responsibilities : themselves to be unfailing examples of nonviolence ; to stand in judgment upon such

leaders of the state but not in pious, intolerant judgment and to press the nonviolent ideal upon them with clarity and vigorous insistence ; by example and preachment to win so large a segment of the populace to this conviction that the leaders need no longer fear to take the nonviolent step but will fear not to take it.

During the process of national spiritual discipline unilateral disarmament may appear plausible. So wise a man as the late President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, has proposed that in such a case the world would not permit a country so venturing to fall a victim to aggression. This would be a risk, but in its favour is the effort to establish a moral principle of incalculable dimensions—performance, as Gandhi called it, of "a perfect act" enshrining "an eternal law". It would have in its favour the fact also that if a country were overrun this would not be necessarily at the cost of national suicide. Since time immemorial conquered peoples have borne their misfortune bravely and once again have flowered. What they failed to achieve by force of arms they have accomplished in relation to their conquerers by moral and cultural dominance.

War is too great a price even for freedom. The freedom which it appears to win is illusory. On the contrary the offering of life on the moral altar by the individual or the nation is redemptive. It is the act called by Gandhi "a perfect act" enshrining "an eternal law".

1. Italics are this author's.

A NONVIOLENT INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

TED DUNN

The contribution made by Gandhi towards the understanding of the means which make for peace has been for me of inestimable value, yet I have the feeling that for most people, especially those of us in the West, he does not quite speak to our condition. This may be because the problems of today are not those which faced Gandhi, perhaps also because of our different environment. Gandhi's struggle was to regain freedom, whereas the main challenge facing the nations today is how to preserve it, and how to establish an international authority capable of restraining an aggressor by nonviolent means. Until we can establish such an authority, it seems to me more than likely that nations will continue to rely on their own defence.

Gandhi's insistence on Truth therefore needs relating to these changed circumstances. Truth, Gandhi believed, was another way of describing God, and as I believe God is the author of nature, which we can observe around us, I think it will help to examine more closely how the laws of God are observed, and how these can form the basis of International Law.

The idea of Natural Law has been held by international lawyers for a very long time, and was given clear expression

by Grotius three hundred years ago, when he said that "it is composed of the dictates of right reason, which pointed out the act according as it is or is not in conformity with nature, and has a quality of moral baseness or moral necessity, and either forbidden or enjoined by God, the author of nature". This belief in Natural Law coming from a body of people in close contact with the enforcement of international law deserves far more examination than has yet been given by peace-workers. What follows is an attempt to understand more of this concept, because clearly, if there are natural forces more powerful than violence, we should attempt to discover them.

Grotius, we note, states that Natural Law is based on the dictates of right reason, while Gandhi, as we know, insisted on discovering Truth. From both these approaches emerges a new morality and a new awareness, giving birth to the enforcement of law, or, as Gandhi termed it, "truth force".

This search for truth and right reason between nations can well be undertaken by Unesco, because only Unesco can combine the resources of many nations thus making their conclusions more acceptable to all. The potential resources of Unesco are still not appreciated by most people, although many valuable beginnings have already been made. Let us hope that far more information and knowledge will soon be assembled which can be disseminated around the world through U.N. information centres. Modern means of communication have tremendous possibilities both for good and for evil, and large numbers of people can now assimilate knowledge which they are eager to acquire if the matter is presented in the right manner. For instance, we are now often made acutely aware, through TV, of poverty in other lands and of how peoples abroad live and work. The assembling of facts may not seem very exciting to most people, but nevertheless once gathered, if they point conclusively in one direction, slowly but surely they gain acceptance. Thus, without peoples consciously becoming more moral, they come to accept a new code of behaviour, because they now have an understanding of the other's problems.

We are fortunate today that there are many studies and sciences which can throw much valuable light on the problems before us, and we urgently need to enrol the help of educationalists, historians, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, industrialists and, not least, those whose approach is to study the whole ecology of life. Such studies could well be taught in schools such as those pioneered by Grundtvic in Denmark and extended to most of Scandinavia, an experiment which has resulted, I believe, in many advanced forms of cooperation, social security, and the remarkable degree of nonviolent resistance under Hitler. It is probably not too much to say that the one single act well within our power to effect, and one which would really go to the root of the problem before us, would be to encourage the growth of similar schools. Only when peoples have a better appreciation of the art of living can the techniques of nonviolence be really effective.

I have stressed the need for more research and education as a means of discovering Truth and right reason because, although research and education is being stressed on all sides, practically none of it is related to the arts of peace. Even where there is an awakening to the need, considerable uncertainty seems to exist as to where to begin. This uncertainty could be resolved I suggest by a combined attempt by many sciences to appreciate more fully the concept of natural law as understood in the Middle Ages and outlined by St. Thomas Aquinas and others. Until we discover the source of true power we cannot establish a new world pattern under the rule of law and justice. Already many of the newer social sciences have much to offer, and their knowledge needs relating to peace. For instance, we hear much about the manner in which people can be conditioned, usually for evil ends. We hear little of how people could be conditioned through their environment to become peaceful, although Plato long ago always insisted on the profound effects of environment. Whether we approve or not, the fact is that we are all being conditioned. At present our environment encourages violence, perhaps because peoples compete against each

other instead of cooperating, or because there is little reverence for personality. One of the reasons that so much of our peace work falls on deaf ears is this unfavourable environment. It is also the reason why the idea of nonviolent resistance as a technique only is doomed to fail. Until peoples feel within themselves some instinct pulling in a certain direction peace workers will continue swimming against the tide of opinion. We need to understand far more also about what the analytical psychologists call the "Self or Mid-point of Personality", and what the Quakers call "that of God in every man". Ultimately it is only through this self and through our environment that the peace we seek will be found.

This belief in the profound effects of environment is echoed by Dag Hammarskjold's view that it "seems imperative to push forward institutionally and, eventually, constitutionally all along the line guided by current needs and experiences, without preconceived ideas of the ultimate form". By this I understand him to mean that only by cooperating together through international agencies can the nations create the constitutional means for creating the international authority we seek. This idea seems to be borne out by the experience of the Common Market countries and other countries with close federal associations. Yet we lack an understanding of why and how such cooperation leads to the ends we desire. Probably one reason is that individuals, and communities, need a loyalty to their immediate family, and through that family to the community of which that family is part. No man and no nation is an island. We all need to feel wanted by others and to do work which is both creative and of value, and we know from psychology that if these instincts are denied, or suppressed, aggression is very probable. This need to feel wanted and to be creative needs to be related to discovering the structure within which it can flourish. Evil and aggression can be overcome by understanding and cooperating with Natural Law and that of God within man. This cooperation can be established if we organize and create a favourable structure governing

relationships between groups and nations. This means power itself needs decentralizing to the local level because only then can it be prevented from getting out of control. For instance, we may learn that the long period of peace under Pax Romana owed much to the fact that the Romans believed intensely in the healthiness of a local, really local loyalty, while at the same time they extended the privileges of Roman citizenship to all free men in the empire.

Fortunately, I see considerable hope for the future, as well as dangers, because in many respects the world is moving in the right direction. It should be the responsibility of peace workers to understand this direction and encourage it. So far, the movement is a very faltering one, and often the right action is taken for the wrong reason. I see the world moving in the right direction because more and more countries are becoming independent, and regional administration—at least in England—is seriously being discussed. Even in Russia the long-term aim is to decentralize and give more local autonomy. This trend throughout the world towards decentralization of power can be justified on economic grounds and needs encouraging. A further sign I find hopeful is the manner in which nations are slowly learning to cooperate. Again this is largely because it is economic common sense to do so.

Arising from this cooperaion there are powerful unseen forces which statesmen have to respect. Unfortunately the reverse is often the case, and we find that those who are supposed to be in power are helpless to prevent a trend going in the wrong direction. Cooperation between the nations on the other hand can give rise to favourable forces, because when there is cooperation, it becomes increasingly difficult to hurt others without hurting oneself even more. This cooperation, together with appreciation of values and the assimilation of facts relating to history and social affairs, combines to create a favourable climate of world opinion. For example, this climate of world opinion is responsible for aid to undeveloped lands. There is probably also a realization that the well-being of the wealthy nations depends to some extent on

the well-being of all nations and, as a result, aid is being given. It is not yet being given in the right manner, through bilateral agreements instead of through the U.N., but at least the will to help is there. What is not seen clearly is the manner in which the above hopeful indications lead to the increasing of the authority of the U.N. This increased authority is being found in many of the above ways, and their existence can be proved by the manner in which statesmen today are being forced to respect world opinion, which only a few years ago they would have ignored. At least nations today consider the effect of their actions on world opinion and attempt, where possible, to avoid coming into conflict with it. We need to increase this natural trend.

I have mentioned above the need for much more research, yet one of the saddest facts of modern life is that, as science has progressed, it has inevitably led to specialization, leading to the separation of one science from another, with the result that it has become increasingly difficult to see the problem as a whole. This need to see the problem as a whole is particularly important in peace work. It may help us to understand this fact better if we think of war as a disease and instead of attempting to suppress the germ which causes the disease, we concentrate more on discovering the means which enable the healthy body to overcome it in a natural manner. With disease, in nearly all forms of life, we notice that when the germ or bacteria causing the disease is suppressed, amazing results are often obtained and health restored. Yet, because nature works slowly, and because the laws of nature are not always observed or understood, nature has an awkward way of recoiling, and what is thought of as success turns out to be failure. Nature has laws which we can ignore, or flout, only at our peril. We can cooperate with nature and remarkable results can be achieved, as any scientist will recognise, but we can only fight against nature for a short-term advantage. For instance, there is a distinct danger now that we may be upsetting the whole balance of nature through the apparently harmless DDT and other similar poisons. Fortunately, in England, some of these have recently been banned, but not

before considerable losses have been noted in wild life. A similar recoil by nature is happening in Rhodesia where the Tsetse fly is reappearing in vast numbers after having gained immunity to a particular poison. Radiation is a further hazard both to plant and animal life. Nature, it seems, will always have the last word. Let us hope that in all fields of life, human, animal or plant, there will be a further awakening to the need to study this ecology of life before it is too late. The dangers are gradually being recognised, but because of man's belief in his superior intellect, he tends to fall into the error of assuming that he, and he alone, can suppress and kill the disease. Mankind has still to discover his humility before God, the author of nature, and to recognise that although we can perform wonders with His cooperation, we can only court disaster by ignoring it. This surely is a principle which affects all aspects of life and is one that was followed by Gandhi when he fasted and dieted. If this is so, then we should always be striving to create the conditions of health so that the body itself can overcome the disease. The same emphasis on health should apply also to the disease of war. Only by creating a healthy society and world order can war be eliminated.

This problem of health can be shown clearly if we consider the needs of plants. We know the importance of combining the right proportions of warmth, water supply, soil conditions, food and so on. If any one of these is inadequate, or in too abundant supply, disease is inevitable. Fortunately, nature allows a large measure of error, and there is more than one way of growing a healthy plant, but no one would expect to grow a water-loving plant on dry sandy soil without applying plenty of water, or a crop of corn on a badly drained field. It is essential to understand the conditions required by the plant's whole environment for success. In the same way, peace comprises many parts, and if it is to be attained it will demand the resources of the peace worker being devoted to every aspect of living. This is why I think many disciplines are needed to cooperate to discover these natural ways of overcoming the disease of war.

The problem of health can also be demonstrated in many other fields, and recent developments in mental health and delinquency can be used to illustrate this. No longer do we chain people in asylums and place them in conditions which can only lead to their becoming worse. Progressive thought dealing with delinquency shows the need for discipline but a discipline arising from concern for the personality of the delinquent.

The short length of this essay prevents me from making a detailed examination of these examples, but one example I must briefly mention, and this concerns the need by people for law, order and justice. In many instances of delinquency, if not all, love has either been absent or expressed in such a manner as to be only harmful. Love, if it is to be real love, needs to give a feeling of security together with an opportunity for adventure. Above all, however, there must be order and the recognition that only within a framework of order can real love be possible. Love requires more than compassion, forgiveness and all the other virtues normally associated with the word love. It demands, as Gandhi always insisted, a search for truth, or as Grotius put it, a search for right reason. Only when we have found this knowledge can we love effectively. Truth when it is found contains within itself a force which demands respect. Similarly, in international affairs, only when we know how to cultivate the soil of international relationships, to understand its structure and organization for instance, not forgetting to understand the importance of the personality both of the individual and the group of which the individual is a part, only then will the true nonviolent international authority we seek be found. The scope before us is tremendous and one would have thought that in view of the urgency, all our resources would have been devoted to this end. Delinquency between individuals or between nations demands that we understand more fully the causes, so that we can either prevent its outbreak, if this proves impossible, through lack of understanding, or inadequate application of that understanding, take adequate steps to deal with it when it occurs.

Along what lines then, do I think we should travel? What, in practical terms, does all the above imply? In attempting to provide the answer to these questions it is impossible to separate social welfare from international welfare, and I find we have to discover the means of organizing societies so as to enable the individual and the nation to find a place in the world, where above all else his self-respect can be retained. There must be the opportunity for peoples and nations to feel wanted, to be part of the community, or of the community of nations. Individuals and nations must have the opportunity to express themselves constructively either in their day-to-day work, or in their strivings to assist the well-being of the world as a whole. There must be freedom for individualism and this demands that peoples and nations are not only brought together, but also kept apart. Only by keeping them apart can cooperation flourish. This explains why so many idealistic communities have failed. They have not failed because their ideals of brotherhood and holding all things in common have been wrong. They have failed, I suggest, because people, being human, cannot help but have weaknesses which annoy others. Families, for instance, when they grow up and marry, need to leave home and bring up their children in their own way. To demand that they remain together is asking too much of human nature. On the other hand, this does not mean that they cannot cooperate where it is to their mutual advantage to do so.

This need to cooperate based on reverence for personality, provides us, I believe, with the key to a nonviolent authority based on natural forces. By the very fact of cooperating we bring into being certain agreed procedures with which all must comply for the common good. We are still far from knowing the form this cooperation should take, but there are many hopeful and interesting examples from which we can learn. There are more of these in agriculture than in industry, but even in an industrial country such as England, it is being discovered that from a purely economic point of view, it is important to create small units within the framework of overall planning. Such is the case with several large industrial firms

such as ICI, while the political parties are all discovering the need for regional planning. All agree on the need for a central cooperating authority, although apart from the Liberals they have not gone so far as to advocate reversing the source of power from the top, *i.e.* to give those whose work is involved the means of controlling their own destiny. But such examples, even in industry, can be found.

Examples in agriculture or in rural areas seem to be more common and there are cooperatives in many parts of the world. These are usually formed by a number of farmers agreeing to buy and sell through one organisation. Such cooperation in Denmark has been organized to embrace most of the economic life of the country. In Denmark each small cooperative joins with neighbouring cooperatives, when some particular need arises with which the small local cooperative by itself is unable to cope. This may involve the employment of an architect to advise on the design of buildings, or an advisory officer, or the establishment of experimental stations. Other forms of cooperation are to be found in many parts of the world, and it is noteworthy that not only do the cooperatives assist in high productivity (probably because of the personal direct interest in the work) but they are also the means for reconciling age-old disputes, as is the case in Ireland where Catholics and Protestants are sinking their differences for their mutual gain.

I have given the above illustrations because I believe it is only by following similar paths that the nations of the world can find an authority which is not tyrannical, but based on natural law as I have indicated, under which the self-respect of nations can be preserved. Authority must be accepted willingly and because it is based on justice.

Fortunately we already have many examples showing how this authority can be attained. In America, for instance, all the states cooperate under one government, yet each state retains much of its individuality. In Switzerland this idea seems to be even more pronounced, enabling many diverse and conflicting nationalities to live in peace. The Common Market extends this idea into a much larger bloc. But what

is needed is not the creation of several large power blocs, with the inevitable likelihood of conflict between them, but of one world cooperative from which would arise the creation of a new world order and authority. At present we have world anarchy and it is strange that those who decry anarchy most in their own country, often seem the most active in supporting anarchy in world affairs. In this nuclear age, nations will have to learn that they can no longer remain a law unto themselves.

In this situation, the United Nations is struggling. The path it is taking is dark and uncertain, and there seems little real understanding by the people of the world about where it is going. Yet if we follow the reasoning I have attempted, then it appears to be going along in a very hopeful direction. Already it is discovering that police action is best served with a minimum of violence and that its influence really depends on the respect with which it is earned through service. The U.N., of course, is very much in its infancy, but it is an infant which has got to grow quickly to meet the needs and demands of the twentieth century. This being so, it is of the utmost importance for us to understand its basis more fully and to influence it in the right manner whenever we can.

Considerable influence is already being used to encourage positive creative acts of international cooperation. People from all walks of life, for instance, cooperated in World Refugee Year, and next year there is the hope they will do so again by assisting the World Development Year. Governments are increasing their help to many parts of the world, often to prevent communism or capitalism spreading, and making bilateral agreements. Such aid is misdirected because, although it may help the purpose for which it is aimed, it will fail to promote the creation of the new world order. The present trend, however, is to appreciate this fact, and the U. N. Agencies do appear to be gaining more and more recognition.

It would be easy to say that the answer can be found quite simply by redirecting the resources away from armaments towards the strengthening of these U.N. Agencies, but as we know to our cost, the obvious is prevented by many factors.

The chief of these can be found in the fact that until confidence is established between nations, and there are other means available to prevent aggression, their peoples will feel they must continue to rely on their own physical defences. This dilemma can be well illustrated by the advice George Fox (the founder of Quakerism) gave to William Penn when he was asked what he should do with his sword. Instead of advising him to throw it away, he told him to keep it as long as he was able. In other words, until he had discovered a better way of solving disputes he would be advised to keep it. Similarly for the nations to disarm today without understanding an alternative way, instead of creating peace might even provoke war. Fortunately this better way is well within our grasp. The potentialities of the U.N. are very considerable and far beyond the imagination of us all. To enumerate them would be a long task and would require the assistance of many technical experts but we know enough to realize that such means of cooperation command all our support and resources. Once people learn to appreciate these potentialities and understand how they build the foundations for law and order between nations, we may hope that they will throw away their swords.

The above search for a nonviolent world authority has by its very nature involved discovering truth in many aspects, all leading to the creating of law based on natural forces.

I have compared war to disease and found that the problems which stimulate war, such as aggression, injustice and security, can be overcome without resort to violence.

This overcoming of the disease which makes for war demands new forces in the world, and I have attempted to show how these can be created through education, cooperation and service ; also by discovering a new structure within which power can be contained.

It is no longer sufficient for men of goodwill, only to help each other. It is vitally necessary to create a world in which there is law and order based on justice and freedom, and consequently our most urgent task is to learn how we can realize this aim, but in a nonviolent manner, based on discovering the forces of nature expressed by Gandhi as truth-force.

MEANS AND ENDS IN POLITICS

RAGHAVAN N. IYER

Most political and social thinkers have been concerned with the desirable (and even necessary) goals of a political system or with the common and competing ends that men actually desire, and then pragmatically considered the means that are available to rulers and citizens. Even those who have sought a single, general, and decisive criterion of decision-making have stated the ends and then been more concerned with the consequences of social and political acts than with consistently applying standards of intrinsic value. It has become almost a sacred dogma in our age of apathy that politics, centred on power and conflict and the quest for legitimacy and consensus, is essentially a study in expediency, a tortuous discovery of practical expedients that could reconcile contrary claims and secure a common if minimal goal or, at least, create the conditions in which different ends could be freely or collectively pursued. Liberal thinkers have sought to show that it is possible for each individual to be used as a means for another to achieve his ends without undue coercion and to his own distinct advantage. This occurs not by conscious cooperation or deliberately pursuing a common end but by each man pursuing diverse ends in accordance with the "law" of the natural identity of interests, a "law" that is justified if

not guaranteed in terms of metaphysical or economic or biological "truths". Authoritarian thinkers, on the other hand, justified coercion in the name of a pre-determined common end, the attainment of which cannot be left to the chaotic interplay of innumerable wills. The end may simply be the preservation of a traditional order, or the recovery of a bygone age of glory, or the ruthless reconstruction of society from the top to secure some spectacular consummation in the future.

It appears to be common to most schools of thought to accept a sharp dichotomy between ends and means, a distinction that is deeply embedded in our ethical and political and psychological vocabulary, rooted in rigid European pre-suppositions regarding the very nature of human action. Distinctions have been repeatedly made between immediate and ultimate, short-term and long-term, diverse and common, individual and social, essential and desirable ends, as also between attainable and utopian goals. Discussion about means has not ignored questions about their moral implications and propriety or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends or widely shared values. But despite all these reservations, the dangerous dogma that the end entirely justifies the means is merely an extreme version of the commonly uncriticised belief that moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends, or that the latter have a moral priority.

Gandhi seems to stand almost alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they rather than the ends provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptence of Satya and Ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship. In *Hind Swaraj* he wrote that even great men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes through the mistaken belief that there is no moral connection or interdependence between the means and the end. We cannot get a rose through planting a noxious weed. "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a

tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."[1]

It is not as though violence and nonviolence are merely different means to secure the same end. As they are morally different in quality and essence, they must necessarily achieve different results. The customary dichotomy between means and ends originates in, and reinforces, the view that they are two entirely different categories of action and that their relationship is mainly a technical matter to be settled by considering what will be effective and what is possible in a given situation, that the ethical problem of choice requires an initial decision regarding the desired end and the obligatory acceptance of whatever steps seem necessary to secure it or most likely to do so. Gandhi, however, was led by his metaphysical belief in the "law" of Karma—the "law" of ethical causation or moral retribution that links all the acts of interdependent individuals—to the view that the relationship between means and ends is organic, the moral quality of the latter being causally dependent upon that of the former. The psychology of human action in a morally indivisible community of apparently isolated units demands that the means-end relationship must be seen in terms of the consistent growth in moral awareness of individuals and communities and not in relation to the mechanical division of time into arbitrary and discrete intervals. If for Gandhi there was no "wall of separation" between means and end, this was because of his basic belief that in politics as in all spheres of human action we reap exactly what we sow.

Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship may be put in the form of the following statements, which overlap and yet express several distinct ideas : "For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life."[2] "We have always control over the means but not over the end."[3] "I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means."[4] "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end."[5]

The first statement rejects the notion that in our actual conduct we can make a firm and decisive distinction between means and ends. Gandhi's conception of the psychology of human action requires this rejection of a conventional conceptual habit which makes us ascribe to ourselves greater knowledge, and greater assurance, than we actually possess. The second statement asserts a contingent truth about the extent and the limit of our free will, that the individual's capacity to determine what he can do in any specific situation at any given time is much greater than his power of anticipation, prediction and control over the consequences of his actions. The third statement expresses the metaphysical belief in the moral law of Karma, under which there is an exact causal connection between the extent of the moral "purity" (detachment and distinterestedness or the degree of moral awareness) of an act and the measure of individual effectiveness in promoting or pursuing and securing a morally worthy end, over a period of time. Clearly, this metaphysical belief cannot be conclusively verified or falsified by evidence. The fourth statement is a practical recommendation that we must be primarily or even wholly concernd with the immediate adoption of what we regard as a morally worthy (*i.e.* intrinsically justifiable) means. This recommendation may be accepted by those who subscribe to the second statement and it is mandatory for those who share the metaphysical belief implicit in the third statement.

The closest approximation to Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship is that of Jacques Maritain, who regards the problem of End and Means as *the* basic problem in political philosophy. There are two opposite ways of understanding the "rationalization of political life". There is the easier way of "technical rationalization" through means external to man, *versus* the more exacting way of "moral rationalization" through means which are man himself, his freedom and virtue. It is a universal and inviolable axiom for Maritain, an obvious primary principle, that "means must be proportioned and appropriate to the end, since they are ways to the end and, so to speak, the end itself in its very process of coming into

existence. So that applying intrinsically evil means to attain an intrinsically good end is simply nonsense and a blunder."[6]

If Maritain and Gandhi have no use for the "easier way of technical rationalization" or for piecemeal "social engineering", this is not merely because of their rejection of an utilitarian in favour of an absolutist (or non-naturalistic) ethic, but also because of their daringly unorthodox repudiation of the so-called pragmatist view of politics and the dominant doctrine of "double standards" which requires a sharp separation between the moral considerations applicable to individual conduct and those (if any) regarded as relevant to political action.

Gandhi's view of the morally legitimate means to be exclusively employed in furthering political ends was deeply affected by the doctrine of dispassionate action in the *Gita*.[7] He was convinced that an intense concentration upon the task at hand can and must be combined with a degree of detachment, a freedom from anxiety about the future consequences. If we are sure of the "purity" of the means we employ, we shall be led on by faith, before which "all fear and trembling melt away".[8] Unconcern with results does not mean that we need not have a clear conception of the end in view. But while the cause has to be just and clear as well as the means,[9] it is even more important to recognise that "impure" means must result in an "impure" end,[10] that we cannot attain to any truth through untruthful means, that we cannot secure justice through unjust means, or freedom through tyrannical acts, or socialism through enmity and coercion, or enduring peace through war. The man who wields force does not scruple about the means and yet foolishly imagines that this will make no difference to the end he seeks. Gandhi explicitly rejected the doctrine that the end justifies the means,[11] and went so far as to assert that a moral means is almost an end in itself because virtue is its own reward.[12]

The doctrine that the end justifies the means goes back to Kautilya in India and to Machiavelli in the West, and is connected with the notions of self-preservation at all costs and of *raison d'etre* and in more recent times with the attain-

ment of a secular millenium through revolutionary action. The doctrine was implicit in *Killing No Murder*, Colonel Sexby's incitement to political assassination published in 1657. This once famous pamphlet argued that tyrants accomplish their ends much more by fraud than by force and that if they are not eliminated by force the citizens would be degraded into deceitful, perfidious flatterers. It is not only "lawful" and even glorious to kill a tyrant, but indeed "everything is lawful against him that is lawful against an open enemy, whom every private man hath a right to kill". It is no doubt possible to justify tyrannicide without going so far as to say that a worthy end legitimizes any and every means. The difficulty, however, is that few practitioners would admit to holding to this maxim in an unqualified and unconditional form.

It has been argued repeatedly that any means is legitimate that is indispensable at least for internal security or to defend society against its external enemies. The sole reason for restricting the choice of means is expediency rather than principle, prudence rather than (non-utilitarian) morality. It is taken for granted that cunning and force must unite in the exercise of power. Power may be justified as a means to a higher end but in the attempt to employ any and every means to secure and maintain power it becomes an end in itself. The idea that one is serving some higher entity which rises far above individual life and that one is no longer serving oneself makes one no less indifferent to the morality of the means employed than the open pursuit of naked self-interest. Alternatively, we have the straightforward Machiavellian notion that the individual agent cannot escape the nature he is born with, that as *fortuna* is malicious so *virtu* must also be malicious when there is no other way open. If *virtu* is the vital power in men which creates and maintains States, *necessita* is the causal pressure required to bring the sluggish masses into line with *virtu*. If there is a moral law, it must be flouted in the practice of politics and this infringement can be justified by the plea of unavoidable necessity. This line of reasoning is commoner than we like to think and is sometimes couched in such specious or emotive language that in moments of crisis many people

are hardly aware of the wider implications of a doctrine that they invoke for their special pleading in what seem to be exceptional situations. Hume thought that this doctrine was so widely practised that it is safer in politics to assume that men are scoundrels even if we do not believe that all men are knaves.

It is true that thinkers like Machiavelli and Bentham have been rather unfairly accused of actually holding that there is an end justifying *all* means to it. Bentham said only that happiness is the end justifying all means, which is more an empty than a pernicious doctrine. Again, Machiavelli never said that power justifies all means to it, but merely that the gaining of power often involves committing some very nasty crimes. A similar defence could also be made on behalf of Kautilya. The important point, however, is not the precise standpoints of Bentham, Machiavelli or Kautilya, but the dangerous uses to which their doctrines could be put. Just as Benthamites, Machiavellians and followers of Kautilya could be charged with ruthlessness (even more than their teachers), so too Gandhians also could be accused of coercive tactics ("non-violent" only in a very restricted sense) in the pursuit of worthy ends. But it would be much easier to challenge such Gandhians in terms of Gandhi's fundamental tenets than to appeal to the writings of Machiavelli or Bentham against diehard Machiavellians or Benthamite planners.

The doctrine that the end justifies the means does not even require any special justification for the Marxist who accepted no supra-historic morality, no categorical imperative, religious or secular. Engels declared in his letter to Herson Trier in 1889 that "any means that leads to the aim suits me as a revolutionary, whether it is the most violent or that which appears to be most peaceable". In his pamphlet on *Socialism and War* Lenin said that Marxists differed both from pacifists and anarchists in their belief that the justification of each war must be seen individually in relation to its historical role and its consequences. "There have been many wars in history which, notwithstanding all the horrors, cruelties, miseries and tortures, inevitably connected with every war, had a progres-

sive character, *i.e.* they served in the development of mankind, aiding in the destruction of extremely pernicious and reactionary institutions. . . . or helping to remove the most barbarous despotism in Europe." Whether an action is justifiable or not simply depends on what historical end it serves.

Unlike Engels and Lenin, Trotsky stressed what he called the dialectical interdependence of means and ends. He argued that the means chosen must be shown to be really likely to lead to the liberation of mankind. "Precisely from this it follows that not all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organisation, replacing it by worship of the leaders" (*Their Morals and Ours*). This is clearly an improvement on Lenin, for it at least provides a criterion by which a collectivist regime or revolutionary leaders could be criticised for pushing an exclusively utilitarian creed to extremes of practical ruthlessness in perpetuating a monopoly of power and privilege.

Although Trotsky denied that the end justifies any and every means, he still insisted that a means can be justified only by its end, which for him is the increase of the power of man over nature and the abolition of the power of man over man. For Gandhi, on the other hand, the end is Satya or truth, which requires no justification, and the means (Ahimsa or non-coercion) must be justified not merely with reference to the end but also in itself ; every act must be independently justified in terms of the twin absolutes, Satya and Ahimsa. It is, therefore, not permissible or possible to *justify* a single act of untruth or violence by appealing to the past or future possession of Satya and Ahimsa, though no man can wholly avoid a measure of Himsa or Asatya or claim to possess in their fullness absolute truth and absolute, universal love. Weakness and error are ubiquitous and inescapable, but their justification and rationalization make all the difference to our

personal and political integrity. We cannot condone our untruthfulness in the present on the ground that we shall be truthful tomorrow when we are stronger or conditions are more favourable. A violent revolution cannot lead (and, in any case, cannot be justified on the ground that it is expected to lead) to a nonviolent society in the fullness of time. Further, in Gandhi's view it is not sometimes, as Trotsky suggested, but *always* (under the moral law of Karma) that the end changes in character as a result of the means adopted in its attainment.

If the doctrine that the end justifies the means is invoked in the attainment of the good society through a single, violent revolution, it could also be made to justify repression in the aftermath of revolution.

In Abram Tertz's *The Trial Begins* we have the following dialogue between Rabinovich and Globov. Rabinovich holds that "every decent End consumes itself. You kill yourself trying to reach it and by the time you get there, it's been turned inside out. These Jesuits of yours made a miscalculation, they slipped up." Globov answers : "They were right. Every educated person knows that the end justifies the means. You can either believe it openly or secretly but you can't get anywhere without it. If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed. Isn't that so? And since all means are good, you must choose the most effective. Don't spare God himself in the name of God....And as soon as one End is done with, another bobs up on the stage of history."

Similarly, when Rubashov in *Darkness at Noon* points out that violence starts a chain of cumulative consequences, Ivanov replies that no battalion commander can stick to the principle that the individual is sacrosanct, that the world has permanently been in an abnormal state since the invention of the steam engine and that the principle that the end justifies the means remains the only rule of political ethics. It is ironical that while this doctrine is increasingly taken for granted by some Benthamite planners and Kautilyan diplomats in Gandhi's India, it has been openly questioned even in the most powerful society that has adopted Marxism as a State religion.

The Russian poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, has stated, in a remarkable article, that Stalin was forgiven much in his lifetime because Soviet citizens were led to think that his acts were necessary for some higher purpose. "They steadily impressed upon us that the end justified the means. A great pain gives birth to a great 'flow of energy', as Stalin once declared. But even as we lamented him, many of us recalled our kin and our friends who had perished in the prisons. Naturally, to lock up such an enormous number of people required a truly prodigious amount of 'energy'. But people did not ponder on the fact that the aim itself may cease to be great, if one strives after it only with great energy and without paying much attention to the means. We realised that the means must be worthy of the end. This is an axiom, but an axiom that has been proved through much suffering."

Gandhi's way of combating the doctrine that the end justifies the means was by asserting not merely that unworthy means could belittle a great end but also that evil means can never, as a matter of fact, lead to good ends. Like the majority of Russian Populists, Gandhi was horrified by the advocacy of Machiavellian tactics and he thought that no end, however good, could fail to be destroyed by the adoption of monstrous means. His reason for believing this to be wholly and always true was his metaphysical conviction that the whole world is governed by the Law of Karma, that there is a moral order (Rita) at the heart of the cosmos. Those who do not share this conviction, which is common to all the great religions and is especially prevalent in peasant societies, may well think that a lesser evil could lead to a greater good. This latter belief, which is no less non-empirical than the former, is taken for granted by many contemporary intellectuals, power-holders, leaders of organizations and evangelists (whether theological teleologists or secular historicists). It is hardly surprising that Gandhi, who even earlier than Benda recognised the betrayal of and alienation from the masses of narrowly based classes of intellectuals and power-seekers, appealed over their heads to the toiling masses to find recruits willing to dedicate themselves to the Constructive Programme

and the development of a new social and political ethic.

Gandhi did more than base his view of ends and means on a metaphysical faith in the moral law or his account of the necessary as well as contingent connection between Satya and Ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, tolerance and civility. He also rejected the moral model underlying the sharp dichotomy between ends and means. Moral life was not for Gandhi mainly a matter of achieving specific objectives, nor was politics like a field game in which a concrete objective is given in advance and known to all. No doubt, he regarded Satya as the supreme common end for all men but its content cannot be known in advance. For Gandhi, as for the ancient Greeks, Satya refers to the highest human activity rather than an imposed and pre-determined target. He evolved his political and social ethic in terms of a theory of action under which all our thinking and activity can be corrected and justified only by reference to Satya and Ahimsa, which are good in themselves and not merely the means to a higher good. It is only for the sake of these goods—in order that as much of them as possible may at some time exist—that anyone can be justified in undertaking any social or political activity. They are the *raison d'etre* of virtue and excellence, the ultimate test of human endeavour, the sole criterion of social progress.

In stating that Gandhi rejected the sharp dichotomy between ends and means, it is obviously not suggested that the distinction is entirely false and useless. Surely, everyone (including Gandhi) would agree that it is often possible to distinguish between ends and means, and also useful to do so. The distinction is most easily made when we are considering some particular purpose that a man might have in mind before embarking on a specific action. But if, like Bentham, we say that what a man wants is to get or to maximise "happiness" then it becomes much more difficult to make a clear distinction between the end (the greatest happiness) and all the various things said to be means to it. For a man's conception of happiness depends largely upon his desiring the things said to be means to it. It happens to be true that the things usually

held up as supreme ends of human endeavour (happiness, freedom, welfare, etc.) are empty notions, apart from the things said to be means to them. We must distinguish between men's goals and their principles, the rules they accept. Sometimes, of course, their goal is to inculcate a principle or to observe it themselves or to get others to do so, but they have many other goals. But it seems to be more realistic to think of men as having a variety of goals, some of which matter more than others, than to think of them as having a supreme goal to which all others are subordinate, either as means to it or being willingly sacrificed whenever they conflict with it. The distinction between ends and means becomes misleading and dangerous when we dogmatize that there is a single supreme good or even a fixed hierarchy of goodness.

Gandhi did not lay down the law for all men or impose on nature a rigid, teleological pattern of his own. He merely argued from the proposition that all men have some idea of truth (Satya) but no adequate conception of Absolute Truth (Sat) to the prescription that society should regard the pursuit of Satya as a common end. He further pointed out that in seeking the truth, we cannot help being true to our "real" natures (identical with that of all others) and this means exemplifying a measure of nonviolence in our attitudes and relations towards others. It is possible (though questionable) for people to argue that the unhappiness of some is required to maximize collective happiness, that individual citizens have to be coerced for the sake of general freedom, that the maintenance of public virtue sometimes requires subjects to choose (or support) privately corrupt but efficient and outwardly respectable rulers. It would, however, be difficult to contend that the collective pursuit of truth is compatible with the adoption of dishonest devices or the condoning of untruth. This could be advanced if a pre-ordained, collectivist conception of truth is imposed on the members of a society. A dogmatic ideology may be propagated by dishonest and ruthless methods.

Gandhi explicitly believed that no person or group could speak in the name of Sat or Absolute Truth for the very reason

that all are entitled to their relative truths, to Satya as it appears to different people. As truth in this conception is identical with integrity (fidelity to one's own conscience), Gandhi could claim that no man can pursue greater integrity as an end by adopting means involving a sacrifice of the integrity he already has. The test of one's immediate moral integrity is nonviolence, it is a test of one's genuineness in the pursuit of truth (*i.e.* of intellectual integrity) through one's actions in the midst of society. If we understand the concept of Satya and accept its pursuit as a common end, we cannot make a hard-and-fast distinction between this end and the means towards it that we employ. On the other hand, it is particularly if we regard the promotion of happiness as the whole duty of man that we become careless about the means and violate the "laws of morality". "The consequences of this line of thinking are writ large on the history of Europe", said Gandhi in his introduction to his paraphrase of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. For Gandhi the *polis* is nothing more or less than the domain in which all men are free to gain skill in the art of action and learn how to exemplify Satya and Ahimsa; the arena in which both the individual quest could be furthered and the social virtues displayed among the masses of citizens in a climate of tolerance and civility; a morally progressive society in which neither the State nor any social organization is allowed to flout with impunity the sacred principle that every man is entitled to his relative truth and no one can claim the right to coerce another, to treat him as a means to his own end.

1. *Hind Swaraj*, p. 115
2. *Young India*, December 1924.
3. D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Volume 5 (1st edition), p. 366.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
5. *Harijan*, February 1937.
6. *Man and the State*, p. 55.
7. See Edwyn Bevan's comparison between the *Gita* and Stoicism in

Stoics and Sceptics.

8. *Harijan*, February 1937.
9. D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Volume 7, p. 204.
10. *Harijan*, July 1947.
11. D. G. Tendulkar, *Ibid*, p. 254.
12. Letter to Carl Heath, January 1941.

A GANDHIAN MODEL FOR WORLD POLITICS

PAUL F. POWER

Many interpreters of Gandhi's life and thought agree that he combined two aspects, the prophetic and the strategic. There is less agreement as to which of these currents prevailed in the career and ideas of a leader of the modern age, although a variety of commentators have decided that he both witnessed and struggled in rare and great ways. Without attempting to suggest whether Gandhi was more teacher or strategist, I will restrict myself in this essay to some observations about how both characteristics contribute to a Gandhian model for world politics. I have chosen international politics as a frame of reference because I believe the extranational lessons of free India's principal architect have been understated owing to his immediate and much publicized impact on the history of the subcontinent. My undertaking begins with a summary of key essentials of Gandhi's teachings as they seem to bear on world affairs. The operation of a Gandhian strategy in international politics will then be explained, followed by an assessment of the significance and utility of the model as it appears in today's interstate milieu.

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At least as early as 1906 Gandhi exhibited the quest for

truth which in his lifetime manifested itself in concerns from vegetarianism to Brahmacharya, with the central point the commitment to an activist search for proximate certainty, hinged on a confidence in a ground of being or God. Gandhi did not expect to find certainty in a temporal sense. Instead he left a theological realm that transcends human affairs to define unchanging truth. Numerous commentators from E. Stanley Jones to Dhirendra Mohan Datta have explored the importance of this realm which is clarified with the help of Paul Tillich's thought. At least there is wider audience today for Gandhi's "theism" when it is understood as the well of being rather than as a personal divinity who guides history. Gandhi prepared the way for this reinterpretation by his Truth-God which shocked the orthodox in the 1920s but is itself too narrow for many today.

There is less difficulty in finding assent to Gandhi's call for courageous, selfless action as the rule of life, and to Ahimsa. I understand Ahimsa as the optimum, functional good on the way to ultimate truth, and not as an unconditionally binding law of nonviolence on social and political affairs. Here there is a division among the interpreters, the bulk of them insisting, as I do not, that the prophet laid down an ethic of absolutist pacifism. Obviously this discussion has far-reaching implications for a Gandhian model for world politics. To elaborate on my understanding is not possible in this space. I can only state in an inadequate fashion that I find Gandhi's political thought to say that the superordinate requirements of national interest may require the adherent of a Gandhian approach to condone violence without recommending it. This view is not necessarily escapist casuistry, although it may have been in certain phases of the Gandhian movement before and after Indian freedom. For loyalty to the nation, although it is not the good, is a considerable good in the Gandhian hierarchy of values. It is above familial, class and regional loyalties, as proven in decisions which Gandhi made himself. The Gandhian model is clearly a nationalist model, a point not overturned by arguments that the object of the Indian leader's loyalty was and is something less than an integrated, national

society. The saving quality of this nationalism is not in its juridical nature which is underdeveloped and not even in its domestic social values, beneficial as they are in raising depressed segments and moderating intergroup struggle, but in the political ethics of nationalism. For Gandhi insisted that loyalty should be organized in keeping with the rule of selfless action, the merits of Ahimsa and a coordinate national state. Writing about the relations between the village and higher authorities, Gandhi once said that "there will be ever-widening never ascending circles . . . at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units. Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle, but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it."[1] The idealized nation of Gandhi's thought is organized for protection of constituent units and their citizens, a negative achievement at the cost of total effectiveness, but worthy in a Lockean perspective. The division of power and the ethical obligations of the "outermost circumference", *i.e.*, the central government, suggests that any Gandhian nation would not commit internal aggression. Gandhi's reluctance to industrialize further suggests that a national state established on his preferences would not have the military capability to do more than to provide for its own territorial integrity. His self-sufficiency notions and call for noninjury may imply that this minimum defence would be difficult to achieve for the country producing few modern arms and reluctant to use them because of normative inhibitions.

Externally, Gandhi's teachings suggest interstate relationships based on domestic values and institutions. The international community of a Gandhian type rests on the internal nature of Gandhian politics. Social harmony is basic to this nature. The unity and agreement of social classes in their "true" needs and aspirations, and the denial of the inevitability of class warfare are important elements of the harmony. In his letter of 12 May 1936 to Nehru, reprinted in the late Prime Minister's *A Bunch of Old Letters*, Gandhi indicated some of his

thoughts on the symmetry of classes and how he disagreed with Nehru's Marxian analysis. Aware and critical of exploitation, Gandhi had confidence that appeals to stewardship and an inherent charity would bring about a redistribution of wealth without calling in the power of the state. Despite his opposition to many institutional devices to solve or moderate social ills through the power of the state, it is reasonably clear that he consented sufficiently to the use of governmental power for these purposes to say that his lesson is to reform without increasing tensions and antagonism. The work of Rabindra Nath Bose and V.B.Kher on Gandhian ideas and practices in industrial relations indicates the details of the social and economic reforms. By projection into international affairs, they deny the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the relations of states are the conflicts of classes, subject to the law of inevitable struggle. In its place he offered a genuine doctrine of peaceful coexistence whereby classes are the phantoms of social life and real interests are identifiable in everyman's being without regard to stratification according to education, income, tasks or other differentiations. There is a Gandhian theme in today's Arab and African "socialism" that rules out class warfare and stresses unity. The Gandhian tradition prescribes relationships which are established on the grounds of Ahimsa and works against existing or proposed relationships that alienate, oppose or conflict. None the less reform is sought, not the preservation of inequities, a subject I will return to in the discussion of operational questions.

If the clash of interests said to flow from class memberships is not part of a Gandhian model for world affairs, what of the collision of sovereignties ? Considered as power or force that must rest on violence, sovereignty does not seem to be compatible with Gandhi's ethical thought. Yet the "India of His Dreams", nonviolent as it would be, is not stateless ; there is a sovereignty in the meaning of authority which directs the national community through consent to legitimate power. Gandhian states possess this kind of sovereignty which emerges from within national societies to give them identity, substance and purpose. In their dealings

these states would tend to avoid creation of an inter-sovereign system, including military alliances and international organizations. Rather they would emphasize right conduct with fellow Gandhian states and also with those political entities, sovereign in the traditional way, that hopefully will reorganize their internal life to become Gandhian. The absence among the Gandhian states of conventional international organization will facilitate the growth of the number of units in the fellowship. The United Nations, for all of its virtues, is no help to creating, maintaining or enlarging the number of Gandhian states. The United Nations was established with few Gandhian principles which argue against its stateness, non-observance of Swadeshi, and attraction to exclusivist ideologies.

A resume of the prophetic side of the Gandhian paradigm could not fail to mention the pervading atmosphere of comity. Self-reliance in domestic matters does not mean self-help in interstate relations. Independent action is not prohibited, but Dharmic responsibilities exclude military or economic expansionism and any drive for power and goods at the expense of others. Foreign policies are shaped by national interest but these are always subject to values that minimize the impact on policy of capability in the usual power terms. Although Gandhian ethics do not explain away the uneven distribution of power, they propose that the gradations ought not to weigh most in the calculations of how interstate behaviour should take place.

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The strategic and tactical operation of Gandhian prescriptions might first be discussed with reference to the dynamics of sacrifice and struggle. The origins of the first go deep into the Indian and Western sources of Gandhi's thought and of the second into his South African phase when he developed Satyagraha from diverse materials. To sacrifice in one's own being is to cooperate with truth, and to cooperate is to endure sacrifice, including loss of life if necessary to uphold truth. Adjustments are permissible and perhaps obligatory

in both processes. Reconciliation of opposing forces may or may not take place in these processes. There is an assumption that the opponent is redeemable, whoever he may be. Gandhi's open letter to Hitler in July 1939 illustrated this conviction. Negotiations between states are thereby implicitly supported in many situations and there is a call for the adjustment of adjustable things. But there are truthful things to be struggled for that do not permit of adjustment, but must be obtained or, if not, no compromise can be made about them. Joan V. Bondurant and other writers on the Gandhian contribution have done much to show the resolving power of Satyagraha in conflict situations. I would only stress that nonresolvable matters are integral to the Gandhian strategy which sometimes runs the risk of becoming unbending in demanding that certain positions or objectives are not subject to negotiation. Gandhi would have agreed with Adam Smith about man's basic propensity to barter and trade, but there are other fundamentals that require determination and perhaps rigidity unaffected by the solvent of the usual types of bargaining. Reconciliation in the Gandhian direction, yes, but not in the sector of fixed values. It is difficult to believe that Gandhi bargained for temple-entry, although he did for the release of imprisoned followers. In world affairs, the Gandhian strategy is not likely to permit negotiations about the remnants of imperialism and nuclear deterrence, although it might about racial segregation. The sacrificial characteristic will appear whenever there is no room for bargaining. During moments of permissible bargaining, active engagement of the parties is required, together with frank, advance disclosure of intentions by the Gandhians and their willingness to settle for less than their demands. Within the bargaining process there is a sense of timing that is concerned with what pacific technique can be employed to the best advantage, but more importantly with an awareness as to when either positive results are imminent and a change in tactics is indicated or the frontier between negotiable issues and those which are not is approaching. Throughout means remain means and not ends-in-the-making. The Gandhian view of ends and means

is traditional in that he saw them as discrete things. Granting the "purity of means" idea to be true for the Gandhian strategy, I find reason to believe that he kept a distinction between ends and means that the Huxley and Dewey schools may have overlooked. For interstate conduct this implies that Gandhian states will differentiate between their techniques with which they seek to advance their principles and the norms themselves. There should be no confusion leading, for example, to negotiations for their own sake, as in certain phases of the Macmillan approach to summit meetings. There are times when it is necessary to fast in diplomatic silence. As to struggle which is not part of bargaining, the Gandhian tradition suggests some irrelevant lessons and some that may be valuable. About the Indian leader's recommendation of nonviolent direct action between states in World War II, there was wisdom in Jawaharlal Nehru's comment in the Lok Sabha on 26 July 1955, that "no government will or can perform Satyagraha". Although the Indian government subsequently condoned private force to try a nonviolent invasion of Goa, it may be well to note that the attempt and tragic results were "a travesty" of Gandhian principles according to Pyarelal. The Goan issue was resolved finally, of course, through traditional violence, much to the dismay of Western critics. But the West should remember that Delhi used restraint of a high order for many years, even if the 1961 takeover of Portuguese India raised some questions about consistency in statements of the Prime Minister. As to other proposals for nonviolent action against a state, there is the instance of Bertrand Russell's call for neutralist ships to enter the Christimas Island testing site. However judged, these proposals, many of them involving private citizens, seem clearly in keeping with Gandhian ideas.

More relevant in my analysis is the contribution of the Gandhian strategy to socializing dissent. This is hardly an historic innovation, but it is a significant development. For the Gandhian strategy progresses through group action and responsibility. There is no place for a Thoreau, no matter how important the need to have atomic convictions

about injustice and individual acts of disobedience. Socialized dissent, as the American people have learned in the Negro Revolt, and the United Kingdom in the demonstrations of nuclear pacifism, is considerably more dramatic than isolated convictions and acts of disobedience in the name of justice. But is it effective in reaching goals? Dissent of this kind may be counterproductive. It has become so in the civil rights activities of the United States. Actually there has been doubt for some time about the extent of Gandhian belief outside of elite pacifists like Martin Luther King, Jr. and N. Bayard Rustin. Effective or not, socialized protest of the Gandhian type is potentially an international device to pressure governments for interstate reasons as well as for what may seem to be domestic issues. The general strike tradition proved to be a failure. The Gandhian strike, bypassing courts and legislatures, is a tool for bringing about changes in foreign policies through the withdrawal of services, the interruption of communications and similar actions. To take only one example, it is not improbable to foresee an American Negro protest on behalf of Africans in South Africa. That there are serious impediments to the emergence of these interstate protests is equally clear. Protest is often culture-bound, leading to a circumscribed vision that would keep "wrongs" below the horizon of the dissenters. The grievance to arouse is probably local, otherwise it may go unheeded by those who are not directly affected. None the less international race consciousness may prove to have the psychological bonds to overcome these limitations.

Satyagraha resistance against totalitarianism has received the endorsement of several Gandhians and there are signs that there is increased interest in this use among students of nonviolent action. I would hold that the human costs are too high to justify this use. Without reviewing the debates about this employment, other than to mention that the "nature of the enemy" approach is central to many of them, it might be valuable to suggest that a related field is that of civil disobedience and civil resistance. In this area there is the possible utility of Gandhian type resistance in post-nuclear-strike

circumstances when the opponent tries to occupy the "defeated" nation. This resistance must be distinguished from guerrilla struggle, passive resistance, and monastic-type disengagement. Discussion of resistance cadres for use after a nuclear attack and the landing of the attackers has usually focussed on paramilitary forces that are not Gandhian. On the other hand, true believers have tended to avoid discussion of Satyagraha after the evil deed. There is an opportunity to consider two "unthinkables" that are infrequently joined, nuclear conflict and Satyagraha resistance. At a minimum the Gandhian tradition recommends a study of these two by policy makers, however sceptical they may be about political effectiveness, sufficiency of morale and other problems.

A final comment on the socialization of dissent is that it implies the collaboration of Gandhian states when they differ with other sovereignties. Alliances would seem inconsistent with the ideals of the model, but they would support cooperation for mutual principles and interests of the Indo-American type. In the prosecution of their differences with other states the Gandhian nations would have mutual obligations, the chief one being to keep the struggle Ahimsatic so that the ethical costs of "winning" or "losing" are less than the costs in conventional struggle using coercion or violence.

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It is no easy task to consider the relevance of the Gandhian prescriptions and strategy for the contemporary world. But if one accepts R.R. Diwakar's teaching that Satyagraha made Mahatma Gandhi, and not the reverse, and that it would outlive him, the Gandhian model offers norms and techniques for our age. Among the general contributions is a nationalism of universal rules, no small achievement in a time when nationalism, especially in the new states, suggests that the defects of former norms justify the creation of another set of parochial standards for domestic and external behaviour. For example, the play-off game of the uncommitted with the superpowers is non-Gandhian however understandable it may be in terms of economic and military weakness.

Both large and small powers can benefit from the Gandhian lesson that correct relationships avoid violence and militarism, and passivity and appeasement. Concretely, the arms control field is a zone where Western pacifism, which Gandhi criticized for its simplicity and either-or characteristics, might benefit through a re-examination of unilateralism and the exact geometry of nuclear deterrence and peace-keeping. Doubtless the Gandhian model is without this deterrence, but it also suggests how those with a problem can gradually extricate themselves from an awesome burden without sacrificing honour. The current phase of "mutual example" in American-Soviet efforts to achieve at least surface progress towards disarmament is in the Gandhian tradition, although concepts of psychological bargaining are involved that pay scant attention to Gandhian trust in the opponent.

Scepticism about the model is warranted in several areas. For the complex problems of reducing the defence segment of the American economy, the Gandhian norms and methods have little relevance. The record on transferring nonviolent resistance, even if limited to the Western imperialism the Indian leader did so much to destroy, is discouraging in view of the recent history of Algerian nationalism, British Guiana, Central and Southern Africa, and Southeast Asia. The exceptions have tended to be individuals rather than movements—Chief John Luthuli is an outstanding case. The responsibility for the meagre results can be placed with the un-British Dutch, French, and Portuguese imperialists, turning aside from Gandhi's thesis that Satyagraha does not depend on English scruples. Satyagraha did transfer, apart from imperialism, to the English-speaking democracies to fortify prior traditions of direct action in the new quests for peace and equality. It has also persisted, as Minoo Adenwalla has observed critically, as a disturbing factor in India to feed discontent and challenge a national regime. For all its high norms the Gandhian tactic of disobedience may have weakened the better institutions of the world, *i. e.*, those which are more rather than less democratic. Satyagraha may have caught hold where the need has not been critical.

There is also the question whether the Gandhian strategy really avoids inflicting psychic, social or political damage on the adversary, an important and vexing issue I can only raise in this essay. At a minimum there seems to be a problem of unintended results that are not consistent with Gandhian ethics when the struggle over the non-negotiable values or objectives inflicts harm on the opponent. Although individuals and political parties may become Gandhian, states may have to adopt a modified policy that admits that the ethical costs of world politics are likely to exceed those of internal affairs.

To return to the positive side, the Gandhian model implies the placement of particular values above the rituals of law, the restoration of obligation and sacrifice as effective concepts, and the elevation of self-reliance from an individual to a collective norm. The contributions to peaceful change, anti-imperialism and social justice require no special mention other than to cite them as elements of continuing worth.

Karl Jaspers has commented that the Gandhian way creates a suprapolitics, summed up in the renunciation of violence but not of politics itself. Although he admires this ability to do both, Jaspers does not believe that the contents and methods of Gandhian politics are transferable and exemplary. I have expressed doubts about the first question. Yet I would argue that another view is tenable. For the Gandhian model, despite difficulties of transference that cannot be dissolved with hope, offers an international society of autocephalous units that does not require a world culture to transmit the Gandhian outlook and methods. They arise from the impact on national institutions of a certain prophecy. This prophecy is exemplary because it closes the distance between civic health and private charity, and in the world community, lessens instabilities through encouragement of self-development under moral restraints.

The Gandhian model is further distinguished by its liberating message of good news. This is not a message of unilinear progress, but it does break through cyclical theories of history known to the West as well as the East. For all of his Hinduism

Gandhi represented a departure from any tradition which accepts recurrent patterns of life and thought. He proclaimed a freedom and power of man to refashion destiny and to move, however painfully, out of fatalism and into a time of self-determination in individual and collective affairs.

1. *Harijan*, 28 July 1946.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Ever since the dawn of Independence, India has made rapid economic progress in various sectors of national development through the Five Year Plans. She was the first country which launched upon the bold experiment of comprehensive economic planning under a democratic structure, and the experience gained so far has been quite assuring. India's democratic planning has now become a model for most of the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa. Despite several deficiencies and shortcomings, we have every reason to be proud of our progress on different fronts. During the last decade we have been able to increase our total national income by 42 per cent, our agricultural production by 40 per cent, and our industrial development by about 100 per cent. This is, surely, no mean achievement for an underdeveloped country like ours.

It is quite obvious, however, that while planning for the future, merely thinking in terms of a higher rate of economic growth will not serve the purpose. If we have to sustain the faith of the Indian people in the efficacy of planned economic development under democracy, we must be able to ensure minimum levels of income to all citizens by the end of the fifth Five Year Plan. It is true that in order to provide

minimum levels of living to the masses it would be necessary to increase the rate of annual growth to about 7 per cent. But even with this rate of annual growth it would not be possible to provide reasonable standards of food, clothing, housing, education and health to the last two deciles of the population even till 1975-76. Although we have been talking quite loudly about the establishment of a Socialist society in India, the fact remains that the Indian economy continues to be, by and large, capitalistic, and several radical and even unorthodox measures will have to be adopted with a sense of urgency in order to convert the existing structure into an egalitarian economy in the real sense of the term. This would necessitate several *structural* and institutional changes in the patterns of production, consumption and distribution. The theory of "percolation" of national wealth to the poorer sections cannot deliver the goods. Several programs for extending *direct* financial assistance to the weaker segments of the population will have to be formulated and strengthened.

Recent studies have revealed that even in an affluent society like that of the United States of America there is shocking poverty in the midst of plenty. Professor Gunnar Myrdal, in one of his recent publications, has pointed out how one-fifth of the American people have been officially recognized as living in poverty and an equal number as being far removed from the American concept of abundance. "For a large minority, the affluent society is nothing but a myth."[1] President Johnson, in a statement issued on 28 January this year, disclosed that the welfare of 6.3 million Americans is hurt by joblessness among the wage-earners in families. He also stated that 11.5 million children under 18 were members of families below the "poverty line".[2] It is, therefore, evident that India cannot afford to follow the strategy of augmenting the total national wealth without ensuring minimum living standards to the poorest sections of the people, both in rural as well as urban areas. This would need a structural change in our strategy of planning in agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, construction and fiscal measures.

The Basic Strategy

While considering certain radical changes in our economy, adequate care will have to be taken to ensure that these measures do not impede higher production and efficiency. On the contrary, every effrot should be made to employ techniques of production which would raise the total national wealth both in agriculture and industry to a higher level. Fancy or doctrinaire schemes which would hamper productive efficiency should not be encouraged. Nevertheless, it would be essential to provide minimum leavels of living to all citizens by increasing employment opportunities of various kinds. Our basic strategy, therefore, should be to carefully balance the twin requirements of higher production and full employment. The American pattern of economic development based on automation which leads to affluence at the cost of large-scale unemployment will not do. At the same time, the use of out-moded technology for providing a low level of employment and production will also not serve the objective. Instead of thinking merely in terms of "*mechanical efficiency*", we should now plan in terms of "*economic efficiency*". Intensive research will be required for evolving a middle or "*intermediate technology*" to suit the economic conditions in an underdeveloped country like India. In some cases, this could be achieved by the "miniaturization" of existing technology in the form of power-driven small-scale units organized on a cooperative basis.

Agriculture

In order to meet the food requirements of the growing population and to supply sufficient raw material to important consumer industries, it would be essential to plan in terms of at least a 5 per cent rate of annual increase in agricultural production over the next 10 years. Every nerve will have to be strained to achieve these targets by making adequate financial as well as organizational arrangements. A massive program for minor and medium irrigation projects, which could

yield benefits in a short period, will have to be undertaken by the State Governments after careful technical surveys of different regions. Wherever irrigation facilities are not possible, programs of soil conservation and dry farming must be organized on a very extensive scale.

Next to irrigation and soil conservation programs, the use of chemical and organic manures on a very wide scale would be necessary. In addition to arranging many demonstration plots for proving the efficacy of these fertilizers, a chain of soil-testing laboratories will have to be organized for the guidance of the farmers. The use of organic and green manures must be popularized with greater seriousness.

With a view to assisting the large number of small farmers possessing marginal and sub-marginal plots of land, it is imperative to involve them in a cooperative process in a more practical way. It must be conceded that the present system of cooperative farming has not been able to influence the pattern of agricultural production on an impressive scale. It would, therefore, be necessary to evolve *a simpler method of joint farming* in which the small farmers carve out a plot of land for cultivation by removing the boundaries and yet retaining their proprietary rights over individual holdings. They could organize common services like ploughing or tractorization, irrigation, purchase of essential supplies of seed, fertilizers, insecticides and implements, and marketing, on a cooperative basis. Having paid for these common services, every farmer would be entitled to reap the benefits of the crops on his own plot without undergoing a further exercise in complicated accounting. I had the opportunity of studying this method of joint cultivation in the U.A.R. two years ago, and I think we could evolve a simpler method of cooperative farming on similar lines. In addition, the program for consolidation of fragmented holdings should be pursued with greater vigour and urgency.

Animal Husbandry and Dairying

Stress should be laid on the need for strengthening Animal

Husbandry and Dairying programs as an integral part of agricultural development. Efforts will have to be made to develop those breeds of cattle in different regions which would be suitable both for larger milk production as well as for draught purposes. In India we cannot afford to have two sets of animals, one for yielding milk and the other for cultivation. Milk should be collected in the rural areas through producers' cooperatives and distributed to the cities and towns through consumers' cooperatives. Marketability of milk at reasonable prices would enable the farmers to feed their quality cattle. In order to encourage dual-purpose breeds of cattle, dairy projects should offer the same price for both cow's and buffalo's milk. This basic policy should be continued in the Fourth and the Fifth Plans on a long-term basis.

With a large number of marginal holdings in the countryside, the scope of mechanization in Indian agriculture for many years to come could be only selective. While small tractors and power-tillers should be available to comparatively prosperous farmers in adequate numbers, the fact remains that bullock-driven improved implements will continue to play an important role in our farming. Moreover, the basic problem in our economy is not how to save human labour but how to utilize the unemployed manpower in the villages. The Third Plan, therefore, emphasized the necessity of improving the existing bullock-driven implements and arranging for their fabrication and distribution on an extensive scale. Furthermore, "a good team of bullocks requires no spare parts or gasoline, rarely gets out of order and produces manure bountifully"[3].

A more rewarding approach to Indian agriculture would be, to use the late John Strachey's phrase, "*chemical* rather than *mechanical*"[4]. We must use more of fertilizers, both chemical as well as organic, and employ plant protection insecticides extensively even through legislative compulsion.

The Planning Commission has suggested that the prototype of a medium-sized milk plant costing about Rs. 100,000 should be fabricated for being set up as a small-scale industry in the countryside. The plant should consist mainly of a

chilling apparatus which would enable milk collected in the rural areas to be stored and transported to the cities. Efforts should be made to manufacture such small-scale dairy equipment within the country even before the end of the Third Plan period so that in our scheme of rural industrialization hundreds of such "baby" dairies could be set up all over India during the next five or seven years. This would not only encourage the production of milk but also provide sizable employment to landless labour in the villages.

Land Reforms

Agricultural production can be augmented not merely by ensuring essential supplies to the farmers but also by the improvement of their morale and enthusiasm through progressive land reforms. Unless the tillers are made the actual owners of the land they cultivate, it would be idle to expect visible changes in their psychology. It is, surely, a matter for regret that even though most of the State Governments have enacted the necessary land legislation, its actual implementation has been slow and halting. The National Development Council has now set up a Sub-Committee for reviewing the progress of land reforms and speeding up their implementation.

One of the main technical difficulties in this sphere has been the paucity of reliable records of the rights of tenants and sub-tenants. These records will have to be brought up-to-date without any further delay. It should, however, be recognized that it is not so much the absence of proper legislation or land records as the lack of *will* to carry out agrarian reforms which is really the problem. It has been argued repeatedly that before imposing ceilings on land in the rural areas, the Government should restrict urban incomes also. There is, doubtless, considerable force in this argument. But the solution lies not in hampering the implementation of agrarian reforms in the countryside but in taking effective measures for scaling down personal riches in the urban sector as well.

Community Development

The Community Development Organization must now serve as an effective extension agency for improved agricultural methods and should impart the necessary training to our farmers in an intensive manner. It has also been decided to enlist the active cooperation of the progressive farmers in each area. The Gramsevaks have been entrusted with the sole responsibility of augmenting agricultural production in their circles.

Experience has shown that the Block staff, after working a few years in the field, gets stagnant and, therefore, needs *periodical refresher courses* for obtaining up-to-date knowledge in their respective spheres. Both at the centre and in the States, arrangements must be made to organize these refresher training courses on an adequate scale.

Cooperation

In addition to the simpler method of cooperative farming indicated above, it is very necessary to extend cooperative methods to processing and marketing of agricultural produce in the rural areas. At present, processing industries like rice-milling, oil extraction and Gur and Khandsari manufacture are mostly in private hands. Further, in the absence of efficient cooperative marketing the middlemen are able to exploit both the farmers and the consumers. The State Governments, therefore, should encourage *cooperative marketing* and *cooperative processing* in an organized way as a matter of basic policy. Wherever the cooperative movement is still weak, the Governments could encourage the new Panchayati Raj institutions to set up small-scale processing industries to obtain surpluses for other developmental schemes in their areas. The Orissa Government has already established a number of Panchayati industries, and this experiment could be tried in the other States as well. The cooperative marketing societies should be given priority even in the sphere of inter-State trade in commodities which are subject to con-

trolled movements from State to State.

Besides agriculture, the cooperative movement should be allowed a much more important role in the sphere of small industries, construction and housing, trade and commerce, transport, dairying and fisheries. There is no manner of doubt that the socialist pattern in India must assign a crucial role to the cooperative movement in as many spheres of national activity as possible. While the public sector in the sphere of basic and heavy industries would continue to expand both relatively and absolutely, the existing private sector should be gradually replaced by the decentralized cooperative sector particularly in the domain of a large number of consumer goods industries spread out in the rural areas.

In short, the cooperative sector must take charge of the *surplus-generating points* in agricultural, marketing and processing industries so that the surpluses which are at present being mopped up by the middlemen and the traders could be utilized for further investment in community enterprises.

Panchayati Raj

While the Panchayati Raj institutions are playing an important part in rural reconstruction in different States, it must be admitted that these bodies have not yet been able to safeguard the vital interests of weaker sections of the population. Owing to the prevailing system of elections on party lines, groups on the basis of sects or castes are being formed in the villages leading to considerable bitterness and conflict. Adequate attention is also not being paid by the Panchayat institutions to the programs of agricultural production.

The *Gramdan movement*, sponsored by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, seeks to remove various shortcomings of the Panchayati Raj institutions by strengthening the forces of community action, self-help, mutual aid and sharing of wealth. In the Gramdan villages a majority of land-holders surrender their proprietary rights to the *Gramsabha* and donate a portion of their lands for the landless workers. They also contribute a

percentage of their produce to the welfare funds of the village community for taking care of various social security schemes, including the provision of employment through the establishment of rural industries. Gramsabhas are formed by asking each family to send one of its members as a representative on it. In this manner, the evils of electioneering are eliminated and the functioning of the Gramsabhas becomes one based on unanimity or near-unanimity. The Gramdan movement, if encouraged by all sections of the country, could not only make the Panchayati Raj institutions more dynamic and self-generating, but also help in solving the problems of land redistribution and unemployment or under-employment at the village level. These difficult problems cannot be handled successfully at the all-India or at the State levels. The Gramsabhas, the Block Panchayats and the Zilla Parishads must shoulder the basic responsibilities of providing minimum levels of living to all citizens in their areas. Of course, the State Governments will have to spread a network of economic overheads like transport and communications, power, and technical education throughout the countryside. With the active assistance of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, the Gramdan and Bhoodan program should now be made an integral part of the Community Development movement.

Industries

While basic and heavy industries in the public sector must continue to be organized on an increasing scale during the Fourth and the Fifth Plans, special attention should be given to industries connected with agricultural production, namely fertilizers, insecticides, plant protection equipment, and drilling and boring machines for irrigation. The production of flat iron and sheets needed for a variety of agricultural programs, including the manufacture of improved implements and the roofing of rural godowns, should be enlarged.

Rural industrialization must now be regarded as a major economic and social objective of future planning in India. But the basic aim of rural industrialization could be achieved

only if we are able to spread out electric power and transport facilities to the villages. Effective steps will have to be taken to stop any further expansion of industries in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur and Ahmedabad.

Licensing policies must undergo a radical change. It will also be necessary to impart training in business and industrial management to promising entrepreneurs in the rural areas. Intensive research for evolving an intermediate or miniature technology should be organized by the Central and State Governments through existing or new institutions.

The growth of rural industrialization could be planned on a long-term basis only if we evolve specific common production programs for some of the important processing industries.

The Bhubaneswar resolution of the Indian National Congress on "Democracy and Socialism" has suggested that the processing of agricultural produce, specially paddy, should not remain in private hands and that rice mills and other processing units should be operated under cooperative management. The Resolution has further added that "till it is feasible to do so in all cases, the State itself should progressively take over the operation of such units". While there can be no two opinions about encouraging the cooperative sector in the sphere of processing industries, it is very doubtful whether the State Governments would be in a position to take over the functioning of such units directly. Perhaps, it would be better if the private processing units are allowed to re-organize themselves into cooperative enterprises within a specified period by transferring a majority of the shares to the growers concerned. Those units which are unable to do so could then be taken over by the State Governments and handed over to the Panchayati Raj institutions for management.

The Private Sector

Despite rapid growth of the public sector and rural industrialization on a cooperative basis, the private sector would continue to have an important place in the national economy. It would, however, be necessary to regulate it more effectively.

Instead of attempting to nationalize certain larger units of private enterprise, it would be more expedient to tighten up the existing controls and whenever necessary introduce new ones with a view to introducing better economic and social discipline.

For example, we should now seriously think of *nationalizing audit* in order to check undesirable business practices through manipulation of accounts. A beginning could be made by taking over some of the bigger firms of auditors and making it compulsory for large-scale and medium private enterprises to get their accounts audited by these firms.

Power

It is estimated that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, about 45,000 villages will have been electrified. It is reckoned that all the villages with a population of above 5,000 and half of the villages with a population ranging between 2,000 and 5,000 will receive the benefits of power by 1965-66. It should be our earnest attempt to electrify by the end of the Fifth Plan all the villages with a population of 500 and above. With this objective in view we should try to provide electric power to another 100,000 villages by the end of the Fourth Plan period. The cost of transmission lines could be reduced by the use of wooden poles wherever possible.

Concessional rates should be allowed for agricultural and small industries. At present, there is a general tendency to distribute power only to large and medium industries. Special attention, therefore, should now be paid to the requirements of agricultural production and rural industrialization.

Education

Our schemes of agricultural and industrial development can bear fruit only if the educational system is made work-oriented from the primary to the collegiate levels. Without creating a positive atmosphere for productive labour in our schools and colleges, it would be very difficult to train the

requisite technical personnel for the implementation of these programs. It is said that the system of Basic Education has failed. Perhaps, it would be truer to say that it was never given a fair trial. Be that as it may, it is now essential to overhaul the educational system by making it more purposeful and production-oriented. Mere expansion of the existing system would create more problems instead of solving them.

It is also necessary that all vocational and technical institutions should be properly dovetailed into secondary and collegiate education, so that if any student passing out of technical schools desires to pursue higher education there should be no bar to his ambition. At present, the institutes of technical training and junior technical schools are not properly linked up with secondary education. In consequence, talented students, including those belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, are not attracted towards such institutions. This deficiency should now be removed.

During the Fourth Plan period, a massive attempt should be made to increase *adult literacy* in the country with the active assistance of teachers and students of educational institutions. Without enlisting non-official help from educational and other voluntary organizations, it would be very difficult to make a dent in the problem of colossal illiteracy.

Health

It is evident that all programs for increasing national wealth and ensuring minimum standards of living to our people would come to grief in the absence of a "crash" program for *family planning* during the coming decade. The problem of the "population explosion" must, therefore, be tackled with a sense of urgency, more particularly in the rural areas. Experience gained so far has proved that the only effective way of planning families is by sterilization. In the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans, therefore, facilities for the sterilization of both males and females should be provided in towns and villages on a very large scale. There

should be no limitation of funds for this program.

While arranging for the distribution of birth control aids, adequate care should be taken to see that these facilities are not misused by the younger generation.

Housing and Construction

It is a matter of regret that the housing program for low-income groups earning less than Rs. 150 per month has not so far made much headway. In order to ensure basic living standards to our people in the urban areas, this scheme for the construction of small tenements for the middle and lower middle classes should be taken up as an important scheme in the Fourth Plan.

The problem of *slums* has also defied solution so far. The main hurdle has been the difficulty of removing slum-dwellers to far-off places where they find it difficult to obtain employment. Removal of slum-dwellers should, therefore, be accompanied by the provision of adequate transport facilities at concessional rates. While removing old slums, good care should be taken to see that new slums are not created around the construction of new buildings.

In the villages, the scheme of *rural housing* has hardly made any progress. The best way to encourage housing in villages is to provide cheap coal-dust for brick-kilns to be organized on a cooperative basis. Now that the coal position is quite easy, the program of rural housing on the lines indicated above should be taken up on an ambitious scale.

The Planning Commission has made several specific recommendations for effecting *reduction in construction costs.* These must be implemented in full without any further delay.

Wage and Salary Structure

As was suggested by the Ooty Seminar of the All India Congress Committee in 1958, the Government of India and the State Governments should place a ceiling of Rs. 2,000 per month on higher grades of salary. In order to reduce

existing disparities between the highest and the lowest salaries among Government employees, the minimum salary of Class IV employees should be raised to Rs. 100 per month by the end of the Fourth Plan. The wage structure should also be re-examined from this point of view.

Measures should be devised to control the high salaries offered in the private sector. Exceptions may be made in the case of highly rechnical personnel imported from foreign countries.

In the rural areas, the only effective way of raising larger resources is to enable the Panchayati Raj institutions *to raise local resources for local development schemes.* Attempts by the State Governments to raise land revenue rates or surcharge have failed and it would now be impossible to revive such proposals.

For creating a more congenial atmosphere for increasing the rate of savings in the community, the production and distribution of luxury and semi-luxury goods should be systematically discouraged. A limited number of consumer goods industries for luxury articles could be established in the public sector so that the profits would be utilized for Plan purposes.

Instead of imposing new taxes of various kinds, much greater attention should be paid to the better collection of existing tax measures. For example, there is a very substantial leakage in the collection of sales-tax in the States.

Deconcentration of Economic Power

The Third Plan had emphasised the need for checking "concentration of economic power and the emergence of monopolistic tendencies". A few directions were also indicated in which such concentration could be countered. It must be admitted, however, that it has not been possible to achieve this objective in any tangible manner so far. Some of the ways in which further attempts could be made at securing deconcentration of economic power are suggested below :

(a) While granting licenses to new large-scale or medium-sized industries in the private sector, with or without foreign collaboration, definite preference should be given to new entrepreneurs; exceptions to this general rule should be very rare. It should be the definite policy of the Government to set up new consumer goods industries, in as many spheres as possible, in the small-sized cooperative sector.

(b) Planned efforts should be made to secure the collaboration of foreign firms for establishing public sector enterprises even in category 'B' industries. Foreign investors may show some hesitation to collaborate with the State industries in the initial stages. But once this policy of the Government is made known widely, foreign private investment is bound to flow into public sector industries as well.

(c) It may not be possible to impose ceilings on urban incomes in the same manner as ceilings have been imposed on land holdings. But the Government should not hesitate to levy steeper rates of Estate Duty, Wealth Tax and Gift Tax for scaling down high incomes in the urban areas.

(d) Since about 50 per cent of the Plan outlays are spent on a variety of construction activities in different sectors, a rich class of *contractors* has emerged over the past decade. In order to check concentration of economic power in this sphere, we should not only set up public sector construction corporations at the Centre and in the States but also encourage the organization of Cooperative Construction Societies in accordance with a reasonable pattern of financial assistance.

(e) Large profits have been made by private parties in purchasing and selling urban sites around fast developing cities. The Government must mop up a portion of these surpluses through fiscal measures.

(f) The Central and State Governments should enforce, without any exceptions, the existing rule that retired Government servants should not join any private enterprise before the expiry of two years. Relaxation of this rule in almost all cases has led to very undesirable consequences.

(g) With a view to checking more effectively the accum-

ulation of unaccounted money through tax-evasion and avoidance, the Government should launch selective prosecutions as part of a national campaign against corruption in public life.

(h) To lessen the economic pressures of the private sector on political parties, and more particularly the ruling party, urgent steps should be taken to reduce expenses in the General Elections by placing greater restrictions on transport and publicity.

(i) Monopolistic control of private interests on Indian newspapers is also a matter for serious study and investigation. The Government should positively encourage the emergence of Cooperative Newspapers started by working journalists of high calibre.

Direct Assistance to Weaker Sections

As has been stated earlier, it would be possible to assure minimum levels of living to the weaker sections partly by securing a higher rate of growth for the national economy in general and partly by rendering *direct assistance* to the poorer segments in a variety of ways :

(a) *The Rural Works Program* for utilizing idle manpower in the villages should be extended to all the under-developed areas in the country by the end of the Fourth Plan. It is reckoned that about 3,000 C. D. Blocks in different States would need to be covered by these programs. Needless to point out that stress should be laid on the creation of *productive community assets* which would generate further employment opportunities to landless persons and become sources of annual income to the Panchayats and Cooperatives.

(b) The *Gramdan* and Bhoodan Movement should be regarded as an integral part of Community Development and Panchayati Raj institutions so that the sharing of land and wealth brings about greater social and economic equality in the countryside.

(c) *Scholarships* to poor but deserving students at various levels of study should be awarded on an increasing scale.

(d) Small-scale, village and cottage industries on a cooperative basis should be spread out in the rural areas in a bold manner. The existing techniques of production should be improved constantly, with or without power, so that the requirements of higher production may be harmonized with the need for fuller employment.

(e) Schemes for imparting technical training to students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be strengthened further. However, such technical training institutions should be properly linked up with general education at the Secondary stage.

(f) Housing schemes for low-income groups in villages and in cities should be undertaken on a bigger scale with the active assistance of the Government.

(g) A larger number of fair-price shops and cooperative consumer stores for distribution of essential commodities should be opened in cities, as also in scarcity areas in the countryside.

(h) Legislation regarding *minimum wages* in the rural areas should be enforced. These rates may also be revised in the light of the prevailing cost of living indices.

(i) Rural drinking water schemes should be undertaken on a more ambitious scale, more especially in difficult areas where only piped water supply could meet the requirements. Much larger outlays will be required for these schemes in the Fourth Plan.

(j) Slum improvement and clearance schemes should be accorded a much higher priority in the next two Plans.

Administrative Aspects

Needless to mention that the crucial task of quickening the pace of economic growth and providing basic living standards to our people during the next 10 years could be achieved successfully only if the existing administration at different levels is streamlined in a visible manner. The Ministry of Home Affairs is now seriously trying to root out corruption and inefficiency in administration with a view to ensuring

better implementation of the Plans.

In my view, one of the principal causes of the prevailing corruption as well as inefficiency in our administration is the enactment of numerous and often hastily drafted Acts which, in the very nature of things, cannot be implemented effectively. The existence of too many *controls* at too many points also inevitably leads to deterioration in administrative standards. It would, therefore, be desirable to review carefully the existing legislations and controls with a view to culling out those which are not so necessary either from the point of view of social justice or higher production. As the Bhubaneswar Resolution has pointed out, "controls should be applied only when they become indispensable in the larger interests of the community". It may also be mentioned that people are not so much against controls as averse to their faulty implementation. The imposition of controls, therefore, should be selective and *at strategic points*, as in the case of regulation of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential articles.

I have tried to indicate the broad strategy which, in my view, should be followed in formulating the outlines of the Fourth and the Fifth Five Year Plans. Although every nerve will have to be strained to step up the rate of growth in agriculture and industry from year to year, it is now quite evident that the Fourth and Fifth Plans will have to ensure minimum levels of living to the masses of people by providing ample opportunities for gainful employment in different sectors of the national economy. In other words, the Fourth Plan should be minimum-income and employment-oriented. While accelerating the annual rate of economic growth, our planning during the next decade will have to lay much greater emphasis on *redistribution and sharing of national income* on a more equitable basis. We can no longer afford to hold out hopes to millions of our people for a "good life" after twenty or twenty-five years. The man who is hungry and unemployed today legitimately asks for immediate relief, and under democratic conditions no Government could turn a deaf ear to such a demand. It is, indeed, this *human* as well as political aspect of a planned economy which must compel us to provide

adequate food, clothing, housing, education and health facilities to all citizens by the end of the Fifth Plan period. Given the will to attain this crucial task, all the difficulties in the way must be resolved with faith and determination. The future of Indian democracy and even freedom would largely depend on our capacity to plan in terms of basic living standards to the poorest sections within the next ten years. We must face this challenge and undertake this difficult but imperative task at all costs.

1. *Challenge to Affluence* by Gunnar Myrdal, London, 1963.
2. *New York Times*, International Edition, Paris, 29 January 1964.
3. *The Makings of a Just Society* by Chester Bowles, Delhi University, 1963.
4. From an article on "The Great Awakening" by John Strachey in *Encounter*, 1961.

THE STORY OF AN EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH

BRADFORD LYTTLE

Between 23 December 1963 and 22 February 1964 there took place in Albany, Georgia an experiment in the political science of nonviolence from which much can be learned. The experiment was an investigation of the degree to which nonviolent or non-physically coercive psychological and political forces can moderate a totalitarian system.

The experimenters were members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, an educational project that had been in the field since May of 1963. By means of signs, leaflets, public and private meetings and interviews with the newspapers and other mass media, the walkers had been reaching the public in the South with a threefold message of defence by nonviolent resistance; a policy of compassion, understanding and generosity for Cuba; and racial integration. The Walk, which included white women and Negro men, had encountered hostility in many southern cities, but before reaching Atlanta, Georgia, had been able to keep to its schedule. From Atlanta South, harassment by municipal, police and county sheriffs had become frequent and sometimes violent. At Griffin, when the walkers tried to distribute leaflets near Negro residences, they were arrested and viciously attacked and burned by policemen armed with electric

cattle-prods. In Macon, they were arrested for distributing leaflets within the city's limits and half a dozen of the men were imprisoned for two days in a six foot by six-and-a-half foot "hole" or "sweat box" when they refused after sentencing to work on the city's garbage trucks. Only the most careful preparations and negotiations enabled the Walk to pass without incident through Americus, where integration workers have suffered violence and have been indicted for trumped up capital offences. The Walk was penetrating deeper and deeper into Southwest Georgia, whose customs and traditions are similar to those of Alabama and Mississippi. A Congressman had told the father of one peacewalker, "I'd be worried if my son were with that walk down there".

Albany, the next city after Americus, was more likely to cause trouble than any other on the Walk's route to Miami. Founded in the early nineteenth century, Albany was an agricultural and slave trading centre in the "black belt". After the Civil War it continued for 60 years under the economic and political domination of plantation owners whose enormous holdings of 40,000 and 20,000 acres surrounded the city. Terrorism repressed the Negroes. Dougherty County, where Albany is the County Seat, became one of the Georgia counties with the highest lynching rate.

In the early years of the twentieth century, a few large textile industries were established in Albany and part of the city became a company town. Unions were unknown. The new industrialists, some from New England, adopted the ways of the South and joined in perpetuating a system designed to "keep the nigger down" and maintain rigid segregation.

During World War II, two military bases were established in the Albany area : Turner Air Force Base, that eventually became a large base for the Strategic Air Command, photo reconnaissance and military air transport, and the Marine Supply Centre which serves the entire southeastern part of the United States. After the war, these bases grew and undoubtedly helped attract many of the businessmen, labourers and others who trebled the city's population between 1940 and 1960. Albany grew to be a modern city of more than

60,000 but, in the words of one newspaper reporter, "it retained its small-town ways of doing things".

Rigid segregation and gross economic discrimination against the half of Albany's population that were Negro produced racial unrest that in 1961 brought Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to the city. Two campaigns of massive civil disobedience protest demonstrations were mounted. Both were crushed by a combination of adroit police tactics that minimized the violent incidents that bring adverse publicity and divide the white community, and deception of the Negro leadership. The segregationists conceded nothing, would not even negotiate with the radical Negro leaders. Albany became known as the city that defeated Martin Luther King and was considered one of the two hardest core segregationist cities in the South, Birmingham being the other. Albany's police chief, Laurie Pritchett, who designed the "nonviolent" police tactics that frustrated the mass demonstrations, told me, "We know all about nonviolence here. We beat Dr King with it."

In their early discussions with Chief Pritchett and City Manager Stephen A. Roos, representatives of the Walk found the officials willing to allow the Walk to pass through the city carrying signs and distributing leaflets. While the authorities were by no means happy about the project's advent, and nearly took a hard stand against leaflet distribution within the city limits, in the end they agreed to permit all of the Walk's activities except walking along a route which would take the project through Albany's downtown "white" business area.

The walkers discussed the negotiations and decided that since they had walked through the main business areas of every other city on their route, and doing so in Albany would enable them to reach a large number of people with the messages on their signs and leaflets, they would attempt the downtown route and risk civil disobedience and imprisonment. Before the struggle began they made a tentative commitment of two months to it.

On 23 December, 14 walkers were arrested for trying to

walk into downtown Albany. As promised and expected, the police scrupulously avoided violence and brutality in making the arrests, carrying on stretchers those walkers who went limp and otherwise noncooperated. The walkers were lodged in the City Jail where, according to plan, all but two began to fast, going without food but drinking water.

The first phase of the nonviolent contest between the police and the walkers lasted 24 days. The police were caught unprepared by the vigour and solidarity of the protest and adopted no consistent strategy to counter it. Outside of prison, the walkers maintained an office whose staff laboured day and night to interpret the civil liberties issues involved in the struggle to the mass media and to peace, civil rights and civil libertarian supporters of the Walk in the United States, Canada, Europe and Asia. Sympathy generated by these efforts drew a number of supporters to Albany, some of whom worked in the office and visited influential local white and Negro citizens, while others committed civil disobedience, joined the prisoners and fasted. In this first phase the maximum number imprisoned for trying to walk through downtown Albany, leaflet there or picket in protest against the arrests was 20, the maximum number fasting 17. The city doctor gave vitamin injections to all who fasted more than two weeks, three were taken to the local hospital for intravenous feeding, one of whom had begun to fast without water. At the time of their release, 15-16 January, nine had fasted 24 days. Trials and court procedures experienced during this time revealed the City Court as being part of the apparatus of police oppression controlled by the Chief, who postponed trials and determined sentences for purposes of intimidation and coercion.

The city had said that traffic and other problems relating to the Christmas season shopping congestion was the reason the walkers had not been allowed to demonstrate downtown. Consequently, after their release the walkers reopened negotiations with the authorities, offering no fewer than eight possible downtown routes, five days and any time between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. as acceptable to them for their walk

through the downtown area. The city rejected all proposals, insisting that the Walk follow the route along Oglethorpe Avenue that had originally been assigned. Out of these discussions emerged the city's policy of rigid, uncompromising opposition to any demonstration in the white business area north of Oglethorpe. "Neither you nor any other group is going to demonstrate north of Oglethorpe", said Chief Pritchett, and he was quoted in the press as saying, "Oglethorpe or nothing", and "They will never walk down Broad Avenue". Although the authorities never admitted that their stand had anything to do with the race problem, sources of information close to them revealed that during the 1961 mass integration demonstrations the City Commissioners had decided on a strategy of suppression involving public commitment to a rigid, no-compromise prohibition of integrated or Negro demonstrations north of Oglethorpe. Leadership of the Albany Movement therefore believed that any integrated demonstration north of Oglethorpe would constitute a major civil rights and civil liberties breakthrough. In public statements Walk leaders defined the conflict as being between nonviolence, civil liberties and civil rights on the one hand and "police state" tactics, segregation and denial of freedom of speech on the other. The lines thus were sharply drawn.

On 23 January, walker Yvonne Klein and a local integration worker were arrested for picketing and leafleting at a downtown civil defence exercise. On the 27th, 17 walkers were arrested for trying to walk into the downtown area north of Oglethorpe. On 3 February, seven walkers including two Canadians were arrested while carrying on a standing picket with signs and leaflets on city property near Turner A.F.B. An eighth was imprisoned when Chief Pritchett became angry with him for asking what the charges against the others were. John Papworth, *Peace News* correspondant, was arrested on 15 February for a stand-in at the police station on behalf of the prisoners. On 19 February, Peter Light, another Canadian, was arrested for distributing a leaflet describing jail conditions. In the two phases of the struggle there were altogether 51 arrests, each a violation of the demonstrators'

civil liberties as guaranteed by the Constitution and upheld by numerous Supreme Court decisions.

The authorities and the police department were well prepared for the second phase of the conflict. Their strategy involved attempts to intimidate, breaking up the prisoners' morale, and maintaining a public image of "nonviolence". The City Jail cellblocks had been scrubbed down and clean covers put over the filthy mattresses. Ray Robinson, a Negro who had stopped drinking water and eating in protest against his imprisonment, was transferred to the local hospital's psychiatric ward and there intimidated into breaking his fast by threats of commitment to a notoriously bad State mental hospital. Chief Pritchett released photographs of Ray eating to the Albany newspapers and TV stations and showed them to the other fasters. He also humiliated Ray by making public the extensive police record that Ray was trying to live down. All the prisoners were threatened with transfer to jails in nearby cities and counties, such as Newton in Baker county, which are notorious for their violence. The Walk's coordinator, Bradford Lyttle (the present writer) was isolated in a separate jail and held incommunicado for four days. Many of the men were crammed into cells with inadequate sleeping facilities, ten men in a cell with four bunks, and later, 17 in a filthy, damp cell with six bunks. Drunks were frequently locked in with them. John Papworth was beaten by a drunken segregationist. For two weeks, the only mail which reached the prisoners was brought by attorneys, and for days at a time visits from others were prohibited. The fasters, of whom there were 12 at the time of release, were tempted frequently with food.

The walkers intensified their efforts to generate local, national and international interest and support. Those outside visited influential whites and Negroes in Albany, mailed and phoned press releases throughout the country, mailed kits of documents which interpreted the struggle to peace movement, civil rights and civil liberties leaders and to private supporters in the U.S., Canada and Europe, published a bulletin and appraised public officials in Georgia

and Washington about what was going on. Although at one time Albany's authorities, in an attempt to slough off responsibility for their own policies, suggested that the imprisoned walkers obtain a federal court injunction favouring their release and right to demonstrate in the downtown area, the walkers never appealed for the coercive intervention of federal courts, marshalls or troops. Even though it made their struggle more difficult and placed its success in grave doubt, they preferred relying upon moral persuasion and the force of public opinion to win their civil liberties.

After 30 days, on 22 February, the authorities' rigid posture relaxed and representatives of the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) negotiated a compromise agreement that would permit an integrated group of five demonstrators, distributing leaflets and carrying sandwich-board signs, to walk through the white business area on Broad Avenue. Nonviolence had won a measure of truth and freedom.

The forces that secured this partial victory were complex. The moral power generated by the prisoners, particularly the fasters, was certainly the inspiring, catalytic element. The prisoners' tenacious, self-sacrificing witness, which in the case of the longterm fasters involved severe emaciation, some illness and hospitalization and painful tube feeding for Yvonne Klein, attracted people to Albany from as far west as Denver and as far north as Montreal, and stimulated hundreds of letters to Albany's officials, the Governor of Georgia and others. Almost all of the police department and hospital staff who dealt with the prisoners lost what hostility they might have had at first and became friendly. In several cases these changes in attitude were astonishing. A number of the walkers' bitterest segregationist opponents admitted admiration for their dedication and grit.

A second force was the developing sympathy and involvement of the Albany Movement. When the Walk set up its base in the city the Movement had provided an office and sleeping quarters. Tyrone Jackson, a youthful member of the Movement, participated and was arrested in the

demonstrations. The Movement's adult leaders, however, refrained from vigorous public endorsement. Later on, when Albany's Negroes saw the problems being created for the city by the persistent, organized resistance of the peacewalkers, they became deeply interested. After the first phase both the Albany Movement and the Albany Student Movement (whose creation was inspired partly by the peacewalkers' witness) issued strong statements condemning the city's totalitarianism and supporting the peacewalkers' civil liberties. Midway in the second phase the Movement began voter registration picketing in the Negro district and on 22 February, the date the compromise agreement was reached and the walkers were released, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders from Atlanta led more than 100 local and out-of-town Negroes in voter registration demonstrations downtown. No one was arrested, probably because the Justice Department had warned the Albany authorities against interfering with voter registration activities. Behind the peacewalkers' struggle loomed the growing spectre of new mass protest demonstrations and a revitalized Albany Movement.

Partly due to talks with leaders from American peace organizations, several prominent white ministers became deeply concerned about the matter, involved themselves in the negotiations and demanded that the authorities accept a compromise. This assumption by them of responsibility for Albany's political affairs was nearly unprecedented. They refused to be deterred by strong criticism from those in power—not a few of whom were influential members of their congregations.

Local, state, national and international publicity about the struggle increased steadily. One of Albany's two papers, though stoutly segregationist, published letters from prisoners. The other, a sensationalistic weekly, veered from initial hostility to the walkers to surprisingly objective reports of demonstrations and discussions of how the bad publicity from the conflict would harm the city's business future. The *Atlanta Constitution*, after weeks of printing only terse

news announcements, published a long letter from an unidentified Georgian who described the civil liberties issues in Albany and rebuked Georgia's cities for the way many of them had treated the peacewalkers. Newspapers in Denver, Chicago, San Francisco and other hometowns of the walkers published progressively longer and more sympathetic reports of the struggle as it progressed. Canadian newspapers and TV showed great interest. European peace publications issued major stories and reports.

Indirect and direct pressure came from the U.S. and foreign governments. It was reported that the Justice Department made several inquiries, and the State Department may have, too, since a Canadian group organized in Montreal to support the Walk protested to the State Department about violations of the imprisoned Canadians' civil liberties. The conflict was mentioned twice in the Canadian, once in the British Parliament. A British consul inquired of Albany's authorities by telephone about John Papworth's imprisonment and beating.

An important factor in the victory were the discreet and imaginative negotiations carried on with the authorities by CNVA members during the last week of the struggle. These hastened reaching of a compromise solution.

Perhaps the high cost of carrying on the conflict influenced the authorities to seek a compromise. The *Albany Journal* estimated expenses to the city at more than $500 a day, which for the more than 50 days that peacewalkers were imprisoned would have committed Albany to over $25,000.

It is impossible to assess the influence of intangible, "spiritual" factors in securing the victory. I believe in God and during the struggle sought constantly in prayer His guidance and support. I therefore thank God for this victory of truth. Certainly, I would not have cared to wrestle against such formidable odds had I not believed in God, the ultimately rational nature of the universe—in which good means can be found to overcome evil—and moral law.

On Monday 4 February, as agreed upon, five peace-

walkers carried out their demonstration in downtown Albany. Afterwards, the entire Walk of 28 walked out of the city. The affair was concluded.

The Albany struggle lasted nearly two months to a day and demonstrated the ability of nonviolent protest action to moderate a totalitarian police-state system. Complete civil liberties in Albany were not achieved by any means, but a gain had been made in the heat of conflict where none had been achieved before. And it is particularly noteworthy that masses of people had not been directly involved in the action. The maximum number on the project at any one time was 35, 26 of them in jail, the others working outside. There is no doubt that success was made easier by the group being predominantly white and transient, but, on the other hand, it was made harder by the peacewalkers' views about peace-pacifism, defence by nonviolent resistance, compassion for the Cuban people and nonintervention in Cuban affairs—policies decidedly unpopular in a city so highly dependent upon air and Marine bases and in the country as a whole. American mass media and liberals have been embarrassed by the Walk to Cuba from its onset and have given it as little notice and publicity as possible.

The type of nonviolence used, including a high degree of cohesiveness among the demonstrators, willingness to go to jail and remain there without paying bail or fines, fasting by many for a long time, well-organized promotion and publicity, probing constantly to reach and stimulate every possible local, national and international source of interest and support, skilful negotiation, nonreliance on federal courts and power—this kind of nonviolent direct action might well be copied to advantage by the civil rights and other movements in the United States and, indeed, throughout the world. A campaign like that of the peacewalkers in Albany could be duplicated in any city where segregation and denials of civil liberties are serious problems. The peace and civil rights movements have the knowhow and personnel to carry out such intensive struggles and the civil rights movement, particularly, could back up those imprisoned in the course

of them with coordinated, massive protests. One of the most encouraging results of the Albany struggle is that the Albany Movement understands what its outcome can mean for them. While before the city's system of police oppression—its police, jail, court and Commissioners—seemed invincible, it no longer can be believed to be so. Cracks and flaws have been revealed. Moral and political pressure, if intense enough and properly applied, can extend the domain of liberty and freedom.

A GANDHI CENTRE IN THE HILLS

MARGARET BARR

The activities of a truly great man are inevitably many-sided and the gifts and qualities of the workers he collects around him proportionately vary as to both quality and quantity. Like a giant among pygmies stands the one in whose honour this volume is being issued. In gaol with his leader during the days when the fight for independence was being waged, never wavering in his allegiance to the principles for which that leader stood, and during the years since independence was won, while so many who followed during the days of challenge and crisis have fallen by the way, still a tower of strength to all lesser disciples in their struggle to carry out what they learnt from the Master. It is as one of the least of these that I rejoice to have been invited to add my tribute to Sri. R. R. Diwakar by writing this account of one tiny attempt to implement what one foreign disciple learnt from Gandhiji.

The first time I ever met Gandhiji was on arriving in India for the first time in October 1933. I told him of my connection with the little group in England called the Friends of India, many of whom were his personal friends also, and of how I had been trying to help to educate British public opinion to the cause of Indian freedom, until it had become

clear that to do anything useful in that connection necessitated at least a temporary sojourn in India to enable me to speak with any authority of what was going on there. As I got up to leave I put a parting question, "What do you really want your English friends to do, Bapu?" Like a flash came back the answer, eyes alight, minatory finger raised, "Keep out of gaol, now ; don't go getting mixed up in politics ; find some constructive work to do". Even then, so early on in my acquaintance with him and my experience of India, I knew that the words "constructive work" on his lips meant "village work". And though I was pledged for the next two years to the teaching post in Calcutta, which had been the stepping-stone by which I had been able to come to India, I knew then that my work, if it was not to be back in England, would inevitably be in an Indian village ultimately.

The whole of my career during the thirty years that have elapsed since that first meeting, the memory of which is still so vivid, has been an attempt to obey that command. The first part was easy, since I had not the least inclination to get mixed up in politics, still less to go to gaol. But the implementing of the last injunction, the finding and doing of the sort of constructive work on which his blessing could rest, has proved to be both all-absorbing and unending while life shall last.

It was not for many years, however, that I was finally able to decide on the location where the injunction should be implemented, ten years being wasted doing educational work in a town in the hope of finding there some who would become my fellow-workers, and bringing village boys there for education in the hope of producing fellow-workers from amongst them. Steadily the conviction grew that Bapu was right in saying that village work could only be done at village level and that fellow-workers must be sought neither among town people nor even among villagers who had deen educated in a town, but amongst those who belonged completely to village life. So in 1948 after a few months at Sevagram, I handed over my town school to the Government and started anew in the village ten miles beyond the end of the motor

road which has been my home ever since, working single-handed until such time as workers should come of their own accord and some of my own pupils should be able and willing first to help me in the school and then to take it over from me. That time is approaching. Three of my pupils are at college, having passed the Matriculation Examination from my village school, and as soon as they have obtained the academic qualifications required by the Government for teachers in a grant-aided high school, we hope to raise the school, which has hitherto been only to Senior Basic level, until in a few years' time it becomes a full Rural or Post-Basic High School.

Meanwhile another of my pupils, having read only up to Matriculation, took charge of the school while I was away on overseas leave in 1962 and '63 and, with no other help save that afforded by the college girls during their vacations and two or three of the groups who passed the Senior Examination at the end of 1963, all of whom passed well, carried on the school during my long absence almost exactly as though I had been present—and in some respects better. I mention the examination results, not because I attach any great importance to them as such, but as evidence of the truth of Bapu's contention that children brought up on Nai Talim lines would be able to compete easily, even in the academic matters in which other schools specialise, with children from any other type of school.

It may perhaps be asked what exactly is meant by "Nai Talim lines" in the context of this little institution in the wilds of the Khasi Hills. What did I learn at Sevagram that would be recognised by a Gandhian visitor to the Kharang Rural Centre as being worthy of that honoured name ? Some things certainly such a visitor would miss, especially the absence of spinning. Can there be a Basic school where the children do not spin ? That challenge can best be met in Bapu's own words. At my last meeting with him, the day before he left Sevagram in 1947 to go to pacify a rioting Bengal, I asked him what one should do if the sphere of one's labours was too far from any cotton-growing area to

make cotton spinning an economic craft. "Choose another basic craft, of course", was his reply, as I had well known it would be and had only asked the question that I might have his authority behind my already firm decision not to try to introduce cotton spinning into this high, cold village.

But though the children do not spin, they do a number of other crafts—carpentry, basketry and tailoring for the boys, weaving, sewing and knitting for the girls, with agriculture and animal husbandry for everyone. And so satisfactory has been the progress in hand-loom weaving and dress-making during the last few years that this part of the Kharang Rural Centre now stands on its own feet financially with a grant from the Block Development Officer and stipends for four trainees annually. Our aim is that every child shall be able to support himself by the work of his hands whether he goes on for higher education or not.

One advantage of this kind of education is, as Bapu always said it should be, that it cuts down expenses very considerably. Products from the farm, all the work of which is done by the children, help to keep boarding charges to a minimum. And income from the sale of handicrafts has, for the last few years, bought nearly all the new equipment required, including quite a number of school books.

Other aspects of the life of the school that would be immediately recognised by any visitor who knew the Talimi Sangh in the old days are:

(1) The regular School Assembly with its democratic election of officers, criticism of their reports and fearless putting forth of suggestions by anyone who may be inspired to do so.

(2) The correlation of as much book-learning as possible with practical things like craft, agriculture, health, cooking and cleanliness.

(3) The feeling which even the youngest children soon get of being fellow-workers in a worth-while enterprise in which the progress of others is as important as one's own, and effort is made for its own sake and for the sake of progress and not with a view to winning competitive prizes or scholarships. Were we not taught at Sevagram that the only re-

cord a child should be encouraged to break is his own previous record, and each should be commended or admonished in proportion to his own progress, irrespective of anything that others might achieve?

(4) The unwillingness of anyone to sit idle or waste precious time in useless or harmful activities.

(5) The happy spirit, the laughter and singing that accompany so much of the daily activity and the Saturday evening frolics of dancing and fun to the not always harmonious strains of the ancient gramophone beloved by all.

(6) Last but not least the daily prayer sessions, morning and evening for the boarders, morning only for the day-children, at which are used readings and prayers from the religions of the world and a short period of silence during which the children, who belong to several different religious groups, are encouraged to use any form of words which they have been taught in their own homes or churches.

Many years ago, when the Kharang Rural Centre was in its infancy, Sri. Jairamdas Doulatram, then Governor of Assam, presented us with a large portrait of Gandhiji. Hung over the door of our largest building, the kitchen-cum-schoolroom where most of our activity is carried on, his smiling presence has presided ever since over all that we do there—vegetable cutting and washing up, cooking and cleaning, class-work and home-work, school assemblies and Saturday evening jollifications and the daily periods of quiet communion. And there is none amongst us who does not, at least now and again, feel conscious of his blessing.

But the Kharang Rural Centre does not consist only of a school, a farm and a craft department. At least as important as any of these is its Health and Maternity Department. Not only did Gandhiji call Nai Talim "education for life"; he said also that it should start from the mother's womb. And this too we try to do. During 1963 nearly 6,000 patients passed through our little dispensary and clinic, many of whom were women coming for ante-natal or post-natal advice or for help at the time of their confinement. In charge of this department are a young man and his sister, both originally town dwellers, who have been here for seven years and found new homes and satisfying work in this rural setting. The woman, who was trained as Dhai at the Red Cross Maternity Centre in Shillong seventeen years ago, has married a local farmer and now has two lovely children of her own as object lessons to all the village women who come to her for advice. Her brother, who had a post in the D.C.'s office in Shillong when an S.O.S. from her called him out here to help her during my absence overseas in 1956, has married a Kharang girl, one of the first batch to attend this school, who also took the elementary Dhai course in Shillong after a year at the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Centre at Gauhati. He also has taken to country life like a duck to water and is my right-hand man in a thousand different ways. All of these three visit widely all round the district and have earned enviable reputations as skilled, competent, sympathetic helpers at all times of sickness or family crisis.

In spite of all this small but solid achievement, however, we are still a long way from being a true Gandhian institution. We still have no Post-Basic School and no Teacher Training, though we are hoping to start both of these in the near future. More important still, we have not yet developed anything in the form of wider social service. I have just been re-reading a short article by Dr Sushila Nayar in the *Social Welfare Journal* of October 1955 on "Gandhiji and Social Service", than which nothing could be more calculated to cure one of complacency. Where in our program are all those other multifarious items of his "constructive program"? No adult education, no campaign against drink and drugs, no cleaning or sanitation save for our own immediate vicinity, no village cooperatives, no enlightened leadership for the village democracies, no sturdy campaign against self-seeking politics and narrow religious bigotry, which are the two forces that still rend in pieces almost every Khasi village, in spite of the courageous and enlightened work of the Ramakrishna Mission, which is the only organisation working on a large scale in these hills in the true Gandhian spirit of

sacrifice and service and citizenship irrespective of community or sect.

There is so much to do and so few to do it. A saying often heard after the first World War was that "the Allies had won the war but lost the peace", as indeed they had. I sometimes wonder whether the same be true of India, that she won the fight for Freedom but lost the Freedom. Where today is Gandhiji's spirit save perhaps in the Sarvodaya movement and in tiny pockets here and there? Certainly not in the so-called Basic schools of the Khasi Hills, whatever may be the case in the rest of India. Where is the passion for Truth and Nonviolence which he generated in so many who knew him and who are now, many of them, concurring in compulsory military training for all college students? Where, in spite of the proliferation of Government Departments and salaried workers, is the wide-spread amelioration of the lot of the very poor which he visualized as the most important outcome of his life and work?

I do not know the answers to these questions. One thing I know, and that is that his own basic principle of doing right because it is right and for no ulterior motive whatever, however worthy, must still be our beacon light. Perhaps the most vivid of all my memories of him is of the last words I ever heard from his lips, on that day of my last interview with him, the day that proved to be his last day at Sevagram. More than half of the time he gave me for that last short interview he devoted to an attempt to persuade me to do something which, with my knowledge of the educational situation in the remote part of India where I worked, I felt sure was impracticable, at least at that juncture. I said nothing but he must have known that I did not agree. As I got up to go, he said, "I hope you will do it some day; but not because I have asked you to; not for love of me. When you are sure it is the right thing, then you will do it." And perhaps in these words lies the answer to the above and to all our questions. When in India and the world there are enough people who follow that beacon-light, the evils which he strove so heroically to abolish will at last be abolished.

May the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi continue its work to this end, and its honoured Chairman long be spared to lead it and to continue helping others to find in life what Bapu found, the sacrifice which is pure joy and the service which is perfect freedom.

THE ARK—A GANDHIAN BROTHERHOOD IN THE WEST

SIMONE PANTER-BRICK

"The West has awakened to the significance of Satyagraha", wrote R. R. Diwakar in a recent study on nonviolence.[1] He was echoing C. F. Andrews's call that the West should give birth to "a genius of commanding spiritual personality" worthy of Gandhi.[2]

Where is this disciple to be found ? Where can one find someone so faithful ?

There is in France a true heir to Gandhi, one called Lanza del Vasto, a Sicilian by birth, of noble family, said to be related to Thomas Aquinas. Vinoba is supposed to have said of him that "he keeps Gandhi alive in the West".

Gandhi called him Shantidas—the Servant of Peace. It was to India that Lanza del Vasto went in 1937 to seek from the Mahatma an answer to his questions. The account of this quest became a best seller,[3] and his pilgrimage inspired him with the mission to found a Gandhian community.

Gandhi had asked him whether he felt called to such a task. He said that he did, but to be absolutely sure he waited for a sign. He waited till others asked of him a solution to the problems of the time.

He certainly knew the answer, the one already given by Gandhi. He wanted politics without violence, production

without machines, society without exploitation, religion without intolerance ; and to implant love and truth, a return to the earth and to craftsmanship, manual work and a simple life, and an accent on the common basis of all religions.

At last, as the war was drawing to a close, one or two sought him out and declared themselves ready to follow him (1944). They, and others who were to join them, worked at weaving and carving till in 1948 they left Paris for Tournier where the first rural community was founded. The Ark, as it was called, was open to all ; everyone was welcome : but by the summer of 1953 it had become clear that a new start would have to be made on a stricter basis.

Tournier was abandoned. After a short interlude at Tourettes-sur-Loup and a further pilgrimage to India where Shantidas met Vinoba (December 1953-May 1954), the community settled at la Chesnaie near the Donzere-Mondragon dam. The community was now much larger. To be a member of it—a companion—one had to be a novitiate for three years and to be admitted by unanimous vote.

As the number of companions increased la Chesnaie became too small. The land was no longer sufficient to feed all those who worked it. The branching out of a second community at le Moulin du Verger—where the main activity was that of producing paper by hand—provided only a temporary solution (September 1957-April 1960), because all its male members were later to be called upon to participate in a Satyagraha (April-July 1960). The problem of expanding numbers has now been solved, at least for the moment, by the acquisition of la Borie Noble (Easter 1963), a domaine of 2,000 acres, which is large enough to house several communities.

The Ark is a nucleus radiating out into many French towns and even abroad. Shantidas goes on tour preaching the word. Wherever he goes—in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Lebanon—spring up organized "groups of the friends of the Ark". "The Pilgrim", as he is called, has made several trips to South America and this year (1964) a sister community has been formed at Cordoba in Argentina.

Some of the French companions are due to emigrate there in 1966.

In France itself there are about a thousand who have been inspired by the Ark and drawn into its organization. Many attend the gatherings held six times a year at la Chesnaie. Those who come share for a few days the life of the regular companions. It is worth seeing this gathering of people of many languages, races and religions, of all ages and classes, squatting on the hill-side among the pines and listening to the master.

There Shantidas, a tall, white, and bearded figure, urges everyone to act upon himself and to bring about an inner conversion; to change his inclinations, to reduce his needs, to mend his ways : to conquer himself. He recommends fasting and silence once a week, penance according to one's religion, and daily bodily exercises, so as to gain mastery and knowledge of oneself ; also prayers several times a day, meditation and moments of recollection in preparation for a life of devotion and dedication.

Shantidas stresses the need to work not only upon oneself, but also outwardly with one's hands; both kinds of work—the inner and outer one—always being inspired by the quest for the Kingdom of God.

His success, even if certain, is not startling. Not without reason Shantidas has compared France to a mule which, when taken to the well, refuses to drink. People are to some extent ready to listen when one speaks of nonviolent political action, although one may come up against patriotic sentiments. For instance, the war in Algeria and Shantidas's opposition to it caused quite a few to withdraw their support.

Very few, however, are willing to heed any talk of Satyagraha as a way of life. If one advocates the use of the spinning wheel, manual labour and poverty, if one spurns mechanisation, one must not expect to draw crowds. What in India may be called holiness is apt to be thought in the West ridiculous, or at best odd : it is hard to imagine the Frenchman, who has so much money in his pocket and so many things to buy, sitting at the spinning wheel.

Because of the resistance to such a thoroughgoing application of Gandhian ideas, it was decided to establish a separate organisation, one which, while linked to the Ark, would be independent of it, the aim being to unite people of differing views in a movement dedicated to nonviolent political action, under the name of "Action Civique Nonviolente" (February 1958). It is a movement which can count upon, in addition to its own members, volunteers from among friends of the Ark and a small devoted, well-trained "army" from among the companions, who are always ready, under Shantidas's orders, to participate in any action required of them at any time. So far the numbers involved have been relatively small. The general population has still to be roused. For instance, the campaign against undertaking military service in Algeria produced no more than 13 objectors. None the less an organisation capable of attracting mass support now exists; and immediate large-scale success might have provided the organisers with an uncontrollable situation.

The Nonviolent Civic Action, besides providing a headquarters for actions of this kind, also supplies information, enrols members and maintains contacts. It publishes its own news-sheet and has recently acquired a house where it is hoped to train volunteers. It is in contact with other pacifist movements both in France and abroad. This summer (1964) a small group of experienced volunteers drawn mainly from Britain and France will live and work together for a period of about two months with a view to undertaking some joint action. The strength of the Nonviolent Civic Action movements in France lies not in the number of its supporters, but in the purity and vigour of its actions, and in its connexion with a spiritual force, the Ark.

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Vimala, a Hindu of Brahmin caste, told Shantidas of a conversation with the British Committee of 100. She told them : "This is not the way to embark on nonviolence.

How do you train your men ?" They agreed, but asked : "Where could we send them ? To India ? It's too far away." At the time she had no answer. But having met Shantidas, she knew. She would now reply : "Send them to the Ark".

In the Ark an effort is made to apply nonviolence at all levels; to find a unity in life; to give an inner preparation to external action. Every companion devotes every day of his life to this. He vows before God to progress along the way of nonviolence and of truth. He is bound by seven vows : those of nonviolence, of truth, of purification, of poverty, of service and of work, of responsibility and co-responsibility, and finally of obedience. If he falls short of what is expected of him, he must do penance. If he observes a shortcoming in someone else who is not prepared to atone for it, he must take it upon himself to do penance in his stead. This self-imposed sanction is the only one admitted, a sanction which is eminently nonviolent. It is, as Shantidas says, the "gem" of a Rule which lays down a rhythm of life, the manner of dress, the hours of work, the times of prayer.

The Ark consists of several communities, each of them grouping ideally from 30 to 50 men, women and children. Each community is under the authority of a patriarch, designated by Shantidas, the head of the whole Order. His choice has to be approved unanimously by the companions.

The companions meet every week as a Council. Decisions are taken unanimously, unanimity being obtained, if necessary, by resorting to a period, first of reflection in silence, then of fasting.

Shantidas has already chosen his successor to lead the Ark. As a sign he has given him the name of Mohandas, Gandhi's first name.

Vows are repeated each year and a companion may be allowed by the Council after seven years to make a lifelong vow which entitles him to be known as a Son of the Ark.

The community also allows persons sympathetic to its cause to stay with them for short periods, while some of the

companions are allowed exceptionally to work outside the community itself. There are also "allies", that is, people who have promised to observe the teachings of the Ark without, however, becoming full members of it.

All the members of the Ark bear, like those of Noah's ark, a name from the animal kingdom or a name of a flower. One can meet, for example, the daisy and the flamingo, the albatross, the lion-cub, the swallow.

Like that of Noah, the Ark is afloat on the waters of a world that is lost. It is an islet of calm and peace ; a way of life, thoroughly Christian, a nucleus of believers, mostly Catholics—but in no way excluding those of other faiths—who find that nonviolence helps them to live as Christians.

It is a society of free men, ruled with dignity, complete with its own school, musicians, and doctor. It is an autonomous brotherhood, which aims to provide for all its needs through its own labour, independently of the general economy.

The Ark's Constitution provides : "The aim of manual labour is not only to obtain one's daily bread by pure means, but to bring about an inner harmonisation between body and soul. One's day is filled by, and one is shaped by, carefully balanced alternating activities : work in the fields and in the workshop; sedentary work and physical labour; work on one's own and in a group; by prayers, ritual festivities, games, songs, study and spiritual exercises; by applying music, rhythm and meaning to the various handicrafts; by periods of instruction and confinement alternating with periods of roaming at large, preaching and participating in campaigns of nonviolent action."[4]

These campaigns have been modest affairs, nevertheless significant. At the time of the war in Algeria, from June 1959 to the summer of 1960, a Satyagraha was started against the internment camps where Algerians were detained on the ground of being "suspected persons". Volunteers turned up at these camps and demanded to be arrested on the very same grounds.

The Satyagraha did not achieve the desired result, but

in a new effort, help was given to those refusing to undertake military service in Algeria. This action was to be much more successful, for although the idea of substituting civil for military service in Algeria was never realised, the French Government did eventually recognise the right of conscientious objection to military service.

Beginning in the autumn of 1960, sites were opened where anyone refusing to serve in Algeria could come and work, with pick and shovel, on some job of work of service to the community; and would be supported at the moment of arrest by volunteers all claiming to be the wanted person, so that the police had to arrest not one person, but half-a-dozen. Five leaders of the Nonviolent Civic Action, charged with inciting the military to disobedience were tried and given short suspended sentences (November 1961). The Government finally promised to introduce the necessary legislation when Louis Lecoin, a conscientious objector of the first World War, who had spent over 10 years in prison, began a fast to death. The Bill, which put an end to an obligation dating from the Revolution, albeit rather half-heartedly, was finally passed in December 1963. Other demonstrations have been held against the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Mention should also be made of the fasts undertaken by Shantidas : with Danilo Dolci in Sicily in December 1956; a fast of 20 days in France in protest against cases of torture in Algeria (April 1957); a fast of 40 days in Rome which coincided with the Papal encyclical "Pacem in Terris" (Lent 1963).

Shantidas's idea has been to create an Order, open to all believers, whatever their religion. An Order with its own Rule; its vows; its dress, handspun and handwoven, white on holidays and coloured on weekdays; and its symbol, a wooden cross carried night and day round the neck.

A patriarchical Order, uniting both families and single persons in one large family exchanging each evening a kiss of peace, an extended family with Chanterelle, Shantidas's wife and his closest collaborator, as its mother.

A working Order, which as a rule empties its coffers each summer lest it should become rich—as once happened to the monks of Western Europe; and which has, as another of its rules, a respect for beauty and refusal to tolerate things ugly even if convenient, practical and expedient.

A nonviolent Order, where even in matters of food there must be no taking of life. An order which is not a sect, where East and West can meet, where all of whatever class, race, nation or religion can become reconciled.

A revolutionary Order, since it has undertaken to work for "the only revolution from which good can result, the Gandhi-revolution" (from the Ark's constitution).

1. *Alternatives to War and Violence*, p. 195, Dunn ed., 1963.
2. "God send us that personality before it is too late", C F. Andrews, cited by R. R. Diwakar, *Alternatives to War and Violence*, p. 195.
3. Lanza del Vasto, *Pelerinage aux Sources*, ed. Denoel.
4. *Presentation de l' Arche*, Moulin du Verger, 1960, p. 24.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF GANDHISM

K. SANTHANAM

Mahatma Gandhi was an intensely active personality. He was interested in everything that concerns the individual or society. He is best known as the matchless political leader who evolved the new technique of "Satyagraha". His fight against untouchability and the notions of superiority and inferiority by birth are also fairly well known. For India, his greatest service was, perhaps, the emancipation of Indian women.

It is generally known that he lived an austere life, practised strict vegetarianism and abstained from alcoholic drinks, tobacco and even the milder stimulants like coffee and tea. His attachment to simple natural remedies against illness and disease and his radical ideas on education are not so well known to the outside world and, even in India, they have not made much impact. Gandhiji deliberately refrained from making these public issues and thereby confusing the people. The only exception was prohibiton of intoxicating drinks which became a tool in the armoury of Satyagraha. Therefore it became a plank in the Congress program ; but it was well known that many an important supporter of Gandhiji was privately addicted to drink and the great leader did not take undue notice of it. Even

though it got into the Constitution in the form of a Directive Principle, there has been no honesty about prohibition among the Congress Governments and Congressmen in general. Gandhiji's views on language, government and economics played a considerable part in his political movements ; and in the programme of Khadi and Village Industries included in the Five Year Plans and in the Panchayati Raj which has recently been established, they have been accepted and implemented to some extent.

If all these ideas and activities are viewed in isolation, they constitute a miscellaneous and rather archaic collection, the importance of which will dwindle and fade away with time. It is only when it is realised that Gandhiji was fundamentally a moral and social philosopher and that, through these items, he sought to experiment with certain far-reaching fundamental principles, of whose absolute truth he was convinced beyond all doubt, that their true significance becomes clear.

The first principle which guided all his thoughts and activities is the complete unity and integrity of body, mind and soul in the individual human being. He was never tired of saying that the body should be controlled by the mind and the mind by the soul. But this control is not to be achieved by despising or neglecting either the body or the mind or in the mystic exaltation of the soul by itself. He attached to physical health and well-being as much importance as to plain and logical thinking or moral responsibility. He was one of the most logical and powerful writers; yet, he was never tired of decrying all idle and purposeless playing with words and ideas or deification of thought as such. He was convinced that real thought must be organically connected to moral purposes on the one side and useful and right action on the other.

It has been claimed that the greatest achievement of Gandhiji was the spiritualisation of politics. This is undoubtedly true ; but he had no faith in spirituality by itself as an abstract virtue. He conceived it as a kind of illumination or fragrance which should accompany every thought and

action. It is difficult to define it, except, perhaps, through the verses of the *Bhagavad Gita* which constituted his daily prayer.

The second principle of Gandhian philosophy may be stated as follows : All social action should be governed by the same simple set of moral values, of which the main elements are selflessness, non-attachment, nonviolence and active service. It will take me too long to define and elaborate his ideas in respect of each of these; but he believed that the growth of a man's personality is proportionate to his faith in and practice of these virtues. This is possible only when he identifies himself more and more with an ever-increasing circle till it embraces all humanity and even all living beings. He judged the value and vitality of social institutions by their capacity to foster such growth.

His third conviction was that no society, state or any other institution has any worth or importance apart from its part in contributing to the growth of the individuals of which it is composed. The State, the Nation, the community and other traditional groupings had no intrinsic value for him. In the pages of *Young India* in the earlier years, he defended the caste system as a great scheme of social and sexual discipline ; but in the light of actual experience he abandoned it as an impractical system, though to the end he believed in some kind of voluntary and ideal social groups based on qualifications and capacity for service.

It was Gandhiji's firm conviction that means are at least as important as, and often even more important than, ends. It is, of course, desirable that ends should be good and reasonable. But they merely give a direction to life while the means adopted constitute life itself. Therefore, if the means are right, that is, if they conform to the tests of truth and nonviolence, even mistakes, errors and failures aid the growth of the individual. On the other hand, wrong means corrupt the soul and no good can ever come out of them. Gandhiji repudiated categorically the idea that ends justify the means. This implies the rejection of war, espionage and crooked diplomacy, even when they are adopted for the so-called noble

ends of defending the country, religion or humanity.

Faith in God is, according to Gandhiji, the foundation of all moral values. He never defined God and was prepared to allow every person to have his own idea of God. For himself, he was inclined to think of Him as the Upanishadic Brahman. But, so long as a person believes in some source of spiritual life and holds it superior to the material universe, he is a believer in God. Gandhiji had no objection even to a formal profession of agnosticism, so long as a person demonstrated by his attachment to moral values that his outlook was essentially spiritual in essence.

I believe that the influence of Gandhiji in the future will depend more and more on the realisation that these fundamental principles constitute the core of his teachings and that all his actions were merely illustrations of their application. He considered his life as a series of experiments with truth. Therefore, it is his conception of truth that is central to his life and work. I do not claim that the principles I have indicated exhaust his conception ; but I believe that they constitute its basic elements.

GANDHI THROUGH THE EYES OF THE GITA

MARIE BEUZEVILLE BYLES

Gandhi will be remembered in history because of his Satyagraha campaigns and his use of the weapons of truth, love and nonviolence to win self-government for India. But Gandhi said that "no one is competent to offer Satyagraha unless he has a living faith in God".[1] And the *Bhagavad Gita*, to which he would always turn for inspiration, is the allegorical description, not of a Satyagraha campaign, but of the quest of the human soul for union with the Supreme or God. Further, in the eyes of the *Gita* the outward work that Gandhi did in liberating India and raising the depressed classes, is of no more importance than the work of a humble scavenger, while Gandhi himself ceaselessly reiterated that no work is superior or inferior. It was this quest for God that determined Gandhi's every action. And let us remember that when he said Truth is God, Truth did not mean only devotion to material facts. Far more important for him was devotion to the Inner Light that the Rishis of India and the authors of the Upanishads told of and experienced.

It is therefore not through the pages of history but through the eyes of the *Bhagavad Gita* that Gandhi's work and message must be studied if it is to be understood.

It was in middle life when I was escaping from the intellectual and materialistic agnosticism of university days that I happened to pick up from a second-hand bookshop a copy of Edwin Arnold's version of the *Bhagavad Gita*, "The Song Celestial". I had not the faintest idea what it was, but it swept me away with its sublime wisdom. It seemed incredible that such insight could be crammed into such a small space. Shortly afterwards someone told me my ideas were rather like Gandhi's. Up till then Gandhi was almost as unknown to me as the *Gita*. I set to work to read everything I could find about him. His words gripped me in the same way as did the *Gita's*. Neither speaks through the beautiful veils and ecstacies of most religious literature. Both have a purity and simplicity related to everyday life

When *Harijan* recommenced publication, Gandhi's words came like a weekly tonic. Somehow he was always utterly right, right because no speck of self-pride or incredible supernatural revelation spoilt the purity, simplicity and courteousness of all he said. When news of his death came, I wept with a personal selfish sorrow, for a guiding hand seemed to have been withdrawn. We cannot read a weekly message any more, but his words and writings have been collected, and through them, perhaps for the first time in history, we have the intimate detail of the inner life of a great public character and spiritual genius, from childhood until death. Especially we are indebted to V. B. Kher for having collected in three volumes, entitled "In Search of the Supreme", Gandhi's words on the spiritual aspect of life. As well as his own "Experiments with Truth", there is also Pyarelal's "Mahatma Gandhi : the Last Phase", which gives the intimate details of this quest during the last years. This quest for the Supreme is Gandhi's message and this quest must also be ours if we would follow in his footsteps.

All work is transient, and Gandhi's is no exception. To very few is given the task of taking part in Satyagraha struggles. But we each have our own work, and it is our own work, however humble, that both Gandhi and the *Gita*

would have us fulfil, and it is of the Mahatma's message in connection with our ordinary lives, that I would say something.

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"It is better to do your own duty however imperfectly than assume duties of another person however successful; prefer to die performing your own duty; the duty of another will bring you great spiritual danger."[2]

And what is our own duty or work ?

Under the ancient Hindu system of division into castes, or more correctly Varnas, a man's work was determined by the hereditary calling of his father. The son of a sandal-maker must become a sandal-maker himself and a woman of course learned only the domestic arts according to the station in life of her father. The abuses of caste are so blatant that we of the West overlook the security and contentment that resulted from being born into one's own niche, and also the absence of cut-throat competition. Gandhi's ideas concerning caste or Varna underwent considerable modification as his experiments with Truth proceeded and in the end he would probably have agreed that a man's proper work was that ordained by his nature. But he never gave up the idea of the need for division of labour, and from the beginning he asserted that no work was superior or inferior; the work of a Brahmin, of expounding holy truths, was not one whit better than that of a Sudra who removed night-soil. He also consistently asserted that the work done for a livelihood must be done as a duty, and not for money making or one's own pleasure, and that it must never be changed for the sake of making a better livelihood. But of course one's bread-and-butter work does not prevent one's engaging in public service also.

Furthermore, even as there is no question of superiority and inferiority, neither is there any importance in success or failure. Success and failure are not in our hands, for all actions are the result of the working of the three Gunas "and take place in time by the interweaving of the forces of nature".[3]

Only the deluded man thinks that he himself is the actor. How utterly foolish, therefore, to imagine that the result of our work matters. The Stoics compared man to a messenger boy sent to deliver a parcel. The boy does his best to find the addressee, but if after making every effort he fails to do so, he has no personal interest in the fate of the parcel.

Gandhi s own work was only very partially successful. Self-government for India was obtained without violence or bloodshed. It was accomplished even without hatred for the British, with the surprising result that a person with a passport of the conquering race is welcomed everywhere as a friend, in a manner almost unbelievable and I should imagine unprecedented in history. But the innate tendency to hate was not sublimated ; it was only repressed, and it came out in another way, in hatred between Muslims and Hindus. And the riots that followed independence were probably also unparalleled in history.

That Gandhi was unutterably cast down at the failure of his efforts to instil love and nonviolence, shows that even up to shortly before his death he had not wholly absorbed into his being the *Gita* teaching—and his own also—that success and failure are of no account. It was only by fasting that he was able to purify his mind of depression and regain the equanimity of a Rishi. But the very fact of this human weakness and ability in the end to overcome it, perhaps makes his teaching more helpful than that of the Rishis who are said to have dwelt always on the Himalayan heights of perfect serenity. It shows that he was human like ourselves and his heart speaks to our own as does that of Marcus Aurelius who also partly failed.

Those who have not absorbed the *Gita* teaching that success and failure are of no account and who suffered gaol and lathi charges, must find it hard to accept the truth that the "matchless weapon" of Satyagraha that Gandhi brought into use is already being forgotten. When Martin Luther King started the desegregation movement in America, he did not consciously copy Gandhi's methods. The movement came into being of its own accord, and only after it

was fully launched did its leader remember back to his reading of Gandhi and see the likeness of Gandhi's methods to his own. Gandhi's work did not influence the Negroes, but the same spirit that was in him is now in the sincerely practising Christians who follow Martin Luther King. In each case the work was not that of an individual, but the result of the "interweaving of the forces of nature".

Thus it is that all work, say both the *Gita* and Gandhi, must be offered to the Lord, or the Supreme, as a sacrifice, something to be made holy because it is done as a service to all.

When the universe was created, simultaneously the law of sacrifice, the opposite to creation, was brought into being, for the universe is composed of pairs of opposites.[4] The clouds give of themselves to make rain. The rain gives of itself to feed the earth which in turn feeds the plant. The plant flowers and fruits and gives up its fruit. "Except a corn of wheat fall to the ground and die it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit."[5] The law of sacrifice is universal ; and it is only at his peril that man tries to exclude himself from the working of this law. In the East it seems to be almost a universal custom to recognize that this law applies to man, by symbolically offering food to the God before partaking of it oneself. Because of the absence of this custom in the West, the meaning of verses 11, 12 and 13 of Chapter 3 is usually lost to the Western reader. Gandhi says that "Sacrifice means exerting oneself for the benefit of others, in a word service. . . . Look upon all creatures as Gods".[6] That is to say, we must sacrifice ourselves for all, giving our work freely and asking nothing in return.

In Japan at the beginning of this century, Tenko Nashida, affectionately known as Tenko San, discovered this law for himself. He was in his late twenties when he woke up to the alarming fact that society consisted of individuals and groups of individuals each striving against each other and each seeking to get as much as possible and give as little as possible. He asked himself how a peaceful society, let alone

a peaceful world, could be built on such an attitude. He gave away his property, and for three years wandered about Japan seeking a way out of the impasse. Finally he sat down to fast and meditate at a wayside temple. On the fourth day he heard a baby cry and its cries subside as its mother gave it her breast. Light came. We must give instead of trying to get. There is a law within the universe by which man can be delivered from suffering and this deliverance includes provision for his daily livelihood ; but that law cannot come into operation unless, like all else, we learn to give freely without asking anything in return. He at once started to put this new found truth into practice by going from house to house asking for work without payment. He never lacked for food and lodging. Out of that first venture there came into existence the now flourishing community of 350 men, women and children known as Ittoen, the Garden of the One Light, with thousands of "lay" disciples throughout Japan.

Tenko San later found that Mahatma Gandhi had made the same discovery as himself and a plaque of the Mahatma is now in the International Hall of Ittoen.

Ittoen's men and women, youths and maidens will go anywhere and do any work provided only they can be the means of giving humble service to others. And that was Gandhi's passion also. It probably dated from the South African period, but in his "Experiments with Truth", he said it had become utterly necessary for him on his return to India.

Gandhi's interpretation of ch. 7 v. 17 is very interesting from this point of view. This verse describes the man dearest to God. It has been translated variously. Annie Besant translated it as "The wise, constantly harmonized, worshipping the one"; Mukerjee as "The wise ever steadfast, fired by a single purpose"; Isherwood and Prabhavananda as "The man of spiritual discrimination"; Edwin Arnold as "He who is intent upon the One" ; Mascaro as "The man of vision"; Radhakrishnan as "The wise one who is ever in constant union with the Divine and whose devotion is single-

minded". But Gandhi said it is "Those who know what they are about and for whom service to others is something they cannot do without".[7] Again in the Eighth Chapter, Gandhi's interpretation of the bright fortnight of the moon is the path of selfless service.

Tenko San also made the same discovery as Gandhi concerning the need for complete sacrifice of self. Gandhi spoke of the reduction of self to zero. Tenko San said, "Death solves all problems; he who has any problems has not died to self." Chapter II of the *Gita* describing God the Destroyer is another chapter which by and large Westerners skip over because they are accustomed only to the idea of God the Creator. But Gandhi says we should read, re-read and meditate upon "God as world-destroying time into whose gaping mouths the universe rushes to its doom".[8] If we do this we see that we are mere morsels, the sense of self is lost and we realize the need for utter surrender and the reduction of self to zero.

Complete surrender to the Supreme and universal love towards all creation are the culminating notes of the Gita. "Who burns with the bliss and suffers with the sorrow of every creature within his heart, making his own each bliss and each sorrow".[9] "He who in this oneness of love, loves me in whatever he sees, wherever that man may live, in truth this man lives in me."[10]

But the culminating note of Gandhiji's teaching was Truth. Truth is doubtless implied in every chapter of the *Gita,* but its necessity is never made explicit. Truth is not one of the things that Krishna describes himself as being.

The reason, I think, is that the *Gita* came into existence when people were simpler and when there was greater harmony between the conscious and subconscious mind, which latter was brought into daylight, as it were, by dreams and myths which to people in those days were real. When the *Gita* talks about the sacred fig tree of Aswattha, "the everlasting rooted in heaven, its branches earthward, its leaves a song of the Vedas", this to us is merely a pretty fancy. But to people of the age of the *Gita* it was real. It

was real because it was part of the collective subconscious which dream-life showed to be a fact. Nowadays we treat the wisdom of the subconscious as beneath serious consideration —unless we are unusually devout disciples of Jung, perhaps! —and the result is that there arises a rift between the conscious and the subconscious. We deliberately try to repress the unpleasant darkness of the subconscious life and show always a respectable face to the world. The result is that self-deception and petty lies become the usual order of the day. However, whether this theory is or is not correct, it is a fact that untruthfulness is a vice almost unmentioned amid the many intimate details of virtues and vices and daily life told of in the many volumes of the Pali Texts of primitive Buddhism. It is also a fact that today untruthfulness is taken for granted unless it is frightfully blatant. It was therefore utterly essential that Gandhi should place truth before all and state that Truth is God.

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I have said that Gandhi's message in *Harijan* came to me as a weekly tonic for the living of daily life. But it is often asserted that the gospels of Gandhi and the *Gita* are impossible of fulfilment in a society based upon money-making and self-seeking just as much as upon petty lying, for very few can live in a community like Ittoen. People who make this assertion forget that Gandhi himself was a highly successful barrister before he espoused the Lady Poverty. It is obvious, these say, that a person who owns a shop would soon go bankrupt if he gave his goods away instead of exacting a proper payment for them. On the face of it, it would seem that in such a case he must place his own self-interest before that of a starving waif.

If in fact considerations like this do prevent living the teaching of the *Gita* and of Gandhi, then such teaching can have no meaning for us. But do they? It is the attitude of mind and detachment that matter, not the things owned or the work done—so long as the work done is that for which we are born—and does not injure others, the Buddha would add.

The man who owns a grocer's shop must obviously run it on ordinary business principles which include proper costing. If he feels called as a public duty to feed starving waifs, this too must be done on business principles, but here the means will probably be provided by donations of others as well as himself, and it will probably be done through a welfare society which in addition to giving food, will perhaps, like Gandhi, show the starving waifs how to give work in return for food. The test of whether this grocer is following in the steps of the Mahatma and the *Gita*, will be whether he is able to remain equable when someone defrauds him in his business, or when the hungry waif steals food he foolishly left open to temptation. The test is also whether he strives to make more and more money, instead of striving to give more and more service.

There is also another test even more down to earth, and this is the spirit in which we render little services to others, services which we are beholden to give. Most people give grudgingly, and expect thanks or a reward, or at least prestige. But the follower of the Gita will give because it is good to give ; he will give his services as a thanks offering for being able to be in tune with the Law of Sacrifice. He will certainly not expect anything in return.

Another objection that is often raised to the possibility of living the teaching of the *Gita* and of Gandhi, is that we should completely exhaust ourselves if we "burned with the bliss and suffered with the sorrow of every creature". Those who make this assertion have no experience of the meaning of detachment, or of being detached from their own bliss and sorrow. If we cannot stand aside from our own joys and troubles, we cannot understand how it is possible to feel sympathetic joy and compassion for another without being emotionally involved. It is this attitude of detachment that makes the work of a good doctor or nurse of value. No parent, no matter how eminent a surgeon, would operate on his own child simply because he is emotionally attached and cannot stand aside and know true compassion which is without worry and anxiety. But the compatibility of

compassion and sympathetic joy with perfect detachment is something that must be experienced to be understood. It cannot be explained intellectually to one who does not know it from actual experience.

It is true that the greater our power, wealth and prestige, the greater the difficulty in achieving perfect detachment, love and truth. It is significant that Gandhi gave up his membership of the Congress when he found it was compromising his quest for Truth.

None the less it has been found in every age and all religions that though one lives in the world, it is still possible to follow the teaching of the *Gita*. Mahayana Buddhism expresses this faith in the much loved Vimalakirti Sutra. The hero of this was a wealthy house-holder, but though he had wife and children as well as wealth, he observed the monastic rules, and though a layman he was universally proclaimed wiser than the greatest of the Buddha's monk disciples.

But let us make no mistake, if we aspire to be like Vimalakirti, the Pure One, we must make the quest for the Supreme paramount. That is to say, the things of this world including its sensual pleasures, must play less and less part in our lives. God, the Light, the Oneness, or whatever we choose to call it, must become more and more a living experience, so that other things fade into the background and we become like Gandhi only "a dancer to the tune of God".

Christians who admired Gandhi would ask whether it was not the Presence of Christ that guided him. He replied (I quote from memory) : "If you mean the historical Jesus, then I feel no such presence. But if you mean a Spirit guiding me, nearer than hands and feet, nearer than the very breath of me, then I do feel such a Presence. Had it not been for this Presence, the waters of the Ganges would long ere this have been my destruction. You may call it Christ or Krishna—that does not matter to me."

And that is the Gandhi we see through the eyes of the *Gita*, the only real Gandhi in so far as any perishable human being can be called "real".

1. V. B. Kher, *In Search of the Supreme*, III, p. 343.
2. *Bhagavad Gita*, Isherwood's translation, p. 58.
3. *Ibid.*, Mascaro's translation, 3 : 27.
4. *Gita*, ch. 3; Kher, III, p. 236.
5. *Gospel of St. John*. ch. 12. v. 24.
6. Kher, III, p. 236.
7. Kher, III, p. 248.
8. Kher, III, p. 257.
9. Isherwood's tr., p. 86.
10. Mascaro's tr., ch. 6, v. 31.

A CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATION OF AHIMSA

AGEHANANDA BHARATI

If Indian intellects suffer from any endemic trouble, I believe it is a systematic confusion between the "is" and the "ought". Statements which illustrate this confusion abound in modern Indian parlance: "There is no caste in modern Hinduism"; "Indian culture is more spiritual than western culture"; and, directly concerning our theme, "Ahimsa is the supreme law". In all these statements, token statements of Indian culture at various times, or in a continuum carrying into our day, the "is" should be replaced by, or should have been avoided in the first place *and* substituted by, "ought". I have heard a common rejoinder to this suggestion: it is not a systematic confusion, but ignorance—so say the modest; or better intuition of the Truth (the capital letter is *heard* whenever it is used in a rejoinder)—so say the pompous. But whether ignorance or some sort of non-cognitive, superior intuition, the philosophical fact is and remains that no "ought" ever follows from an "is", nor does an "is" ever imply an "ought"—the two refer to two worlds that cannot meet; or, less Kiplingian, these are two languages which cannot be used together; or again, more technically, "is" and "ought" belong to different, incompatible logical categories. It may one day be the case that there is no caste in

India, and it may always have been the case that Ahimsa was the supreme law, if this could be proved axiomatically; or it may be the case that there ought to be no caste in India, and that Ahimsa ought to be the supreme moral law—but these are two totally unrelated types of statement; they are four different statements, not two.

I am proceeding on the assumption that Ahimsa ought to be the supreme law; "supreme" both in an aggregative sense, as the law that should stand on top of any legal and/or moral hierarchy, and in a universal sense, that it should be binding for all societies at all times and in all circumstances. This may be denied, of course, but then we would not have a topic—it would peter out and this article could not be written. Given, however, that an audience does accept the ruling, I will urge for a new, restrictive, but valid definition of Ahimsa, and will try to show it works in a universal setting which is both humane and sophisticated, yet not sanctimonious, nor pompous or trivial.

The genesis of Ahimsa as a moral precept is not, as most people in India and their Western admirers have come to think, Buddhist or Jain. The dictum, "*Ahimsa paramo dharmah*" (nonviolence is the supreme Dharma) is a quotation from the *Mahabharata*, and Yudhisthira is the speaker. When asked what he regarded as moral law (this, of course, is a very general and perhaps a scurrilous rendition of Niti, Dharma, Niyama and other loaded terms), he gives a lengthy disquisition on what people of different social status, and in different, i.e. geographically diversified, societies ought to do and to omit—a rather more prolix summary of the Svadharma teachings hinted at in the *Gita* in another portion of the epic. But when the questioner persists, the King finally comes out with his *obiter dictum* for all times : "*Ahimsa paramo dharmah*". Translated into modern parlance, this simply means: all rules of action, religious, secular, moral, are subject to the societies in which they apply, and are specific to the social status and to the roles played within any particular social setting. The only rule that applies to all societies, at all times, and in the acting of any social role

and in any status, is that of Ahimsa, for which I retain the Gandhian translation of "nonviolence" without any critical qualm. "Nonviolence" is so vague and so wide a term that no interpretation can defeat it; and for my own argument, which now follows, it is as it were accidentally helpful, as privative prefixes like "non-" and "a-" are less objectionable to the modern thinker than positive exclamations like "truth" and "goodness" when used in a moralizing sense.

A succinct statement of my argument at first: in order to reach a modern, sophisticated definition of Ahimsa, it has to be divested of emotive and spiritual pomp; and in order to jell with Yudhisthira's quasi-canonical (and, to my feeling, justified) claim that it is indeed the supreme Dharma, it must be universal. But to be universal, paradoxical though this must sound at first, it has to be *narrow* enough to permit the inclusion of a vast majority of moral agents who must reject a fundamentalistic, simplistic definition of Ahimsa as total abstinence from inflicting any pain whatever. Now, as a counter-balance to the enormous amount of conscious and unconscious sanctimoniousness and the pompous diction of most of the indigenously Indian Ahimsa-teachings of the Hindu Renaissance, i.e. of the last five or six decades, it is necessary, on the stylistic side, to introduce sophistication; without it, the intellectuals of all echelons of thought in the Western world and the upcoming generation in India which reads T. S. Eliot, Bertrand Russell, and Freud will not be attracted. The notion that style does not ccunt in making followers is wrong and childish; remember that Aldous Huxley, among many others—the author of this paper among them—was driven out of his native religion very largely by the pompous and balmy diction of his catechets. Thus, the contemporary teacher of Ahimsa as the universal moral law and as the supreme value must restrain himself; he must not fall into moralizing harangue. More and more, the young seeking mind, in India following the West, wants sober, superlativeless, and even adjective-less parlance; if Ahimsa is to be taught as the supreme value—perhaps "supreme" itself should be replaced by something less super-

lative—it should be couched in such terms as rational, conducive to an egalitarian society, liberal, pleasure-giving and not in such terms as spiritual, sublime, lofty, godlike, etc., for these terms are bound to drive away many potential listeners who have eaten of the tree of modern knowledge which is criticism and analysis.

So much for the new diction of Ahimsa. Returning now to the need of narrowing down the definition of Ahimsa for the sake of universalizing it: a naive, fundamentalistic, literal reading of it is bound to defeat its own purpose of universal acceptance. If, as some Arya Samajists, some literalistic Gandhians, and some Sanatani-oriented fundamentalists do, we insist on "no killing" as a blank order, well over 90 per cent of all potential listeners in the modern world will turn away; I am referring to the non-vegetarians, who constitute over 90 per cent of all mankind. Now I am perfectly aware —and pointed this out earlier in passing—that no "ought" can be derived from any "is"; the fact that most people do eat meat does of course not imply, logically or morally, that it is right to do so. The question is whether or not the eating of meat is morally wrong and on this point there can be two views. Personally, I hold that it is morally neutral, not on a literal, fundamentalistic interpretation of Ahimsa, but on a universalized, narrowed-down, contemporary definition which is the theme of this paper—we are just working towards it, but the reader must bide his time until we get there a bit farther below. On a literal, fundamentalistic reading of Ahimsa it is no doubt wrong; but the question arises whether the retention of this fundamentalistic reading does not bode more damage to the Ahimsa-teaching in the process of its universal acceptance, in that it bars a vast majority of people from accepting it. In other words, may there not be greater harm in curbing the universal acceptance of Ahimsa, to include the people and the powers that make and dispense the atom, than in the continued killing of animals for food? For given that the atom and the hydrogen bombs once do their nasty job completely, there will be no cowherds and shepherds to tend cows and

sheep, nor any cows and sheep to be tended. And the pious hope that the sheer "spiritual" power of the teaching of Ahimsa will persuade 90 per cent of humanity to desist from meat eating, is jejune utopia, particularly as the eating of meat is not regarded as morally bad even by a good proportion of the people from amongst whom the teaching originated, namely, the Hindus and the Buddhists. I find embarrassed silence among such vegetarian groups of listening Bhaktas as Gujarati and Marwari speakers who have become devotees of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, when they are told—and I think, for pedagogical and pastoral reasons they have to be told—that both of these masterful teachers of Hindu lore were fish and/or meat eaters, not due to a particularly contrived interpretation of the scriptures, but due to the anthropological fact that Bengalis have been eating non-vegetarian food as a matter of course, with the somewhat hapless attempts of Vaishnava reformers to stop the custom defeated in the long run of Bengali culinary history. And, of course, all intellectually honest pandits know that meat, including beef, had been one of the staples in Vedic and Puranic days. Yet, these arguments from "is" (or "was", which amounts to the same) do not imply any "ought" (or "ought to have been"); for a moral purpose, the above argument (involving the salutariness of the atom and of human versus cattle survival) is valid, because it is an all-out "ought" argument, involving no "is".

Actually, the only hitch about using a literalistic definition of Ahimsa as a universal postulate lies in this dietetic realm; were it not for the historical accident that vegetarianism has acquired high prestige in India, so much so that it is one of the instruments for social climbing in the caste pattern, the fundamentalistic definition as implied by Gandhiji and as usually accepted by vegetarian Indians would have sufficed for a universal definition, too. On the other hand, this very accident is fuel for the thinker's thoughts : the fact that a rather easy device—namely the not-eating of meat in traditionally vegetarian segments of India's population and the almost equally easy renunciation of meat by

people who want to be different (I discountenance the very few who give up meat out of a feeling of emergent disgust) —has been used to hint at greater spiritual perfection is enough reason for the genuinely ethical thinker to reject status-giving vegetarianism as any means of moral agency. The official culture of modern India being puritanical to an excess, any action or omission that means less potential pleasure in a comparable situation confers greater prestige, as it adds to the ascetical Gestalt of the person who is persuaded and who wants to persuade his fellowmen that there is virtue in his renunciation. I do not say that vegetarianism has no merit; it has, but it is aesthetic rather than ethical, at least in the Indian context. I can see why a humanist or an intellectual in India or among Indians today refuses to eat meat or to drink alcoholic beverages when he does partake of both in non-Indian surroundings: a profoundly ethical mind would be annoyed at partaking in hedonistic pursuits—be they food, drink, or sex—where these pursuits or their omission carry a moralistic value, where they are loaded with value judgements of resentment or of emancipatory smartness. One often has the feeling among modernistic Hindus who have taken to drink and to meat and to extramarital sex that they do these things not so much for the fun but for the sin of them; but the humanist can be no partner to them—he enjoys these things for their pleasure or their inspiration, but not for some sort of surreptitious catharsis.

This much about meat food, the *bete noire* in a modern definition of Ahimsa. If these arguments do not convince the Ahimsa-fundamentalist, then he must not expect Ahimsa to become a universal doctrine, not because people will not accept it (this would be a forensic inference from an "is" to an "ought" which is forbidden), but because all people do not have to accept it on purely ethical grounds, on the basis of the arguments I preferred earlier.

The way is now clear for a universally acceptable definition of Ahimsa and I shall finally show that Yudhisthira's dictum may indeed be valid, albeit after a much more

discursive and sophisticated process of thought than the old King ever dreamed of. This is the definition: Ahimsa —nonviolence—is an attitude held by a person in all inter-personal situations, and implemented by that person in the majority of his inter-personal activities: the attitude of consciously inflicting no, or as little harm as possible, on other human beings.

This definition, of course, requires some elucidation. All moral introjections are attitudes; one does not "act" morally or immorally straightaway, for the physical act is strictly neutral. Each act accompanied by certain cogitations constitutes a moral or an immoral act, or of course a morally neutral act. If the surgeon cuts into his patient's cardial region to insert a plastic valve, he acts well, and probably morally, too; if he cuts into the same spot by exactly the same method, in order to get rid of his wife's paramour on the table before him, he acts immorally; and when he cleans his hands after the operation he acts morally neutrally, except of course for the ethical stickler who can, if he presses the matter very hard, find some moral correlation in each and every trifling act. "Inflicting" harm must include "permitting harm to be inflicted": if an American doctor drives along Highway 99 and does not stop to pick up a wounded person from the roadside because this makes him (the doctor) responsible for the man, he (the doctor) has consciously permitted harm to be inflicted on a person and is therefore guitly of Himsa, violence. "No harm or as little harm as possible"—this is no facile watering-down of a moral doctrine, but a logically necessary emendation. "No harm" cannot always be done; there are millions of situations where a choice has to be made between greater and lesser harm. The famous case in point is that of the young man during World War II who came to Jean Paul Sartre to ask his advice : should he, as the Bible taught him, stay at home with Mama and serve her as he was her only son, or should he, as the Bible taught him, serve his country by joining the Resistance for training ; Sartre told him to do what he had already decided to do when he came to him.

for advice : had he wanted to stay at home, he would have gone to some collaborating Padre who would have advised him to stay with Mama; the young man knew that J. P. Sartre was a member of the Resistance. No holy writ can help you in a moral decision in critical situations; and the average "be nice" injunctions which the world's religions have given *en masse* to last for hundreds of years yet to come are pretty facile and jejune—every sane adult knows that it is "bad" to steal and "bad" to fornicate with whosoever comes by—no Jesus and no Muhammad and no Srikrishna are needed to tell him that. The Sartre example is one from an historically specific critical situation. But examples abound in daily life in society that show that "no harm" cannot be done, and that the choice between less harm and more harm is incumbent on the person who would practise Ahimsa. Take the matrimonial triangle, a ubiquitous pattern in all patriarchal societies : there is the married couple and there is the third person emotionally involved with one of the two. Now if there is no indulgence when emotion is strong and consuming, harm is done to two persons, *i. e.* the outsider and the married person who refrains from indulgence; if they indulge and the other married partner finds out, it means pain to him and to the other two as well; if they indulge discreetly and if they can scheme it so that the horned partner cannot find it out, it would mean pain to none, unless they believe in a sort of Jungian common soul to which harm may be done in an indirect, abstruse fashion, or if they hold a Kantian categorical imperative enjoining actions whose maxims should be applicable for a universal legislation.

However the quantificatory approach to these marginal situations is dangerous, not for moral but for social reasons: in the first place, there can never be any guarantee for complete discretion; secondly—and more importantly, to my feeling—such involvement tends to put the involved persons on a constant defensive, it tends to jeopardize the affection between the married partners, and it will most probably affect the children of the marital union adversely.

But, following G.E. Moore, these are not moral considerations —they are of a sociological, psychological, or of some other non-ethical nature; to assume them to be of moral significance is to commit the "naturalistic fallacy", the most frequent form of confusing the "ought" with the "is". And as Ahimsa is a strictly ethical doctrine—unless it is taken in a Brahmanical-theological sense as the consummate state of the sage's mind, in which case it is a synonym of Mukti, which sense does not concern us in this contribution—it belongs to "the ought" sphere alone; the consideration that some people do and some people do not act at the behest of Ahimsa is totally irrelevant to our purpose of establishing a contemporary interpretation of the teaching.

Finally, in our definition, "no or as little as possible *conscious* harm" : it really goes without saying that unconsciously inflicted harm does not conflict with Ahimsa; stepping on someone's toe in the Delhi bus, as someone else pushes one, is not Himsa, unless one calculates on whose toes to land after being pushed, which latter case is a clear infraction of Ahimsa.

I think I have shown within a brief compass a less inspiring, less simple, unsanctimonious, but in the long run more valid, and to the intellectuals of the modern world, a more negotiable version of Ahimsa—one, I feel, the late Prime Minister Nehru might have been acting upon without formulating it.

GANDHIJI : SOME REMINISCENCES

B. Shiva Rao

My earliest contact with Gandhiji was in 1916, at the inaugural function of the Banaras Hindu University : and my last tragic glimpse of him was at Birla House on the morning of 31 January 1948, when his earthly remains were taken for cremation to Rajghat, close to Delhi's Red Fort. During those thirty years and more it was my privilege to come into intimate touch with him on several occasions in different situations. He was unique as an individual, often unpredictable in his reactions to problems, baffling to his colleagues and followers—but always, whether in triumph or in defeat, the embodiment of serenity and poise.

My first impression of him at the University function in Banaras early in 1916 was, I must confess, not favourable. After Mrs Besant had addressed the gathering, consisting mainly of students, in moving language holding out the glorious prospect of successive generations of young men being trained for service in a free India, rose an old-looking man in a Kathiawari turban warning the audience against being misled by her eloquence into believing that India was ready for home rule. Moreover, he thought that such a movement, in the midst of a war that was taking all the energies of the British Government, was questionable from

a moral standpoint. The speech, which contained other similar out-of-the-normal sentiments, struck me as inappropriate. Mrs Besant, listening with increasing impatience, finally burst out that it was unwise to speak to immature young men in the strain that he had done. The sympathies of the audience were obviously far more with him than with her. When the excitement created by her intervention had finally subsided, calm and absolutely unperturbed, he defended Mrs Besant by pointing out that she had only spoken out of her love of India and her motive should not be misunderstood.

Gandhiji, whose sympathies at that time were generally with the Moderate school of political thought, was inclined to view immediate home rule for India (at the end of the first world war) as impracticable.

Nevertheless, in the following year (1917) when Mrs Besant was interned for her home rule activities, Gandhiji seriously suggested a mass march to her place of detention at Ootacamund to enforce her liberation. So far as Gandhiji was concerned, the process of conversion to the home rule idea, thus begun, was completed at the end of the war by the martial law regime in the Panjab, culminating in Jallianwalla Bagh.

From that moment, until the achievement of freedom in 1947, Gandhiji was the unchallenged leader of the national movement. Several times, in this period of rapidly changing circumstances, he clashed with old and experienced colleagues : but such was his hold on the masses and so uncanny was his assessment of a situation that on every occasion those who differed from him either went out of the movement or meekly acquiesced in his policy and programme.

Lokamanya Tilak died in 1920, on the eve of Gandhiji's first experiment with non-cooperation, with its four-fold boycotts. For Mrs Besant it was a severe ordeal to oppose what she passionately considered to be a course fraught with disaster. Again and again she urged a slower pace of progress for India rather than that "the movement should be marred by excesses".

Differences in regard to the goal and the technique which Gandhiji had brought into Indian politics—nonviolent civil disobedience—did not, however, prevent these two leaders from coming together sometimes for specific purposes. In the summer of 1926, she sent me to Gandhiji to seek his support for the Commonwealth of India Bill, the creation of a National Convention under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's leadership. Gandhiji was at that time in Calcutta for Deshabandhu Das's funeral. The city was wrapped in deep sorrow. Gandhiji, sad and forlorn, asked me if as a condition for his support Mrs Besant would agree to sanctions being forged to compel British acceptance. Unable to obtain such an assurance (which I had no authority to offer) he contented himself with a mild and qualified approval of the scheme.

Of Gandhiji in the subsequent years I saw a good deal, beginning with the Round Table Conference in London. One memorable scene lingers in my memory. At midnight in St. James' Palace (the venue of the Conference) after many delegates had spoken—Sapru, Jinnah, Sastri, Zafrullah Khan, etc.—came Gandhiji with a spontaneous and earnest appeal to the British Government to bury the past and accept India as an equal partner, to form a real League of Nations; not, as he put it, "for the exploitation of any race or region but for the good of humanity". The weary delegates sat up, fascinated by the lofty vision of the concept.

The early thirties were tragic years, filled with bitterness and frustration. I busied myself with an organisation known as "The Buy Indian League", with the generous cooperation of the *Hindu* which published all my statements on the progress of the movement. For about a year or two, the movement grew vigorously while Congress leaders were in prison for one of their periodical displays of defiance of authority.

Suddenly one day, when I was temporarily out of Madras on work, came a postcard from Gandhiji (then recently released from prison) written in his own hand : "I missed you during my stay in Madras", he said; and then followed a couple of sentences warmly appreciative of my work and

commending, in particular, my stress on village and rural industries. This brief note was followed some months later by a letter, also in his own hand, from Sevagram. Would I go to Wardha, he asked me, and help in the building up of a Village Industries Association ? I gladly accepted the invitation and spent two busy days with him and his lieutenants discussing details; but I was not prepared for the sequel—an offer of a place on the executive of the new Association. It meant whole-time work and no other activity—and certainly no politics. Just about that time I had been offered by the *Hindu* an assignment in New Delhi as its correspondent, with the likelihood of a similar connection with the *Manchester Guardian*.

Journalism has always had a strong attraction for me after my experience on the staff of Mrs Besant's *New India*. Reluctantly I turned down Gandhiji's offer and went to New Delhi for the start of my new career. Little did I realise at the time that this association with two great papers, one Indian and the other British, would bring me unique opportunities of working from behind the scenes on the path of conciliation.

The first such opportunity came shortly after Lord Linlithgow's assumption of Viceroyalty. In the first general elections under the 1935 Constitution, the Congress party had secured majorities in seven provinces. The issue before the Working Committee was whether office should be accepted for such constructive purposes as the Constitution, with its numerous safeguards, opened up, or for "wrecking it from within", as the left-wing elements defined their standpoint. Rajaji had worked out a formula which I put out in the two papers I represented from New Delhi, with a hint that its acceptance by the British Government might lead to a settlement.

Lord Linlithgow had recently come out to India as Viceroy, as Lord Willingdon's successor. His background was the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture (of which he had been the Chairman) and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill—subsequently

the 1935 Constitution. He was a man of few words, somewhat conscious of the responsibilities of his position as Viceroy. But so far as Gandhiji was concerned, he was different from his predecessor who had a deep, ill-concealed prejudice against him and was convinced that the only way to deal with him was to keep him at arm's length and be firm. Mr Baldwin had sent Lord Linlithgow to India to bring the new Constitution into operation and, if possible, to inaugurate federation before the completion of his term.

Lord Linlithgow had not met Gandhiji before coming to India ; but what he had heard about him from his predecessor and his senior official advisers could not have made a favourable impression on the new Viceroy. Nevertheless, it was known that he was willing to make a direct contact with Gandhiji, without making it apparent that he was breaking away, so soon after assuming office, from Willingdon's practice. In my first interview with the new Viceroy, I gently indicated the desirability of an early meeting with India's foremost leader. But how was it to be done ? The Viceroy's mind was set on the new Constitution and of making it work; he was in no mood to discuss with anyone the liberalisation of the Constitution. At my first opportunity, therefore, I spoke to him about Gandhiji's Village Industries' Association which, I explained, had some feature of interest for the Viceroy who was considering at that time the formation of an All-India Rural Development Board. I mentioned some other points, all non-political, which could fruitfully afford a meeting ground between the two without embarrassment for the Viceroy—problems of nutrition, for instance, an adequate milk-supply in the country, public health, cottage industries, in regard to all of which the Association (I said) was doing useful, active work.

Lord Linlithgow seemed interested in all these topics; but on making a direct contact with Gandhiji there was no commitment, not even a comment. His immediate advisers were willing to discuss with me such a possibility, but only to point out to me the hurdles that had to be crossed. Would Gandhiji write his name in the Viceroy's book ? I did not

think he would. And, of course, he would have to apply in writing for a formal interview with His Excellency and agree to his name appearing in the Court Circular on the day following the event. I was quite certain he would not observe such formalities.

More considerations were piled up in Simla against an early interview. The Village Industries Association was not considered important enough for the inauguration of a new policy of cooperation. Moreover, an interview granted to Gandhiji would enhance his prestige and that of the Congress. A general election under the new (1935) Constitution was due early in the following year, and an impression might be created that the ground was being prepared for a Linlithgow-Gandhi pact similar to the Irwin-Gandhi pact of 1931. What would the Muslims think of such a development ? And the Princes : one had to think of them too, lest they should be frightened away from federation.

Lord Linlithgow thus spent a year and more of his Viceroyalty wondering, vacillating (and perhaps apprehensive) about meeting Gandhiji. The general elections in the early months of 1937 were a great shock to the Viceroy's official advisers who had hoped for and even predicted a victory for the groups fighting the Congress. Unprepared mentally for the prospects of the Congress assuming office in the provinces where they had secured majorities, the Viceroy's advisers suggested the inevitability of a showdown (in the form of civil disobedience) and the ultimate suspension of the new Constitution.

The general elections under the 1935 Constitution had taken place, giving the Congress Party a decisive majority in seven provinces. A deadlock had arisen because of the Party's refusal to accept office without certain assurances from Governors. Left-wingers made no secret of their determination "to wreck the Constitution from within", even if they were called upon to form Ministries.

In this difficult situation the new Viceroy was groping his way towards a solution. One morning late in April

1937, my telephone rang. It was Mr (now Sir Gilbert) Laithwaite, the Viceroy's Private Secretary, at the other end. "Can you come over if you are not busy ?" he said. Mr Laithwaite promptly ushered me on my arrival in the building into the Viceroy's room without any explanation. "Do you know Mr Gandhi well ?", the Viceroy asked me quietly. "Yes, Sir", I said, "I have known him for twenty years".

"I have not yet met him, though I would like to do so", was his next remark : "Do you think he can be trusted to keep a secret ?" "There is no man in India with a more scrupulous sense of honour", was my reply.

The Viceroy then pulled out a Press clipping from a drawer in front of him. "Here is a message from you", he said, "in the *Manchester Guardian*. It has attracted the Secretary of State's notice. What is your authority for saying that the Congress Party may reconsider its attitude if the British Government accepts your formula as a basis for negotiation ?" I explained that my message in the *Guardian* (practically identical with the one which had appeared simultaneously in the *Hindu*) was drafted after a detailed discussion with Mr Rajagopalachari; and he certainly knew Gandhiji's mind better than any other Congress leader. If Gandhiji was satisfied, the Congress Working Committee would, I was confident, accept his lead.

"This certainly makes a difference", said the Viceroy. But he wanted a number of points clarified in the formula before he could advise the Secretary of State. He mentioned four points on which he wanted further elucidation and wondered how it could be done, without bringing him or the Secretary of State into the picture. I reflected for a brief while and said I saw a way out. I would go to Gandhiji (who was at that time in a village in Belgaum District for a meeting of the Village Industries' Association) and get an interview from him on these four points as a newspaper man.

"I will be frank with you, Sir", I added : "I must tell him privately that these points have been raised by you and the Secretary of State, and that if his replies are acceptable

to you, there may be a settlement."

The Viceroy seemed agreeable to my suggestion, without committing himself to subsequent developments. He was anxious that my interview with Gandhiji should rouse no suspicion in the public mind about negotiations being started with him. He appeared uneasy and apprehensive lest any indiscretion on my (or Gandhiji's) part should give him away. I assured him that his fears were groundless, but added that if he really wanted the errand on which I was about to go to Gandhiji to succeed, my name should not appear in the Court circular the following morning. He appreciated the point and readily agreed to keep my name out.

Arriving some days later at the village where Gandhiji was camping (it was a Monday afternoon, the day of his silence), I wrote on a piece of paper : "I have some questions for you from the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and if your replies are acceptable to them, the political deadlock may be broken". He wrote on the same paper : "Come tomorrow and be prepared to spend the day with me". I wrote again : "I will come, but tomorrow I will not mention the Viceroy or the Secretary of State; I will ask the questions as though they are from the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Hindu*".

The whole of Tuesday and Wednesday we spent over the questions. Gandhiji dictated the answers, in the presence of Dr Rajendra Prasad and some other lieutenants, but would not permit me to go until he had seen the message I would send to these two papers. Gandhiji was not satisfied with his replies, even after two days of concentrated and patient effort. "Why don't you come to Poona with me tonight ?" he finally said. "I will rewrite the statement and let you have it by midday tomorrow". He must have worked at it in the train, because when I called at "Parna Kuti" in Poona (his temporary residence) at the appointed hour, he handed it over to me. "I think I am a better journalist then you are", he said, as I received the document, with a smile. I conceded his claim : "But you have had

training in jouranlism", I remarked, "when you were in South Africa". He told me that he did not want a fight with the British unless it was forced on him. "I have only to be coaxed", he added, discussing the reluctance of the Governors to give the sort of assurance that he was demanding as a preliminary to Congress acceptance of office. I conveyed to him that I had assured British officials in New Delhi that he had no intention of throwing the British out of India; his real object was to promote a big constructive movement in the country. "You were quite right", was his comment.

The interview with Gandhiji was promptly published in the *Hindu* and the *Manchester Guardian* and with it was an editorial in both papers supporting Gandhiji's point of view. Nevertheless, both in Simla and in London, officials were slow in utilising the opportunity he had created for direct negotiations. Not until early August of that year was it possible for the Viceroy to grasp the initiative and invite Gandhiji for an interview, long after Congress ministries had been installed in office. The Viceroy's official advisers consistently took the line all through that summer that the Congress, by rejecting office after the general elections, had committed a tactical blunder and was anxious to find a way out. An interview granted to Gandhiji would thus provide an escape, and it was not the Viceroy's business to make it easy for the Congress to retrace its steps.

It was clear to me that Gandhiji, after years of experimenting and many failures, was at that time definitely seeking a lasting settlement with the British on negotiated terms. At the time of the outbreak of the second world war, the Congress, had it accepted his advice, would have offered unconditional cooperation, without however active, material support, in the prosecution of the war. A sharp division of opinion on this vital issue inside the Working Committee led to the adoption of a course of action which was certainly not in accordance with Gandhiji's views. It was the country's misfortune that all through the war years, Gandhiji and leading members of the Working Committee were unable to agree on a common line of action and policy. He was

opposed to the Cripps offer of 1942 (though Pandit Nehru and Rajaji were in favour of its acceptance) and retired to Sevagram at an early stage of the negotiations with a sense of failure.

Between Gandhiji and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru there was a bond of mutual regard, which had steadily deepened over a period of twenty-five years. As Lord Reading's Law Member, Sir Tej Bahadur had resisted from within the Government Gandhiji's prosecution in 1922. It is true that at the Round Table Conference in London nearly ten years later they differed sharply over the tactics to be pursued. But Gandhiji respected opposition which sprang from honest conviction, and their personal relations remained unshaken all through their lives.

I remember a dark night at Sevagram in 1944. Gandhiji, with all his Congress colleagues still in prison, had in a mood of anxiety summoned Sir Tej Bahadur to his hut to ascertain from him whether a certain formula, which he intended later to discuss with Mr Jinnah in Bombay, implied the creation of Pakistan. Bhulabhai Desai was another invitee—with me sitting behind them, a silent but eager listener. Gandhiji was distressed that Sir Tej Bahadur's interpretation of the formula was that it would imply support of Mr Jinnah's demand for India's division. Fortunately (for him) after a series of futile discussions in Bombay, the negotiations ended abruptly, with no commitments on either side.

When the British Cabinet Mission visited New Delhi in the early summer of 1946, one of the persons whom they wished to consult was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (who was my honoured guest), desperately ill and too weak to go to Viceroy's House for the interview. I conveyed the news to Sir Stafford Cripps who immediately had all the arrangements altered to suit Sir Tej Bahadur's convenience. The interview took place in my house the following day under elaborate police precautions. Gandhiji, to whom this incident was reported, sent me a message that night that he was coming the next morning to enquire personally after

Sir Tej Bahadur's health. That proved to be their last meeting.

A few weeks later when all arrangements were complete for the election of members of the Constituent Assembly, I sought an interview one evening with Gandhiji at the "Bhangi Colony" in New Delhi. "What is it about ?" he asked me with a smile, as I met him in front of his hut. I explained that it was the composition of the Constituent Assembly I was interested in : Congress leaders who had been to prison several times could not be expected to have specialised in constitution making. There were about 15 men (I took the liberty of adding) outside the Congress, who could contribute materially towards carrying out such a task. Gandhiji readily accepted my suggestion and referred with warm approval to Gokhale's habit of a thorough study of all public questions. "But have you a list of such persons?" he asked. I promptly pulled out a sheet of paper on which I had drawn it up for him and said, "Here is my list". There were (I think) 15 or 16 names, beginning with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sri. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Dr M. R. Jayakar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar. "They are all good names", Gandhiji said, "but show the list to Maulana who is the President of the Congress and to Jawaharlalji. You may tell them it has my approval." The list went through the Working Committee, with one or two changes. Had Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru been in good health, I have no doubt in my mind that he would have been Gandhiji's first choice for the Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly.

That was my last interview wtih Gandhiji. I sought one again towards the end of January 1948. The reply came that I might see him early in February, if he was still in Delhi. But 30th January intervened.

At the hand of an assassin ended a career of unique brilliance in a vain attempt to stem the tide of communal violence and hatred. No one, unless he is a blind admirer, will claim that through all the baffling complexities of three decades of the campaign for freedom, he never took the wrong turning. On the other hand, his worst critics would

not deny him credit for generous appreciation of their points of view even when there appeared to be no common ground.

Looking back over the period of his leadership, I see certain great qualities standing out. At the end of the first world war especially after the terrible events of Amritsar and martial law in the Panjab, it was Gandhiji's supreme moral courage and vision that led the country to express its resentment in the form of nonviolent non-cooperation and thus averted murder and hatred. The principles he laid down in the early twenties proved to be the guiding influences right up to the achievement of freedom in 1947. The partition of the country was for him the stamp of failure; as were the large-scale Hindu-Muslim riots. He was a sad man, disillusioned in many ways, when he laid down his life. He did not agree with his lieutenants that freedom for a divided India was better on the whole than persistence in a policy of seeking agreement with Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League. Even after partition, he cherished the hope of a tie, however loose, with Pakistan, so that over the sub-continent there could be a confederation. Whether such an association will ever come into being will depend on the forbearance and statesmanship of the leaders at the helm of affairs of the two countries.

What Gandhiji did not live to see was the magnificent example he set of a settlement with Britain through friendly negotiations. That has proved inspiring to all the dependent races of mankind and their Imperial rulers. The gradual disappearance of colonial rule from the world is Gandhiji's crowning glory. He is foremost among the liberators of humanity.

HINDUISM : A MODERN REVALUATION

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

Hinduism, both as a metaphysical system rooted in man's experience of divine reality and as an organization of faith which includes a diversity of cultural and ethnic inheritance, has a particular relevance for modern humanity. As we approach a larger and deeper area of self-awareness and, therefore, of mutual consciousness, the meaning of spiritual ecumenicity, involving related, and yet unique and separately formulated religions, becomes a challenge to our inter-faith understanding. Since India did not attempt to reduce great religious systems to an amorphous mass, but approached them with reverence and encouraged rival schools of thought within Hinduism itself, the axiology of Hindu faith demands new examination. To the modern scholar the astonishing paradox of Hinduism is that it is religion without a creed or any absolute scriptural text or even a founder, and that it has survived as such in a land beset with a multiplicity of social structures, languages, and ideologies brought in by many races, and by the intermingling forces of civilization. The sages and seers of India proclaimed the primacy of the "divine access" in the religious experience of man, and upheld the concept of moral order as the supporting basis of a religious life. They refrained from insistence on institutional confor-

mity. And yet the main contours of Hinduism have remained unchanged from the time of the Upanishads. Rammohan Roy, Ramakrishna, Tagore and Gandhi in our age have given new power and vitality to India's basic religion.

It would not be difficult to find special problems and failures within the matrix of historical Hinduism, but some of the positive features of this faith demand critical appreciation. Above all, we need, as in the study of all religions, an intrinsic approach and a knowledge of the original sources of Hinduism. The influence of other religions on Hinduism, and the impact of India's spiritual faith on neighbourly and distant religious systems, could best be studied by scholars who are familiar, through their own disciplines, with the background of man's unremitting search for truth.

The cosmogony of Vedic Hinduism has aroused the special interest of modern astro-physicists. Einstein used to comment on the span of Indian thought which included millions of shining suns, and curiously enough, enumerated space as one of the materials of the Universe. The ancient mind of India touched the raiment of Cosmic reality beyond the moving darknesses and lights, and while describing this "divine other" of God's creation also revealed man's expansive ability to comprehend the pattern. Full illumination, according to the Upanishads, unveiled the law of God at every level of His material Being; spiritual man had to approach God not only through inner realization, but also in the intellectual knowledge of the outer world. Indeed, ignorance regarding the material world is described in the *Ishopanishad* as being more disastrous than ignorance of the spirit. As Tagore put it, the person who knows the law of gravitation alone but not any apples that fall or the earth where the law applies is precariously situated. Indian scriptures offer fascinating vistas in exploring the correlations of physical and metaphysical truth. Numerous symbols and parables hold a trembling moment of realized mystery; we read a language whose key we seem to have lost. Schrodinger in his writings, and Oppenheimer in some of his modern discourses, have looked upon Hindu metaphysics

with the insight of a scientific philosopher, and this field of inquiry invites fresh research. In the light of relativism in science, the Vedantist concept of convergent fields of reality—revealed in their entireness to spiritual man—evokes more than a poetic interest. Poetry, too, of course, contains direct perception and prescience. Not that any claim should be made in regard to modern scientific evidence in the annals of ancient India; this would be as misleading as an attempt to read into early Hindu scriptures exact parallels of emphasis and knowledge that different religions have recorded in dissimilar contexts. But the power of Hindu thinkers in pursuing the nature of reality in astronomy, medicine, mineralogy and other areas of God's creation, is undeniable. With great persistence, these areas of fact were brought into relationship with the truth of consciousness, and with the values they revealed in the human process. Like the grains of imperishable truth to be found in passages of the Old Testament, in the Avesta, or in Chinese philosophy, or actually in any treasure of human experience gathered even in the lesser known and "prehistorical" sources, there are exactitudes and projections of logical imagination which can be recovered from the Hindu scriptures and added to the sum of the inspirational and forward moving thought of our day. The Hindu mind seeks and finds divine truth in other scriptures. The New Testament is to him the revelation of God in man. It is necessary today to bring science and religion together; the study of comparative religions may help this process. Hinduism, in spite of much legendary and occult infiltration, has never severed its connection with the sciences or with the inheritances of the great religions of the world.

Deussen studied Hinduism under the three categories of theology, cosmology, and psychology. The psycho-physical field covered in the Yogas would require investigation with techniques made available to our times; a careful sifting of the writings of the Yogic schools would yield valuable results. Patanjali's *Yoga Sutra*, a very ancient document, has been translated and variously interpreted in a popular way, but it is only recently that Western and Eastern psychologists

are devoting their methodology and specialized knowledge to the analysis of Yogic theories and practices. Here again, the difficulty rises from the fact that Yoga is firmly allied to a spiritual purpose; unlike the Samkhya philosophy, it is centred in Isvara, God, and combines metaphysical truth with values which belong to life and are good for body and mind, although the Vedanta Sutras, profoundly concerned as they are with the nature of the Absolute, felt cold towards a system which entered into body-mind processes in the pursuit of man's preparation for and gradual ascent towards the life divine. The lesser Yogic systems, committed wholly to the cultivation of psychic powers and physiological controls—with a faith in the human power to harness the "supernatural"—deviated from the spiritually harmonized purposes of Patanjali, and other early forms of Yoga. It would be rewarding to approach the whole area of Yoga with the combined and separate tools that neurology, psychosomatic knowledge and different spheres of psychology now provide. But none of these scientific studies as such would yield basic results if the spiritual wholeness of human nature is not recognized as the frame of reference.

Some specific points could be mentioned in this connection. The Yoga sutras indicate knowledge of dream processes, stages and forms of Nidra (sleep), cosmic unawareness as well as cosmic super-consciousness (in the curve of the mind as it enters Samadhi) which have a very special significance for researchers in the domain of psycho-physical interrelations. To every man of religion these frontiers are of intense interest, because spiritual life can be hindered or helped by factors which are closely allied and yet not known to us. Happily, in pastoral counselling as well as in the Western psychiatrical field greater cooperation rather than separation between experts is the rule. But, actually, these are not areas for experts alone; the Yoga system is relevant because it advocates the pooling of knowledge and its use for the well-being of the individual and the community.

Manas, the organ of mind ; the importance of Abhyasa, habits (good or harmful) ; Dharana, or "the holding operation"

of mind, leading to Samskara, or pervasive attitude and conduct, are important issues lifted up by the Yoga system. The release of potentialities that exist at depth levels of our personality is an essential function of Yoga, illuminating ideas and practices in regard to control and exercise of our latent powers which can be found in the Hindu treatises. Elaborate and difficult details are given, but it is necessary now to rescue truth from layers of conjecture. And such truth can be found in the treatises mentioned, and used for man's spiritual progress. The importance of establishing a rhythm, through breath-regulation, muscle-relaxation, and through a harmonic attitude towards life is no longer dismissed as occult or oriental. The Yoga Sutras were among the earliest scientific and metaphysical texts that spoke of Ahimsa, or nonviolence as a positive attribute, and advocated it as a law of spiritual living. The cultivation of friendly feelings is offered as a central cure for many diseases of mind and body which arise out of ignorance regarding the healthy use of our resources. But such ignorance can be removed. We could well examine the steps that the Yogic system lays before modern man.

Is Moksha the same as salvation? One could say no; and yet a comparative estimate would be revealing. Moksha, attained through the performance of good deeds, is the real objective of the Karmic doctrine. How do we build up a reserve of good-will, and how, otherwise, can we gain liberation? Is liberation, for a spiritual man, a cessation of responsibilities, or is it a voluntary acceptance of greater concern and more duties in regard to one's fellow beings who need help and service? Indian religious texts have to be revalued so that we really understand what the ancient and latter-day saints of India meant. By precept and example, kindliness and service are invitably allied to the doctrine of Moksha. So long as the least one suffered, the Buddha would not attain or desire release. Many of the Mahabharata stories and parables illustrate the same principles. Deviations and institutional or doctrinal corruptions should not be allowed to cover up the shining testimony of Indian religious life.

Again is the attainment of spiritual purity a matter of individual effort alone? Would the intercessory actions and prayers of saintly leaders (whether described as avatars, or incarnations, or as Men of God) be a part of the process? Does the seemingly undeserving obtain Prasadam, or Divine Grace? Redemption, in the supreme way it appears in the New Testament, is unique; but can we not find the principle of atonement, of spiritually sacrificial acts, and of transformation through prayer and prayerful action in the scriptures of India?

It is true that ontology attracted a great number of Indian metaphysical thinkers, but does not every school of transcendental philosophy depend on ethical action for the fulfilment of spiritual life? To root the value system in the divine ground is not a denial, but its opposite. Ethics, thus expressed, would flow from the very source of spiritual beatitude; indeed, the two are aspects of the same Reality.

Hinduism inclines towards the gradual dropping of Upadhis, or categories, in describing the spiritual ascent. Attributes, according to such thinking, no more belong in a necessitous way to the final stages of growth which we can hardly describe with our intellect. We would need more clarification in regard to the spiritual life—which applies to the aspirant—and, what is described as Jivan-mukta, or as one freed from life's bondage. But the whole question revolves around the mystery of life, and transcendence must be a stage which still belongs to life. Greater or lesser, here, or in that which is beyond the present existence on earth, life is identifiable with Reality. A closer study of Ramanuja, in particular, might clear a few difficulties. Here we would encounter the central need of relating ourselves not to a Supreme Principle, but to the Supreme Person whom we reach through devotional love. The Supreme Person, or Purusha, is mentioned often in the Vedic hymns, the Upanishads and the *Bhagavad-Gita*; and Bhakti, or devotional love, certainly is an inalienable part of the Hindu scriptures. The conflicts and contradictions often arise out of semantical problems, but more than that they are due to the often forgotten fact that

Hindu philosophers do not speak with one voice. The mystics also follow individual paths of realization, though there is a generic similarity in all mystical thought. In Hinduism, as in Western philosophy, there are variants. Kant and Dewey, and Schopenhauer and Brother Lawrence, to the unaware Eastern eye might all seem to belong to "Western Philosophy", or even to accepted areas of Christianity.

We are beginning to watch a revaluation in the West of the word Nirvana. Whether it means nescience or transcendence (if transcendence, then transcendence into what form of Reality?) is being debated, and modern Buddhist scholars realize that even nescience can only apply to that which can non-exist, which simply indicates the negation of that which can be negated in order that Truth should persist. However, the Hindu idea, Brahma-Nirvana, clearly indicates a positive content.

As to whether the soul's identity with the Brahman means identity-in-difference or a stage where no logical differentiation is possible depends on whether one is representing one school of Vedanta or another. Vedantic thought is varied and divided on this point, though none of the Vedantic systems denies the reality of the Atman, the individual soul, and the Brahman, or God. Fresh insights in this area of Vedantic and other Hindu discussions would be most valuable. The extinction-myth in regard to Nirvana has, however, practically disappeared. How can all reality be extinguished? And what remains after it is extinguished? The Buddha, certainly, meant something different, through a life-time of ethical and realizational teaching, and through being what he was.

These are observations, meant to be illustrative, and not offered in an organized form for the interpretation of Hindu spiritual ideas. It should be stressed that Hinduism, like all great religions, has evolved and is evolving, so that one crossing will not cover the stream. And yet, if the crossing is made along the great bridges of thought built by Hinduism's greatest and earliest exponents, much knowledge will be

gained. Crossings have also to be made with the guidance of Indian and other sages of our day who have made a devoted and critical study of the language and content of the Hindu scriptures. The essential requirement is that the researcher should be guided by a knowledge of his own faith, and use the light of his own spiritual insights.

It is the great task of religious men today to clear away intentional and fortuitous misrepresentation which yet prevent the votaries of one faith from appreciating that which is divinely inspired in the faith of another. This does not preclude the recognition of genuine difference. Followers of the same religion can have many differences in regard to interpretation and acceptance. But deeper affinities can be established and some language of the spirit heard in all the scriptures of humanity. This would not mean that all revelations have the same depth or value, but it would be tragic if we missed the light that shines through man's several and yet one constant search for Truth. From the Indian stand-point, Hinduism, subjected to "higher criticism" and freed from institutional and legendary accretions, will emerge as a companionable religion, and its adherents will also seek understanding and illumination from other religions without suffering from the incubus of historical priority or the unwarranted monopolistic claims that no real saint of India has made.

To conclude, Hinduism at its height has equated ordainment with love ; the Creation is divinely ordered—"Vidrita Tisthati" (which means, "It exists, sustained"); sustained, as the earlier part of the Sloka says, by the indestructible word or nature of the Divine. Unfortunately, these words, "It exists, sustained", appear in most extant translations, as "separated". But God's creation is love, it is His joy which is our life. The law-giver is also the eternal source of love. Thus: "He (Brahman) is joy." "One who attains Brahman (who is bliss) is filled with bliss." "Who would have moved, who would have lived if Brahman had not been joy?" "Brahman is knowledge and joy."

At the level of deepest realization, Hinduism, as these

quotations from the Upanishads show, is a religion of love and of service to divine humanity. No other basis but divine love would sustain the Indian philosophy of Ahimsa, or nonviolence. God as love, not as the lord of vengeance or of power, gives us the authority and the courage to use what Mahatma Gandhi called the "matchless weapon" of peaceful, courageous readjustment. Retaliation and war, whether in India or elsewhere in the human family, have merely aggravated and never modified or removed the evils of hatred and iniquity. The principle of justice has been enjoined by India, in spite of occasional scriptural misguidance, not in terms of injury or destruction of the evil-doer but of his redemption. The challenge offered by India's supreme religious insight, both to her own people and to all humanity, is therefore, the challenge of divine love as manifested in man's own conscience. Satyagraha or Truth-force cannot be effective if we try to use it in a spirit of personal or organized violence.

"Brahma-vihara", living in the spirit of God, according to Hinduism demands a prayerful life of service and purity which each person has to attain in his quest of fulfilment.

THE GOOD LIFE IN MODERN INDIA

N. R. MALKANI

Since ages past discourses have been held as to man's nature. What is being human and who is he ? The answer has not been easy, as a certain mystery and unpredictability enters into the answer. The answer is as much in the domain of science as of philosophy. Often the answer has been that "Know thyself" or "self-knowledge" is the key to the knowledge of human nature. In fact it is true that human nature very much depends on the meaning and purpose of life as conceived by man. This meaning varies from age to age and place to place, when man has new visions of life. The present is a time of rapid change and man responds to it in various ways. Man is not a separate, isolated being living in innocence in a kind of Eden's paradise. He is a being living in the work-a-day world and very much interested in its workings. Man has a biological birth which gives him a place in the universe of matter. He has also a second and sociological birth into the world of man. Lastly he has a psychological birth into the inner world of mind and its consciousness. Man's study of self is the coping stone of all knowledge, for it gives meaning and direction to life.

Man's attitude to the physical universe, to the world of men and to his own self has been varying with time, place

and his temper. But I believe that rarely has he been able to coordinate the external world to his inner life so as to produce a harmonious whole. Man is often disintegrated as an individual and consequently not in tune with his environment of matter and men. In the India of the golden past man lost himself in the search for Absolute Truth and Absolute Bliss and found it in being absorbed in the universal. It was an abstract world but real only for rare individuals of vision and passion, whose unique experience was, however, personal, mystical and not generally communicable. It was perhaps more real than the world of phenomena but it was too rare and too unique to have any impact on the world of men and matter. For centuries the realization remained a dream for some and a myth for many. Human nature was moulded by a world of dream and myth. And a little unreal for all that.

In Europe the external world was too absorbing for man and there was a hot study of the physical sciences after the 18th century. It was a world of matter governed by the laws of geometry and then of mathematics. The laws were demonstrable, publicly verifiable and concretely utilitarian. The 19th and 20th centuries in the West are known as the age of material progress through control of natural powers and Big Organisation. It is a world of great powers and great accumulations called progress. But it is being realised that man's labours for survival are leading him to his total extinction or unlimited accumulation, resulting in man's annihilation or "alienation" from himself. Man tends to be isolated and separated from the inner world of the self, known as the spiritual world, and even becomes a stranger to the world of matter.

Man's birth in the social self, *i.e.* as a member of society, has generally been of an indifferent nature. In the deep past of India there was a study of the social self but it was incidental and entirely subordinate to the study of the self. For the man of realisation there were no social duties and these were considered to be bonds in the way of realisation. Man was considered to be an Individual and not an essential

part of the society of men. In Europe society was important and often the individual was only a small part of it. There was emergence of social studies which resulted in the accumulation of a large body of knowledge of man as a member of a group. Ultimately this led to knowledge of man as a unit in a mass, *i.e.* the study of the mass man or often the scientific study of the average man. Man was studied as an object or as a thing which was another limb of the external material world. All that is unique and unpredictable about man was submerged in the sea of the indefinable, undifferentiated mass of mankind. The study of man in depth was forgotten. It is now being realised that this was a grave omission which the new post-Freudian psychology is trying to remedy. It is also being bitterly realised that modern man is getting into a frightful moral condition and his problems are essentially of ethics or psychology and not of politics or economics. Man's relations to man are vital for the peaceful existence of man; men of this age have to think socially and act morally. Mental understanding and goodwill are the basic conditions of a warm Humanity. Thus the question of what sort of men we are is as important as what sort of a world this is. The time has come when these pressing questions have to be properly answered and harmonised with the answer to the question as to what Man is in himself.

In India we have attempted to answer these questions in a remarkable way, but which is somewhat different from the method of approach in the West. To my mind Swami Vivekananda was the first modern who made a great impact on the nature of man in India. He started from the world of spirit, of the Self within, as a bedrock to which he soon affiliated the external world of men and matter. He did not believe in a personal God, which idea had been already rejected by the atheistic world of science. Considering the vastness of the Cosmic Universe man was obliged to go back to the idea of a cosmic primal cause or energy supporting that universe. Vivekananda was a Universalist. "I am a Vedantist. Sat-Chid-Ananda—Existence, Knowledge

Bliss—is my God." And he immediately added, "I scarcely find any other God than the majestic form of my own self . . . ". Tat Tvam Asi—Thou art That. Vivekananda made universalism a scientific concept but he also made it a popular idea. He made the ancient Hindu idea popular "by making out of dry philosophy and intricate mythology and queer psychology, a religion which shall be easy, simple, popular and at the same time meet the requirements of the highest minds. Out of abstract Advaita must come concrete moral forms and out of bewildering yogism must come the most scientific and practical psychology." It was his life's work to purify Hinduism and make universalism both scientific and popular. This was the work of a great preacher who was India's most marvellous missionary of its noblest spiritual ideas.

But I think his greatest contribution was not only to preach unto mankind their divinity but also how to make it manifest in a moral form in every movement. As a Sadhu he was a great wanderer who traversed the length and breadth of India. He then knew man in his misery and penury which gave him a new vision of the regeneration of man. In 1894 he wrote to Swami Akhandananda from U. S. A. : "You have read, '*Matri devo bhava, pitri devo bhava*' (Look upon your mother as God, your father as God) . . . but I say, '*Daridra devo bhava, murkha devo bhava*' (The poor, the ignorant, the afflicted—let these be your God). Know that service to these alone is the highest religion . . . We are the servants of that God who by the ignorant is called MAN. . . . There is but one basis of well being, social, political or spiritual—to know that I and my brother are ONE." This was almost the great message of the Buddha re-interpreted and applied by Vivekananda in the complex setting of the modern world. The message was easily understood by the scientific West but was almost novel and unparalleled in the history of Hinduism. Our Universalism had been obsessed by individualism and we just succeeded in producing a few great Mahatmas who appeared at times as miraculous descents or Avataras on earth. They had little significance

for the life of man in the world of men. It is well known that Hindus have brains but no hands. Swamiji warmed our hearts and also used our hands after ages of paralysis. He was the great interpreter of the Upanishads and applied its universal truths on the stage of this world. It was almost a fresh revelation of the Hindu religion.

Vivekananda was a true precursor of Mahatma Gandhi, who made a fresh and powerful start where his predecessor left—but with a difference. Neither of them believed in a personal God, but while Vivekananda conceived Him as Sat-Chid-Ananda, Gandhiji thought of Him as Truth. In fact he went further and said that Truth was God. He thus got rid of the metaphysical disquisitions about the nature of God in which we Hindus indulged ourselves in the past and also fixed him firmly on the bedrock of ethics which we had disastrously neglected. According to Gandhiji man was essentially a seeker of Truth. It was his ultimate concern which gave meaning to his life. Not pleasure, not lure of adventure, not progress, not liberty, but search of absolute Truth was the end to be pursued by destination man. This truth was subjective truth and realised by intuition, after a long and arduous life of vows and disciplines.

But Gandhiji was, what he called himself, a practical idealist. It is not given to most men to pursue and realise absolute Truth and Gandhiji was not a Sannyasin to make this "ultimate" concern his sole and exclusive concern. He, therefore, wanted to realise absolute Truth through seeking and pursuing "relative" truth, as he saw it from day to day. For him one step at a time was enough, provided it was in the right direction. He was sure that by vigilance and perseverance and utter sincerity one step would be followed by another more difficult and all in an ascending series leading to Absolute Truth. But his relative Truth was an integral truth in thought, word and action. More important still, it was a pragmatic truth arising from the changing human situations that gave rise to human problems. In practice it was a search for human and social justice in a

world seething with injustice.

There was always a cause ready to hand for Gandhiji to take up and advocate. He was a man of peace but made in the texture and temper of a fighter. Peace seemed but an interregnum for some goodly fight awaiting him. I visualise the Buddha as Dhyani Buddha; I visualise Vivekananda as a great preacher and missionary; but I can visualise Gandhiji only as a Captain marching through gloom and darkness to fight. Courage and fearlessness literally oozed out of him and infected all around him. Just as the Buddha transformed his subjective feelings of peace into objective demonstrations of compassion, so Gandhiji transmuted his discovery of relative Truth into objective demonstrations of fearlessness. Both brought "ultimate" concerns into the field of "immediate" concern for the every-day man. Both brought religion or the Divine on earth for men to live by.

There was, however, a condition precedent. The goodly fight of Gandhiji was to be waged courageously but nonviolently. This was a popular edition of the Biblical maxim to love thy neighbour as thyself. Love, however, is a matter of feeling and not of willing. It descends when it lists and transmutes individuals. Gandhiji's nonviolence was more a sentiment created by willing and long training, both made possible for larger groups of men. He discovered nonviolence in pursuit of Truth but more often used it as a weapon to fight untruth. This was his idea of "goodness" reduced in terms of ethics that people could understand and adopt. The fight for relative truth became a moral way of life in the battlefield of massive human relations and was a sort of modern edition of the battle of the Mahabharata in the warring world of today. I believe that just as Vivekananda re-discovered the Upanishads to preach the Universal divine in man, so Gandhiji re-interpreted the *Bhagavad Gita* to preach Karma-Yoga in terms of nonviolence and work without attachment. Both brought Goodness on earth as a gospel for the common man which he could understand and accept. Gandhiji brought about the moral regenera-

tion of the masses by delivering into their hands the weapon of nonviolence, which required courage, suffering and a certain discipline of life. It was a lesson which they cannot completely unlearn. He laid down for us a code of morality, tied to the pursuit of social justice and made almost a religion of it.

But there was also another side to this brave fighter for hard causes. He was also the compassionate father (Bapu) of the poor. The scriptural word "Daridra-Narayana", made holy by Vivekananda, became for him a Mantra for daily service of God in man. He put his new faith in inimitable words as follows : "Man's ultimate aim is the realisation of God and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour, simply because the only way to find God is to see him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all. . . . I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity . . . my creed is service of God and therefore of humanity. . ." I think such a profession of faith in service is not to be found in any religion, at least not in Hinduism. Hinduism gave a vision of God in Man but Hindus never took it seriously as God in every man and at least not in my neighbour. Hinduism believed that God could be realised by service, but there were other ways also of realising Him which were considered for centuries to be more important and more respectable. The word Daridra-Narayana was originally used by way of a poetic phantasy until Vivekananda tumbled on it and Gandhiji gave it life. Just as the term "Satyagraha" gives us a grim, resolute vision of Gandhiji, so I think "Daridra-Narayana" gives us the pleasing and compassionate vision of Gandhiji.

As a non-violent fighter for the freedom of India, Gandhiji is known to have "spiritualised politics". By his nonviolent techniques he secured freedom but he would be brave who agreed that he also succeeded in "spiritualising politics". But as a nonviolent worker for the service of the poor he

spiritualised work and thus the life of people to some extent. His constructive work for establishing his "ideal Swaraj" was not only a masterly work of organisation but a comprehensive program of service on all fronts to meet all human needs. He believed in the unity of man and for him the political, economic, social and spiritual aspects of man were inter-linked and in the search of truth became spiritualised. For him human life is a field of activity, a continuum in which everything affects everything else. He thus wove ethics into the warp and woof of life. Man so long fragmented and degenerated by Hinduism became whole and sound by the faith of Gandhiji in the nature of man. India has dared to forget the nonviolent fight for truth on earth. But I think its faith in the service of the poor as duty if not as worship of God is becoming brighter day by day. The latest edition of this faith is Vinobaji's movement of Bhoodan as service of the landless, which has revolutionized the idea of property in land by dedicating it all to the Deity and sharing it according to need. He walks in the footsteps of the Master, not as a fighter but as a devotee of God through the service of Humanity.

Gandhiji had great faith in man and his perfectibility. For him man was fortunately good even though he is manifestly not so very good. Man was the measure of all his activities, not the average man of scientific statistics or the economic man of Economics but the common man, specially the weakest man in his human relations. By this act of faith Gandhiji has helped to change human nature in India and human attitudes to the problems of man. In the human situation of India he became a great politician but tried to spiritualise it by making politics a pursuit of relative truth. He succeeded partially in that India became free, mainly by nonviolence. His techniques yielded results but nonviolence did not become a way of life in India. Worse still, nonviolence after him has ceased to be a means of realising truth. Often it is tacked on to untruth or in modern terms to injustice and acquisition of power. Gandhiji had not the inclination to form a corps of Sannyasins like

Vivekananda and had not the time to train and discipline his workers in the nonviolent way of life. The search for truth, relative or absolute, was beyond their ken, more so as most of them soon budded into ambitious politicians. But, I believe, Gandhiji has changed human nature in India by his gospel of service of the poor, the weak and the forlorn. Daridra-Narayana is a word to conjure with now. Of course India has accepted this new divinity by depriving it of its divine attributes. Gandhiji has taught us an unforgettable lesson of Service, specially of the weak as an act of duty to brother man and not as an act of faith in the God in man. For this we have also imbibed some of the disciplines inculcated by him and of course the techniques. It is probable that in course of time our work may become worship and our service of humanity lead to realisation of the divine in man. Vinobaji is at it and may help to complete the work that Gandhiji began.

TAKING SARVODAYA TO THE PEOPLE

R. R. KEITHAHN

Gramdan Sarvodaya is a Movement of the people towards total freedom. It grew out of India's great nonviolent struggle for political freedom. But it was always a fundamental part of that significant struggle. It is true that it was primarily a Movement of the national leaders; but to their credit and to the credit of Gandhiji in particular, they had a profound sense of the deep-felt needs of the people and always tried to make the immediate program that of the people. One remembers so well when Vinobaji came to the Madurai district. With hesitation we set for ourselves a goal of 25 Gramdans. Then we were experiencing unusual success. Vinobaji asked, "How do you explain this ?" I replied, "You have sensed what is already in the hearts of the people; that is why there is a remarkable response". Of course, this was but partly true.

Food, clothing and better housing are certainly felt-needs of the people. Thus, the "land to the tiller" program strikes a responsive note in the hearts of the needy. The Khadi program has had remarkable success in a land of need at a time of great world industrialisation. It helps the helpless who have no money to buy cloth to clothe themselves. Thus, there are always ready responses to a cottage

or village industries program that meets a real need. It is true that we need good technicians and capital; we need to solve the problem of marketing. However, in the original Khadi and Village Industries Program we started at such a simple level that these latter needs were insignificant. The wastes of the village were used to meet real needs.

Unto the Last

There has been a surprising response to Bhoodan and other Dan programs. As some of our local Kannavaipatty people said to a question, "Why did you become Gramdan?" The immediate reply was, "We were getting poorer and poorer. We saw no other way out". In the recent efforts for Gramdan in the Tirunelveli district, where 28 new Gramdans have been secured in the last three months, it has been remarked that most of these are small hamlets and involve the poorest of the village people. Sometimes we say that our efforts have not reached the very poor. Last December, at Gandhigram, Jawaharlal Nehru reminded us several times during the day that we had not gone down to the neediest. However, in the Bhoodan and the Gramdan Movement we must recognise that this noble but difficult aim of Sarvodaya has been achieved to a very large extent. Even in the Constructive Program much has been done, and is being done, in reaching this goal. How many hungry have been helped in the Khadi program during these several years ! How many helpless and needy untouchables such as the scavengers have been aided by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Certainly the program for a national language and special attention to the vernaculars has taken into consideration the lowliest who could never think of any education in English. The program for women and children again has been for the very needy. I have seen much of the work of the Kasturba Memorial Trust. Especially when I went to the Balvadies, and at the beginning of such a program, I would see naked children, suffering from malnutrition, being helped. Certainly, in the work with women in this

area we have dealt with the very needy. In Gandhiji's program for labourers and students he went to the neediest. Basic Education surely has the needs of the neediest in mind as well as the welfare of all. The leprosy program has been directed towards one of the needy sections of our population. The Bhoodan and Gramdan Movements have continued this emphasis.

Special Challenges of Today

All of us are painfully aware of the passing of another of our outstanding national leaders. We have yet to appreciate the unique contribution of Nehru in formulating a great nation building program. For the moment I am thinking primarily of the Community Development Pro_ram which now covers every village in India. India is a land of villages. At least 80 per cent of our people still live in the village. Perhaps food is the outstanding problem of India. The village provides for the nation the answer to these basic needs of people : food, clothing and housing. However, it is my conviction that a rural-based society alone can produce a rich and lasting culture and civilization. The foundations of a democratic, socialistic society can only be provided by a village-centered nation. If we are to have a substantial spiritual base I am convinced that it must find its foundations in the villages. We are stressing cooperation in India today. The natural forms of cooperation are always evident in a village economy. If there is any truth in my claims, then sociologists must study this aspect of social life most carefully that we may know how best to develop in the future.

Feeding the Hungry

The Bhoodan Movement recognises the need for land being in the hands of the tiller. It is a nonviolent attempt to solve this serious problem. I am quite convinced, as I watch our struggle for more food in India, that we cannot provide such until every agricultural labourer owns the land

on which he works. There cannot be any absentee ownership. Here again, there must be a careful study out of which must grow a definite and nonviolent national program. Gramdan is a natural approach to cooperative farming and village industries. Again it is my conviction that if we are to have a natural and substantial Cooperative Movement in India it must flow from the people themselves. It cannot come from the Government. The Government can and will play a very important part in such a Movement. However, it must be fundamentally an expression of the people concerned. When the people work together, facing this large food problem of India, then only can we feed all adequately.

In solving the food or any other problem in the village we must face the need of minimum physical strength. We cannot expect hungry people to work hard, to have the needed initiative, to take the necessary leadership, to have the needed morale and to rise above an animal level of existence. The present economic system brings food to the people who are able to buy it. It does not provide adequate food for the men who produce it. This is most unjust. Gramdan is working towards this end. The public must be more sensitive to and more cooperative with this important approach to another one of our great national problems.

Rural workers are constantly stressing the need for kitchen gardens. However, in many villages the local family has no place where they can even construct a latrine. There must be a minimum of land in each village for each family. Where villages are crowded, we can resort to common gardens and orchards. This kind of cooperative effort is not easy. However, it must be attempted. In our health programs we must stress the preserving and increasing of food values. For example, a common procedure in our South Indian villages is the germination and sometimes the sprouting of grams, pulses, millets and maizes. By this often important and protective food values are increased 10 per cent and more. When we are deficient in food these methods are extremely important.

We must also give more attention to the proper use of the

soil. New buildings are often built upon good soil. This should be prohibited unless absolutely necessary. We have so many stony and dry places that it is a crime in these days to fill up a rice field to build a building thereon. The question arises also in my mind whether we should not plant millions of palmyrah and other sugar producing trees in sandy and dry areas where they will grow and thus release good wet lands from the necessity of producing sugar. It is also a fact that we are using more sugar than needed. If this is true, then we should educate our people. In this connection, I am convinced that more of our millets and maizes can be used in the preparation of our biscuits and breads. That again would help us to improve our diets and increase our food supplies. I suggest these practical programs because it is at this point that Gramdan workers can make a substantial contribution to Government efforts.

I would also stress the sanitation program. "Cleanliness is next to godliness." Health is essential to a good social program. Gandhiji made scavengers out of his workers and this had many implications. The Government and the Gramdan Movement have still to make one village clean. We cannot have sound health without cleanliness. We need all of the village wastes to feed the soil if we are to make our efforts most fruitful. Gandhiji again taught us the importance of composting night soil. We are tending to get away from this important emphasis. I know of no place that is seriously taking up the composting of night-soil and other village wastes. Even the Sanitation Institutes are not facing these potentialities as seriously or as effectively as they might.

Harijan Seva

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Gandhiji's Constructive Program was Harijan Seva. When I see what has taken place in India and compare this with what is taking place after one hundred years of similar service in the U.S.A. I am profoundly impressed by the work of India in regard

to this serious problem. There is no question but that we must work for a "casteless classless society". I believe this is the desire of our people. The Government has made substantial contributions to the solution of the problem of the "outcaste". However, the Sarvodaya Movement might do much more. There are many amenities offered to the Harijans. Again and again, these do not reach them because there are no proper channels. The last few days parent after parent has come to me for help to buy books, etc. It is a noble thing to want better education. However, so many of the poor people cannot afford it, especially of the Harijan groups. Here again, we need common funds set aside for special needs. In many cases there might be inter-marriages, the common use of wells, common projects; but this is not accomplished because the leadership is not as active and courageous as it ought to be.

Abundant Life to Women and Children

One is always impressed by a Balvadi or any other good work for our village women and children. In many of our villages there have been chit funds so that village homes might have better utensils. We have had several workshops for mothers. We try to open up to them this wonderful new world in which we are living. We try to give them a few techniques that will be significant for their family life. We have found them most cooperative. Personally, I have been concerned about family planning. I am not thinking of this need in any narrow sense. Great changes are taking place in the village family. Old traditions are being broken. New developments are taking place. However, this is not being done thoughtfully and with careful planning. There are many traditions that are useless or harmful. There are others tremendously significant for the development of the new family in a Sarvodaya Society. What are the new patterns of family life that are important for such a society? How can cooperation be emphasized in the home so that the family may participate more fully and effectively in a

cooperative village? There needs to be careful family budgeting of resources and time. I repeat that it is a great joy to see this work taking place in our villages. However, we still touch only a small percentage of such villages. If we could do such work in every Gramdan we would be giving substantial support to the whole community development program of the Government. One wonders whether the Government should not set aside more funds to assist such important work.

Basic Education

India has yet to understand the full meaning and appreciate the significance of Basic Education, especially at the village level. It pained me yesterday to hear that the Education Department was sabotaging Basic Education by not providing cotton at least for the schools ready to take up this project seriously. Surely, an experienced educationist must recognise the importance of the training of body, mind and spirit. The use of a craft like the cotton craft helps in the integration of such training and especially in the village situation. But even more important is the need for the complete integration of the village school and the community development program. When Ponnuraman of Kottaipatti returned from Israel he said that he was most impressed by the care of the children on the part of the various communities in Israel. He suggested that if there was a village hostel in connection with the Basic Education school in his village this would help Gramdan greatly. Surely, the patterns of cooperation in the Gramdan village, and now in all of India, are most important. If the community is to be trained in cooperation it must start at the school. Here again the Government should help us to carry on pilot experimentation.

Gramdan Sarvodaya

Gramdan Sarvodaya is a program for the "welfare of all unto the last". The Government has made significant con-

tributions towards Panchayat Raj. This can only be implemented by full cooperation on the part of the villagers and village-level workers. In our area we are making a special attempt to have regular monthly Mahasabha meetings. This reminds one of the old Town Meetings of New England which became the foundation of American democracy. Certainly we cannot expect any other such foundations than those which will be made in our villages. These village assemblies elect their own Panchayats which become the administrative channel for the decisions of the Mahasabha. In the Batlagundu area, common projects are growingly seen in the Gramdan villages. Slowly common funds are being started. Common labour programs have been initiated. In the Government development program provision has been made for Volunteer Forces. In Tamilnad we are making special efforts to have village Shanti Senas. We still need to develop a rural youth movement. Some good work is being done. However, such work must be made more universal. At least in three Gramdan villages in this area land has been shared with the landless. However, it is becoming clear to me that this sharing cannot go on indefinitely. For example, in Kannavaipatty the absentee landlords own more land than the people living in the village. There is no other solution of the land problem: the absentee landlord must give his land to the landless. The people are slowly being organized to carry out such a program. However, all resources in India, both Government and non-official, must be mobilized to solve this serious problem. Only then can we truly take Sarvodaya and all good Government programs fully to the people, especially as we try to produce more food.

Spiritual Foundations

Gandhiji constantly reminded the Constructive Workers that he was giving them a very difficult program and that it could not be carried out unless all had "a living faith in Truth (God)". I have already suggested that the faith of

the common villager is remarkable. It must be given more substance. It must be channelled more fully into difficult daily living. However, Vinobaji constantly reminds us that the existing religions are insufficient for the need, that we must have a reunion of spirituality and science. Certainly, there is much that is valuable for the present and future in the great religious traditions of India. We are fortunate in having here all of the great and living religions of the world. However, and unfortunately, these religions are dividing us. All too often, they hinder us as we move into a new social order. Fortunately, there is a rich prophetic element in each one of these religions to which we can appeal. A growing number of our leaders are becoming sensitive to the importance of the prophetic elements in the Buddha, in the Prophet, in the great prophets of Israel, in Jesus Christ and in present-day prophets. India has great spiritual traditions and resources. During these recent decades we have had outstanding spiritual leaders here in South India. There are still some who are helping us. However, this area of our social life needs special attention. I am quite convinced that we cannot do our best in the Gramdan Sarvodaya Program of the Batlagundu area until sensitive, cooperative men and spiritual leaders of vision come together and plan a constructive program to encourage spirituality and science. Just as we plan for the new family so also must we plan for a new and substantial spiritual expression that will make itself felt at every point of need and progress.

THE GANDHI-NEHRU ERA

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

The saga of the life and times of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has not been written, nor can it be written as yet. We are too near the scene of Panditji's actions, and we are too deeply involved emotionally to be objective or to do scholarly research. The time for an objective treatment of the life and times of Nehru will arrive some day; but in the meantime, it may be affirmed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that an era was initiated by Gandhi with his nonviolent resistance movement in South Africa (1894-1914) and closed by the passing away of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 27 May 1964. Within this period of three score and ten years are concentrated the heroism and valour of the spirit, the wisdom of the Mahatma, the sacrifice of nameless Satyagrahis, the dynamism of the old-young nation liberated from foreign rule, the resilience and vibrant energy of Jawaharlal Nehru, first, as the youthful fighter for India's freedom; second, as the jailbird who wrote magnificent literature in the seclusion of his prison-cell, away from the madding crowd; third, as the world statesman, the legatee of Gandhi's philosophy, the Prime Minister of India, the architect of modern India's destiny.

The saga of the life and times of Nehru will have to

underline the significant fact that Gandhi's life and Jawaharlal's life became intertwined since 1919. It was Gandhi who aroused the patriotism of the English-educated young Nehru. In the wake of the Amritsar Massacre of 13 April 1919, Nehru met and heard the Mahatma and was overwhelmed by the magic of Gandhi's personality. Describing Gandhi's voice, Nehru wrote : "It was quiet and low and yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude ; it was soft and gentle and yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it ; it was courteous and full of appeal and yet there was something grim and frightening in it."

Gandhi and Nehru

Gandhi and Nehru were as dissimilar as two persons could be. Gandhi was happy with his mud-hut and his loincloth, while Nehru rode on a horse with all the pomp and pageantry of a proud (but then subject) nation (as at the Lahore Congress, Christmas week, 1929). Gandhi embraced Ahimsa (nonviolence : love) as a way of life; Nehru accepted Ahimsa as an effective tactic in India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Despite his training in law in England, Gandhi was the authentic incarnation of the spirit of India; because of training in the "public" school of England (Harrow) and in the Middle Temple (Law School), Nehru became in outlook as much English as Indian. While Gandhi was concerned with the regeneration of the people at the grass-roots level, Nehru dreamt of lifting up India, by its chappal-straps, through industrialization. While Gandhi religiously believed that he could more readily deny himself than his God, Nehru considered orthodox religion a species of hypocrisy.

Nehru Builds on Gandhi's Work

But the two men had two things in common : an intense love for India and her suffering teeming millions, and mutual regard for each other. Gandhi took a paternal

interest in the young man who literally grew up under his wings. Despite their differences, both Gandhi and Nehru had committed themselves to a rendezvous with destiny. It was the Mahatma's self-appointed task to mould heroes out of clay, to banish fear from the hearts of a long-suffering, cowed-down people, to light the spark of freedom into a conflagration—a nonviolent conflagration, to be sure—visible to the whole world, to train the people for disciplined teamwork and responsible self-government. It was the self-appointed task as well as the mandate from the Mahatma for Jawaharlal to build on the foundation so well laid by Bapuji.

Gandhi's Influence on Nehru

There is not an area of human activity or relationship—be it economic, political, social, educational, religious, familial—which had not been touched, for the better, by Gandhi's magic personality.[1] Not only did Gandhi influence all significant spheres of human activity but he also inspired his followers and co-workers with the zeal to make India over after the heart's desire, so that, in the ringing words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "this ancient land shall attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind".

This statement from the Resolution on the Future Status of India introduced in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 13 December 1946, reminds us of the immortal statement made by Mahatma Gandhi in his radio address to the American people from London on 13 September 1931 : "I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter mself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show the way out to the hungering world."[2]

Gandhi's insistence upon the spinning wheel as a most potent weapon in India's struggle for freedom and his emphasis upon the crying need for rejuvenating India's village life made an indelible impression even upon those who scoffed at the humble spinning wheel as well as upon those who were preponderantly urban in outlook. Jawaharlal described the change in his own attitude and the powerful impact made by the Mahatma's program of rural uplift in the following words : "We learned our Indian economics more from these visits to villages than from books and learned discourses. The emotional experience we had already undergone was emphasized and confirmed and henceforward there could be no going back for us to our old life or our old standards, however much our views might change subsequently. And so he, Gandhiji, set about to restore the spiritual unity of the people, and to break the barrier between the small Westernized group at the top and the masses, to discover the living elements in the old roots and to build upon them, to waken these masses out of their stupor and static condition and make them dynamic. In his single-track and yet many-sided nature the dominating impression that one gathers was his identification with the masses, a community of spirit with them, an amazing sense of unity with the dispossessed and poverty-stricken not only of India but of the world."[3]

The Mahatma's Tribute to Nehru

And here is the older man's—Bapuji's—tribute to the younger man, dearer to him than his own flesh and blood, written in 1929 commending Jawaharlal Nehru for Presidentship of the Congress : "In bravery he cannot be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country ? He is rash and impetuous, say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he also has the prudence of a statesman. He is undoubtedly an extremist, thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is

humble enough and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur et sans reproche.*"

The relations between Gandhi and Nehru remind me of the relations between Goethe and Schiller, the older one cherishing and inspiring the younger one. In retrospect it appears that these two men missed no occasion to extol the virtues of the other. And these praises, heaped by one upon the other, came straight from the heart. Their hearts seem to have recognized their indissoluble bonds.

The Gandhi-Nehru Epoch

If Gandhi be the Father of Free India, Nehru is the architect of Democratic India. The life-story of these two, intermingled like the Ganga and the Yamuna, is the story of Modern India—it is the story of an epoch that began with Gandhi's work in South Africa (1894-1914), an epoch that saw its high-water mark during the Non-cooperation (1919-22) and Civil Disobedience (1929-1935) Campaigns, an epoch that redressed the wrongs of a whole nation and of the Harijans by redemptive love, an epoch that set India and all the other subject nations of the world on the road to freedom, an epoch that glowed in the charismatic leadership of the Mahatma and his political heir, an epoch that marked India's transition from Dependency to Dominion to Independence, from authoritarianism to republicanism, from oligarchy to democracy; an epoch that witnessed India's apprenticeship in democracy under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, an epoch that came to an end with Nehru's death on 27 May 1964.

Democracy's Foundations Well Laid

Some people abroad as well as in India used to criticize Nehru that he did not designate his successor. Whether he reasoned the problem out carefully or not, his heart was unerringly right. I, for one, am happy that Nehru chose not

to name a successor. If after having held three general elections in an atmosphere of utmost freedom and democracy, if after having operated as the sovereign Republic of India for fifteen years, the people of India could not govern themselves democratically, then Indian democracy was but a facade, not a genuine article ; a one-man show, not government of the people, for the people and by the people. That the political parties and the machinery of the Government of India continued, and still continue, to function smoothly after Nehru's departure is a tribute to the solid foundations of democracy laid by the departed Prime Minister.

Dreams of the Gandhi-Nehru Era

We may best describe the Gandhi-Nehru era in the words of these two leaders : (1) Gandhi's "India of My Dreams", (2) Nehru's tribute to the martyred Mahatma, and (3) two significant aspirations of the modern world, symbolized by Mahatma Gandhi, expressed in words by Jawaharlal Nehru.

(1) "I shall strive for a constitution which shall release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to err. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and no low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks or drugs. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally I hate the distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams. . ."[4]

(2) "The light has gone out of our lives ; there is dark-

ness everywhere. . . I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years ; and a thousand years later, that light will be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth . . . the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom."[5] (Jawaharlal Nehru on the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi)

(3) "I believe that the salvation of India, and, indeed, of the whole world, will come through nonviolence. Violence has had a long career in the world. It has been weighed repeatedly and has been found wanting. I have a feeling here in Asia and Africa of a break of dawn. It may be, and it perhaps inevitably is, a turbulent dawn, but nevertheless it is dawn." (Jawaharlal Nehru)

The Future is Bright

The dawn has broken, the new sun is on the horizon, another era has begun. We may not be blessed with the charismatic leadership of Gandhi-Nehru ; but if the steel frame of India's civil service continues to do its allotted task efficiently and incorruptibly, and if the elected representatives of the people of India go about their business with selfless devotion to the service of the Gandhi-Nehru Era, all will be well with India. Indeed, only thus will modern India recapture the pristine glory of her cultural heritage.

Devoid as we shall be of spiritual and intellectual giants, the new era in India promises to bring "peace, progress and prosperity"—to quote General Dwight D. Eisenhower —to the people because of the inherent virtues of the democratic gospel and the republican form of government, as attested by the United States of America.

1. See my *Mahatma Gandhi : A Prophetic Voice, passim* (Ahmedabad : Navajivan Press, 1963).
2. Quoted from my *Gandhi Versus the Empire*, pp. 167-168 (New York : Universal Publishing Co., 1932).
3. Ammu M. Muzumdar : *Social Welfare in India : Mahatma Gandhi's Contributions*, p. 132 (Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1964).
4. H. T. Muzumdar: *Mahatma Gandhi : A Prophetic Voice*, p. 101.
5. *Ibid.*, p. iv.

THE IMPACT OF GANDHI ON THE U. S. PEACE MOVEMENT

CHARLES C. WALKER

Gandhi's influence on the peace movement in the United States was felt as early as the 1920s. An early and effective exponent of Gandhi's ideas here was John Haynes Holmes, a prominent Unitarian minister and reformer, and an outspoken pacifist in World War I. He first set forth his discovery of Gandhi in a sermon titled "The Christ of Today" which was widely circulated. In another sermon in 1922 called "Who is the Greatest Man in the World Today ?" his designation of Gandhi amazed many listeners, most of whom had never heard the name before. Gandhi's autobiography was first published in America in the magazine *Unity* of which Holmes was the editor.

There were landmark books: by Romain Rolland in 1924, and three by C. F. Andrews published here in 1930 and 1931. *The Power of Nonviolence* by Richard B. Gregg first appeared in 1934 (two revised editions have subsequently been published). Probably no other book on nonviolence has been so widely read by U. S. pacifists, or used as a basis of a study program.

Krishnalal Shridharani's *War without Violence* was a valuable exposition of the methods of nonviolent direct action. He was sharply critical of Western bourgeois pacifism,

and emphasized that Satyagraha was as much a method of struggle as of persuasion.

A popular lecturer in America was Muriel Lester, an English friend of Gandhi with whom he stayed at Kingsley Hall when he attended the Round Table Conference in London. In the early 1930s, she began a series of lecture tours in the U. S., speaking widely to groups outside the traditional peace ranks, and gave vivid accounts of Gandhi's nonviolent undertakings. C. F. Andrews also came on a nation-wide lecture tour.

The movement for Indian independence found many sympathizers and supporters, outside as well as inside the peace movement. Accounts of nonviolent resistance in the 1930-33 all-India campaign were reported in the U. S. newspapers by such journalists as Negley Farson and Webb Miller. Liberals and progressives of various kinds were heartened by successful struggles against colonialism and imperialism. The Salt March was for many young idealists an inspirational example of principled action. John Gunther's *Inside Asia*, widely read in America, gave sympathetic portraits of Gandhi and Nehru, and heightened interest in the Indian independence movement.

Between world wars, liberal religion with a strong social action emphasis became a significant force in American life. Pacific methods were regarded as ethically more appropriate instruments than violence for the attainment of social and political objectives. Gandhian nonviolence was congenial to such a mood of thought and action—or at least thought to be. Religious leaders who were also social idealists were attracted by Gandhi's efforts to apply religious insights to social and political problems. They were impressed by his battle against caste and untouchability. While John Haynes Holmes remained ths leading popularizer of Gandhi's ideas here, there were also E. Stanley Jones, a Methodist missionary deeply influenced by his experience in India ; and Kirby Page, a key figure in the peace movement for many years.

Quakers were drawn to Gandhi because of their mutual interest in the practical effect of religious experience, as well

as principled rejection of violence. Rufus Jones, noted philosopher and leader in Quaker affairs, was deeply impressed by the spiritual force of Gandhi's personality (in an interview in 1926), and in later years referred to him as "the greatest person now living on our planet". This was in spite of differences with Gandhi over interpretation and expression of the mystical element in religion.

Prominent Negro ministers who were also involved in the peace movement, such as Benjamin Mays and Howard Thurman, had interviews with Gandhi and it was to the latter that Gandhi commented, "It may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world".

A highly influential sector of the peace movement in the 1930s had a generally socialist orientation. The country was passing through the serious crisis of the Depression, and the menacing figure of Hitler loomed on the horizon. This leadership element was impressed by the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial aspect of the Indian independence movement and, it must be said, there were those who were always pleased to see the Indians (or anyone) twisting the British lion's tail. On the other hand, they were either baffled by or critical of Gandhi's economic views, as they understood them, and there were Marxist elements, both Socialist and Communist, who were hostile to Gandhi's influence.

Reinhold Niebuhr, an influential figure in religious circles and in movements for social justice, argued that Gandhi's Satyagraha was a form of social and political coercion, and not the pure example of social idealism to the extent believed either by Gandhi himself or by his American exponents. Niebuhr was a formidable critic of religious liberalism. While he believed that there is a religious sanction for coercive methods in the political and economic world, he held that a principled nonviolent actionist could be a witness to a more excellent way as a special religious vocation, so long as nonviolence was not advanced as a political strategy required by the ethic of Christian love.

Nevertheless, as far back as 1932 Niebuhr urged American

Negroes to adopt Satyagraha in the struggle for racial justice. In the magazine *The World Tomorrow* (1934) Cranston Clayton argued that Gandhian methods were especially appropriate to the American scene and were necessary as a stage beyond the traditional methods of persuasion and education. It was not until two decades later that this idea began to flower in the civil rights movement.

In the field of labour, there were those such as A.J. Muste and others who evolved methods of nonviolent action although their inspiration came more from European radicals than from Gandhi. Some labour historians assert that violence has been a prominent feature in the history of the U. S. labour movement. However, the Lawrence Textile Strike of 1919, a landmark in U. S. labour history, was won primarily because of the determination of the workers to remain nonviolent in face of severe provocation and violence by factory owners and police.

There were middle-class elements in the peace movement who were highly critical of strikes and overt economic struggle, believing them to be "unreconciling" or even inconsistent with religious ethics. Similar arguments were carried on here as Gandhi faced in his efforts to end domestic injustices in India.

While Gandhi had little noticeable impact on the development of the labour movement in America, some of the experiences in it were to prove significant as background for the later emergence of nonviolent direct action as a method of social change.

The seminal stage for the emergence of the "radical caucus" in the peace movement was the decade of the 1940s, during and after World War II. This group was increasingly preoccupied with Gandhian ideas *in action*, with the conscious application of Satyagraha as an organizational mode of action on the American scene.

The Second World War was a severe challenge to the U.S. peace movement. While its major task during that period was survival, it also directed attention to proposals regarding postwar settlements and the conditions of peace. In this

connection, there were debates about the kind of movement that could be relevant and effective in the turbulent postwar period.

One wing of the movement was radical in orientation and ethos. It represented a curious amalgam of traditions including revolutionary Marxism, anarchism, Protestant activism, Quakerism, American pragmatism—and Gandhian nonviolence.

One might arbitrarily set as a symbol of the new period the publication in 1940 of A. J. Muste's book *Nonviolence in an Aggressive World*. Muste directed his argument to three major groups : those in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, those in movements for basic social justice, and advocates of democracy. He insisted that nonviolence was an essential ingredient of all three, and that to depart from a nonviolent base was to introduce a deeply disorienting and corrupting factor. Two chapters on "Pacifism as Revolutionary Strategy" foreshadowed much that was to appear later as significant ideological tendencies in the movement.

Jay Holmes Smith and Ralph Templin, two missionaries in India who were expelled for their sympathies with the Gandhian movement, formed an *ad hoc* committee on nonviolent direct action, centered in New York City. The actions and teachings of this group directly influenced A. Philip Randolph, a Negro labour leader, and some of the founders of the Congress of Racial Equality. It was Randolph who threatened a large scale march of Negroes on Washington, in 1941, in protest against discriminatory racial practices in industry. To forestall this march, President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

However, it was in the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious pacifist group under the leadership of Muste who became executive secretary in 1940, that decisions were made which set the future course of nonviolent action in the United States. There it was decided to apply the strategy and tactics of nonviolent direct action to the field of racial justice. This decision was based on two major considerations:

the growing moral consensus on racial justice, and a steadily increasing number of laws against the practice of racial discrimination.

It soon became clear that the FOR could not carry on this task alone. There were few Negroes who would take such a radical position, and some of those had little interest in a religious organization. Furthermore, there was a very small minority of religious pacifists who were constrained to involve themselves in this kind of activity. A new organization was formed in 1942 called the Committee of Racial Equality (Committee was later changed to Congress) with a strategic commitment to nonviolent methods and discipline. In the combined work of CORE and the FOR, figures emerged such as Bayard Rustin, James Farmer, and George Houser. Action projects and workshops were devised not only to secure change in the field of race relations but, equally important, to educate for the broader application of nonviolence. It was in this undertaking that much was learned about fundamental strategic and tactical considerations, as well as the corporate discipline, appropriate to the American scene. These factors were later to become important as background resources for the emerging civil rights movement in the middle 1950s.

Speakers and writers were also preparing the soil. Pacifist groups, in particular the American Friends Service Committee, scheduled Indian speakers who recounted Gandhian campaigns and described the Gandhian approach: Amiya Chakravarty, Eddy Asirvatham, Haridas Muzumdar, J. B. Kripalani, Nirmal Kumar Bose, Bharatan Kumarappa, K. K. Chandy, Richard Keithahn, and Sushila Nayyar. (More recently there were A. K. Mitra, Gurdial Mallik and, most recently, Marjorie Sykes.)

Significant writers had been deeply influenced by Gandhi, and their writings had impact far beyond the peace movement. There were Louis Fischer, Vincent Sheean, Pearl Buck, Aldous Huxley, Herrymon Maurer, John and Frances Gunther, Edmond Taylor, Chester Bowles.

The advent of peacetime conscription in 1948 was another important event for the American peace movement. There was

no organization able to spearhead civil disobedience against conscription. A new group was formed called Peacemakers. While draft resistance was the immediate catalyst, the founders of Peacemakers hoped to inaugurate a new phase of disciplined and revolutionary activity in the peace movement. There were also those interested in pressing the method of tax refusal. While Peacemakers had some influence, and it became a focus for Gandhian ideology for a time, it never became a large organization and finally fragmented into several interest groups.

Another effect of the beginning of peacetime conscription was to raise, for the first time publicly, the possibility of Negroes engaging in civil disobedience to the draft. A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and others formed the "Committee Against Jim Crow In The Armed Forces", urging Negroes to refuse to be drafted into segregated military units. While few Negroes responded to this appeal, this undertaking encouraged the idea of nonviolent action in the field of racial justice.

In 1949, the World Pacifist Conference was held in India. This occasion gave impetus to systematic thinking about the ideology, strategy, and future direction of a movement incorporating fundamental Gandhian ideas. It was recommended that Satyagraha units be established in different countries. Key leaders developed personal relationships there which stood them in good stead as the movement has become more "internationalized".

The Korean War of 1950-53 had a far-reaching impact on the peace movement. Nationalism and chauvinism grew apace, McCarthyism emerged and a climate was produced where most of the nonpacifist periphery of the movement melted away. Furthermore, those peace organizations whose stock-in-trade were proposals for negotiation found it difficult to relate their strategies to political realities. Neither the government nor the public was much interested in negotiation, especially after the protracted efforts to end the Korean War.

For a while the arguments within the movement were centered on the issue of negotiated versus unilateral disarmament. This modulated into a full-scale debate over the basic orientation of the pacifist sector of the peace movement. It

culminated in the publication in 1955 of a pamphlet by the American Friends Service Committee titled *Speak Truth to Power*, in which a reasoned case was set forth for the application of nonviolence to the politics of peace. What gradually took shape was the ascendency of the "radical caucus" in the peace movement, in the sense that the politics of this group either prevailed in some organizations or in others gained substantially in influence. While some of the moderate groups were less than enthusiastic about direct action, there was a heartening degree of coordination, consultation and joint action by leaders and groups.

The next chapter had to do with direct action for peace and against military preparations or actions. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, there had been direct action projects and demonstrations in Washington, New York, Philadelphia and other cities. Frequently they were sponsored by an *ad hoc* committee of Peacemakers, Catholic Worker, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters' League.

Direct action for peace became a burgeoning effort starting in 1957. At the insistent urging of Lawrence Scott (himself deeply influenced by Gandhi) the peace organizations mobilized themselves for action against the threat of continued nuclear testing. At a meeting in Philadelphia, the groundwork was laid for the formation of two organizations, which later became the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) to work with liberals and moderates, and Nonviolent Action against Nuclear Weapons (NVA) to serve as a vehicle for radicals. It was agreed that more effective action would result if there were two organizations working in coordinate fashion rather than one organization in which a great deal of time and energy would be spent in resolving basic policy differences.

NVA first conducted "Nevada Action", an effort to protest the exploding of a test atom bomb in the Nevada desert. The second project was much more ambitious: the sailing into the Pacific test zone of a small 30-foot ketch, the *Golden Rule*, captained by former Naval officer Albert Bigelow. There followed Omaha Action, against the building of a

missile base in Nebraska; and, most dramatically, the March from San Francisco to Moscow. In 1959, A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland helped coordinate the Sahara Protest Team, an international group which demonstrated against French nuclear testing on the African continent. Following that came Polaris Action, organized as a long-term project in New London, Connecticut, centre for building Polaris submarines capable of launching atomic attack.

In the student field, the Student Peace Union was the group most friendly to Gandhian ideas. In the nation's Capital it mounted a large-scale demonstration of college and high school students committed to nonviolent discipline, which received widespread favourable comment.

The civil rights revolution of the past decade, beginning with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, was another major challenge to the peace forces. It was the latter who had pioneered in Gandhian methods, concentrating in the racial field, but relating this experience to other fields such as anticolonialism in Africa. Nevertheless, their following in the South was very small, and few Negroes had recruited into the movement.

The name of Gandhi was often associated with the Montgomery Bus Protest and with Martin Luther King, Jr. However, the impact of Gandhian ideas was indirect rather than direct. To most Negroes, Gandhi was only a name or a cartoonist's caricature.

Two meetings are recalled by King as notable in his spiritual pilgrimage to nonviolence. When he was a student at Crozer Seminary, he attended a lecture by A. J. Muste (which the author arranged) on the implications of nonviolence for the Christian church. While at the same Seminary he attended a monthly interracial and interreligious meeting in Philadelphia where Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, gave a passionate and powerful address on the significance of Gandhi, having just returned from the World Pacifist Conference in India. Writes King, "His message was so profound and electrifying that I left the meeting and bought half a dozen books on Gandhi's life and

works". As he delved into these books he concluded: "Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months . . . I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom." At first he regarded it primarily as a valuable and potent instrument of struggle, but later he embraced nonviolence more completely and joined the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Chester Bowles wrote a featured article in the mass circulation magazine *Saturday Evening Post* (March 1, 1958) on "What Negroes Can Learn From Gandhi". Two of the Negro college students who initiated the sit-in movement (Greensboro, North Carolina, 1960) told the author that one of the influences that impelled them to action was a television program on Gandhi. They saw jail-going for a worthy cause in an entirely new light. Out of the sit-in movement grew the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which incorporated nonviolence as a strategic commitment into their operational methods. A leading adult movement in the South is the Southern Christian Leadership Council, also committed to nonviolence.

Most of the civil rights leaders, both youth and adult, articulate their views not specifically in Gandhian terms but either in religious language (mostly Christian), as is more characteristic of the South, or in humanistic and pragmatic terms, as is more characteristic of the North. There are some who extend their nonviolence beyond the cause of racial justice and question other aspects of national life inimical to human welfare, especially some aspects of U. S. foreign policy. As one young leader said: "We have to hope for more than dying in an integrated bomb shelter."

There is some carry-over from the civil rights movement to an interest in peace. Among top civil rights leadership can be found a number who are interested in disarmament and oppose the military emphasis that characterizes U. S.

foreign policy. Among them can be numbered Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Ralph Abernathy, John Lewis, and James Baldwin. James Farmer and Bayard Rustin have had a long-standing involvement in the peace movement. There are other younger leaders, along with rank-and-file youth, who are not aiming primarily at "a share of the American pie" but recognize that far-reaching transformations are required in American life and society if genuine democracy is to be realized, and if the United States is to be a worthy member of the community of nations.

The peace movement, it may be said, made two major contributions in the civil rights revolution in its first decade. One was through the organizational expertise of a few skilled and knowledgeable individuals such as Bayard Rustin, Glenn Smiley, James Lawson, and later James Farmer (with A. J. Muste's influence effectively in the background). Another important, if unheralded, contribution was that of interpretation of unfolding events in the civil rights struggle, by many people throughout the nation who understood the basic elements of the nonviolent approach, through their exposure to Gandhian ideas over the years and their allegiance to the religious pacifist position. This was true especially in the late 1950s.

In the colleges and universities there has been a continuing interest in Gandhi on the part of those interested in peace and social justice. He commands interest not only as an historical figure but also as one who has challenged many traditional American ideas. William Stuart Nelson, Vice-President of Howard University who has visited India three times, teaches a course at Howard on "The Philosophy and Methods of Nonviolence". He has received numerous inquiries from other universities and has frequently lectured on Gandhi. A Gandhi Memorial Lecture is given annually at Howard. In connection with the 1963 lecture there was a large and impressive inter-collegiate conference on "Youth, Nonviolence and Social Change".

At Haverford College there was in 1963 a research seminar on methods of nonviolent action. At Spelman College,

Professor Staughton Lynd has taught a course on "History of Nonviolence in America". A number of courses in the general field of analysis of conflict deal with Gandhi, and one frequently reads and hears of graduate studies on Gandhi. The technical *Journal of Conflict Resolution* published at University of Michigan periodically carries articles on Gandhian ideas or motifs. A recent survey revealed a surprising amount of such explorations, and young people drawn to the peace movement get valuable background information and analysis through this medium.

Few Americans have attempted a systematic analysis of Gandhi's political or organizational ideas. In addition to Gregg mentioned earlier, there have been Joan Bondurant's *Conquest of Violence* subtitled "The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict"; sections of Edmond Taylor's *Richer by Asia*; Vincent Sheean's *Lead Kindly Light* ; Paul Power's *Gandhi on World Affairs*; and Louis Fischer's *Gandhi and Stalin*. It is highly likely there will be many more soon; they could help develop further the idea of revolutionary nonviolence expressed in the American idiom.

At the founding conference of the World Peace Brigade, held in Lebanon, and in its subsequent actions such as the Delhi-to-Peking Friendship March, there has been a valuable and fruitful interchange between leaders of Gandhian thought and action in India and in the West. Here an important beginning has been made in overcoming what appears to be a dichotomy : the emphasis in Western peace movements on war resistance and in India on the constructive program. The dichotomy is transcended in the idea of "nonviolent revolution" (or "revolutionary nonviolence") as the Statement of Principles and Aims of the World Peace Brigade indicates.

Summary

Gandhi's impact has always been most evident in the pacifist sector of the U.S. peace movement. Prior to World War II his appeal was in the world of ideas. He was a symbol of dedicated action, of a possible alternative to violent means

of political and social change. It was not until after 1940 that groups began to adopt Satyagraha as a mode of organizational operation. His impact may be summarized in a five-fold fashion :

1. METHODOLOGY. The method of Satyagraha has already helped to change aspects of American life. It is likely that more experiments will emerge in the next couple of decades. They may result from a combination of organizational efforts of groups committed to Gandhian principles, and efforts by thinkers and scholars to correlate Gandhian ideas and experience with developments and ideas in the behavioral sciences.

2. PRINCIPLED ACTION. The peace movement has been bombarded with charges of utopianism and perfectionism, and has sometimes been caught in an unconscious reaction : making too many concessions to what passes for political realism. Gandhi has been a relentless reminder of the importance of "right action" in politics.

3. LEADERSHIP. Gandhi's style of leadership was direct, person to person, unaffected. One deeply impressed by the life of Gandhi could hardly aspire to be a Big Shot of the American variety. Simplicity and directness are generally regarded as cardinal virtues in American peace leadership. It would seem that Gandhi's influence is one factor. As Dwight Macdonald put it, commenting on his ready availability to all : "He practised tolerance and love to such an extent that he seemed to have regarded the capitalist as well as the garbage man as his social equal !"

4. DISCIPLINE. Americans have usually been repelled by the idea of discipline. They have associated it with Puritan asceticism or Prussian militarism. There has also been negative experience in radical circles with manipulative discipline in some Marxist movements. Gandhi showed the creative uses of discipline in a way that has deeply impressed American exponents of nonviolence who reject authoritarianism but realize the weaknesses of undisciplined individualism.

5. CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM. Resistance to an unjust social order is unintelligible or even nihilistic unless it is linked to

an interaction process leading to a new social order. U.S. Gandhians admit that the many constructive activities in which nonviolent actionists are involved are not sufficiently coordinated or integrated with a nonviolent revolutionary program. Gandhi's stress on the complementary nature of nonviolent resistance and a constructive program is an insistent guide-line in that regard.

Gandhi's impact will continue to be felt, probably in ways we cannot foresee. He drew upon the traditions and ideas deep within the soil and soul of India, integrating them into an unforgettable life. Likewise, each time nonviolence finds expression it draws upon the traditions, experience and patterns of thought of the culture in which it is working. So it will be in America, for the enduring legacy of Gandhi belongs not only to India but to the whole world and to all time.

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THE IDEAL AND THE ACTUAL IN GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY

B. S. SHARMA

The question : "How is the ideal related to and distinct from the actual ?" is crucial to the understanding of Gandhi's philosophy. The failure to appreciate this has led his critics either to misrepresent him or to call him inconsistent and full of contradictions. Gandhi has often been quoted against himself. Dr Bondurant writes : "Gandhi's political philosophy is, indeed, elusive. To the scholar who seeks internally consistent, systematised bodies of thought, the study of Gandhi is unrewarding."[1] She attributes this to the "result of his thinking in public".[2] Another recent writer, Mr Paul F. Power, writes : "Divergent and sometimes conflicting positions can be traced throughout most of his public life, although one may dominate the others during particular phases."[3] He tries to classify Gandhi's ideas into different categories at different times and concludes that they "cut across".[4] At the same time, later on he observes : "And if one of Gandhi's characteristics was rigid adherence to principle, another, equally notable, was his capacity of adaptation to people and circumstances." But how he made this "adaptation to people and circumstances" is not explained. To Mr Hiren Mukerjee, an Indian communist, Gandhi was a Utopian "running what he imagined were model settlements".[5] There are, however,

others who think differently. Professor Morris-Jones observes : "The wonder begins to be that over a half century of social change, over a number of diverse situations, so much consistency should remain."[6] Professor Tinker writes : "Few political leaders have been so fundamentally consistent as Gandhi, with a consistency impossible of achievement."[7]

Gandhi, it is true, was not concerned with constructing a system of philosophy, but mainly with applying the ideals and principles that had become a part of his life. Therefore, we do not find the distinction between the ideal and the actual explicitly stated. One discovers this only when studying his ideas in the context of his background, which was essentially that of Hindu philosophy. Cut off from this source, his ideas sometimes produce the impression of inconsistency ; read in the context, they form a coherent whole. He may, therefore, not appear to be consistent with his previous statements, but he is, in his own words, consistent with truth as it may present itself at a given moment. He explains it further : "Whenever I have been obliged to compare my writing even fifty years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two. But friends who observe inconsistency . . . should try to see if there is not an underlying and abiding consistency between the two seeming inconsistencies."[8]

Although for understanding Gandhi's philosophy it is necessary that the concepts be understood in the context of Hindu philosophy, it is equally important to bear in mind that Gandhi's connotations of terms are different from the prevalent ones. Quite often they sound national or geographical, when in fact they are universal. He never seems to have realised that this could sometimes have the effect of damaging his own purpose.[9]

The ultimate ideal for Gandhi, as he repeated several times, is unrealised and unrealisable ; its value consists in pointing out the direction. According to him, there must always be an unbridgeable gulf between the ideal and its practice. The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realise it. He argues : "Where would there be room

for that constant striving, that ceaseless quest, after the ideal that is the basis of all spiritual progress, if mortals could reach the perfect state while still in the body ?" Striving after the ideal is the very essence of practising Gandhi's philosophy. To the extent we make this effort, to that extent we realise the ideal.

Two basic principles, Truth and Nonviolence, are the foundations of Gandhi's philosophy. At the highest level of experience they merge and become one with God. The ideal of reality is also the ideal of value—a distinctive mark of Hindu philosophy. God, therefore, has been referred to by Gandhi as Truth or Love (nonviolence in its perfection). His ideal of life, self-realisation, therefore, is couched in ideal terms, when the Unity of Man and God has also been achieved. Gandhi, however, is fully aware that in actual fact, at the present level of human experience, there is a gulf between man and God ; indeed, this gulf will never be completely bridged as long as we are in this body. "Being necessarily limited by the bonds of flesh we can achieve perfection only after the dissolution of the body." But while in this body, the gulf can certainly be narrowed. Thus recognising the imperfect nature of man, Gandhi's prescription would be to follow the relative truth persistently which he called "Satyagraha". This shows the dynamic character of his ideas.

In order to achieve this ideal, he prescribed an ethical discipline—the observance of vows which he defined as "doing at any cost something that one ought to do". But taking of a vow does not mean that we are able to observe it completely from the very beginning, but it does mean "constant and honest effort in thought, word and deed, with a view to its fulfilment". It is no doubt true that in this way the practice of the ideal becomes very slippery indeed—anything could be justified as following the ideal. But this is unavoidable as is the fate of all ethical ideals whose observance can hardly be a matter of strict objective scrutiny ; it would ultimately depend on the spirit of the person who observes it and which no outsider can determine fully. At the same time, it does

not condone the moral lapses of the individual ; rather, this consciousness should make one strive to overcome the imperfections.

Gandhi's adoption of nonviolence as a method of pursuing truth is due to the fact that man, imperfect as he is, can only strive, he cannot command the result. Perfect nonviolence, being the attribute of God alone, cannot be practised by human beings. Being a part of society, man cannot but participate in "Himsa" that the very existence of society involves. Gandhi, therefore, would consider a person true to his faith if "there is an effort to avoid the violence that is inevitable in life". That is how Gandhi's ideal of nonviolence is translated into actual practice. In essence, it consists "in allowing others the maximum of convenience at the maximum inconvenience to us, even at the risk of life. Everyone has to determine for himself the amount of inconvenience he is capable of putting up with. No third party can determine it for him." Gandhi believed that one should rather be conscious of one's imperfections than that one should lower one's ideal ; this would spur the individual to perfect himself.

The application of nonviolence and Satyagraha to social and political fields has been a subject of great controversy. So complete was Gandhi's faith that he considered it a remedy against all social evils. What makes it a unique method of bringing about change is the transformation of the whole atmosphere, Satyagrahi and the opponent included. Its success or failure is not to be judged in terms of victory or defeat of one party but in terms of a change of heart of both. It is not merely a form of persuasion which is aimed in one direction only. If, in spite of the best efforts of the Satyagrahi, some moral coercion is felt by the opponent, then such coercion is unavoidable because of the imperfect nature of the Satyagrahi. However, he is obliged to try his best to reduce this unavoidable coercion to the minimum. That alone would make it different from passive resistance.

Ideally not even a group organisation is necessary. "A man or woman who is saturated with Ahimsa has only to

will a thing and it happens." This is because a perfect Satyagrahi would be nearer to God; and what is beyond His power ! Since such a perfect Satyagrahi is not available, Gandhi realised the necessity of group action. Also Satyagraha has its educative purpose which is to bring about confidence in the community. Gandhi's method strongly emphasises the need of ethical discipline, whose essential ingredient is courage—the courage of dying without killing. Having decided upon the rightness of a situation, Gandhi would not like one to be a passive spectator to evil. That would be participation in the evil itself. If one *does not have sufficient nonviolence* to die without killing one should not shamefully flee from the danger in the name of nonviolence. Rather, Gandhi would advise killing and being killed. While for himself he did not believe in the use of arms at all, he would not hesitate to advise their use by those who had no faith in nonviolence. "If there was a national Government, whilst I should not take any direct part in any war, I can conceive occasions when it would be my duty to vote for the military training of those who wish to take it. For I know that all its members do not believe in nonviolence to the extent I do. It is not possible to make a person or a society nonviolent by compulsion." Under certain circumstances, nonviolence may be only a matter of policy, as it was with the Indian National Congress. But this cannot be identified with the level of nonviolence which Gandhi personally was capable of. There is not a uniform pattern of application of nonviolence for all individuals and societies. Gandhi is sometimes talking in terms of the ideal, sometimes from his personal level; and sometimes from the point of view of what he considered the Indian masses were capable of doing. It is this distinction, which is not always made explicit, that gives the impression of inconsistency.

Sometimes a confusion in made between the acts of the individual and those of the state, and it is expected that Gandhi's state is to be nonviolent. But how is the state to act nonviolently, when for Gandhi it "represents violence in a concentrated and organised form"? Indeed a nonviolent state

is a contradiction in terms. Ultimately, when nonviolence is the governing principle of society, we could not call it a state—it could only be called a nonviolent stateless society. And that is the ideal for Gandhi. In such a society people would simply grow accustomed spontaneously to observe their social obligations without the operation of the state. The necessity of legal enforcement arises because of human imperfections. The more the individuals have imbibed the spirit of nonviolence, the less the necessity of the state. This is the implication of Gandhi's concept of Swaraj. "The attempt to win Swaraj is Swaraj itself." It is a developing ideal and is "better than the best". Gandhi calls it "indefinable". In the context of the Indian National Movement, he said that Swaraj did not mean merely political independence but "many other things". A Western style of parliamentary government he would accept as Swaraj for the time being only. While in the ideal society there is no room for the military and the police, yet in the actual state there is provision for it according to the moral level of its citizens. That is to say, a predominantly nonviolent state is the practical possibility and is the second best ideal of Gandhi. Failure to recognise the levels in Gandhi's thought results in such confused statements as this : "It is indeed clear that Gandhi held essential ideals in common with anarchists that he was willing, as they are not, to accept a degree of state organisation and control. He believed that government to be best which governs least, and yet he held that 'there are certain things which cannot be done without political power', even though there are 'numerous other things which do not at all depend upon political power'. . . It would, of course, be incorrect to suppose that Gandhi thought of retaining the state as some intermediate step in a determined progress towards anarchical society."[10]

Gandhi's actual state does concede the desirability of using the military and the police to deal with anti-social elements and defend the country. What, however, distinguishes his approach is the admission of weakness, not of the doctrine of nonviolence or of Satyagraha, but of the indivi-

duals who practise it. Whatever political institutions Gandhi accepted, he did so only as a transitional device, to be transcended by better ones. No institutional device is final. They must all evolve with the evolution of individuals. In actual practice, it would be a mixture : "A government cannot succeed in becoming entirely nonviolent because it represents all the people." He expected that the national policy will incline towards militarism of a modified character.

While fighting for the independence of India, Gandhi was conscious all the time of the necessity of moral uplift of the individuals who are to work the institutions after independence. In directing his energies towards political reform his method was equally directed "to educating the individuals to rise to a moral stature". He says : "Responsible government, which is a gift without the will and power of the people behind it, will be a mere paper responsibility hardly worth the paper on which it may be printed. If it is a fact that the atmosphere for immediate self-government among the states is not propitious, and that the people are not ready to pay the price, it follows that they should have the proper training."

When, therefore, Gandhi is criticised as a politician, such criticism is mainly based on his having one end in view, viz. the national independence of India ; it ignores the other important principle of Gandhi, namely the moral training of the individual.

In the economic field, Gandhi holds to the ideal of Trusteeship. Ultimately he subscribes to "non-possession". But in actual life he admits that some possession is unavoidable for the maintenance of the body and its needs so that it may be used for performing its duties. But property must always be held as a trust for the people and must satisfy this instrumental character. While absolute trusteeship is no doubt an abstraction and is unattainable, like Euclid's point, an effort in this direction will remove the hardships of inequality. In the actual world, Gandhi would not even mind state regulation, but with the minimum use of power—by which he means constitutional machinery. He goes to the

length of saying : "Every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny and confiscation ordered where necessary—with or without compensation, as the case may be." This is what he said in 1932 at the Round Table Conference in London. As a part of a civil disobedience movement in 1942 he could expect "the peasants to stop taxes" and even "to seize the land". But this was not a matter of "advance", as Mr Mukerji terms it ;[11] nor "a signal change in Gandhi's ideology" as "dictated by politics"[12]; it was indeed the application of his philosophy of property when trusteeship has failed.

Gandhi never failed to emphasise the need for his ideals which sometimes even seem to blur the distinction between the ideal and the actual. He talked of independent India adopting—with qualifications—the Satyagraha technique against aggression if India could acquire enough nonviolence. He knew very well that the people of India did not have nonviolence of his standard even to expel the British government: why then did he continue to talk of repelling armed aggression nonviolently ? For Gandhi, nonviolence was not merely a weapon to achieve self government : for once independence was achieved, a constant effort was to be made to reach the ideal when it would, of course, be possible to defend the country nonviolently. Such an ideal, it is true, was not to be realised immediately after the British government withdrew, but was to be striven for.

To conclude: Gandhi's philosophy lays down moral ideals for individuals and groups to strive for—their value consists in pointing out the direction, not in their realisation. They cannot be enforced from above but depend upon their voluntary acceptance. Unavoidable use of force he considers to be a necessary evil—but an evil all the same. The extent to which these ideals can be practised depends on the ethical capacity of individuals or groups. Accordingly, the actual practice of these ideals cannot be uniform. As a social and political reformer, Gandhi spoke from different levels at different times. But three levels mainly dominate his writings: first, that of the perfect ideal (unrealisable) : second, that of

his own personal point of view (admitting himself to be far from perfect, yet sufficiently advanced to practise his ideals) ; third, that of the point of view of the Indian masses. Yet what is implied throughout is this: that even though the ideal may be impossible of attainment, the very act of pursuing it generates the good-will essential for the well-being of the corporate life.

1. *Conquest of Violence* (1958), p. 147.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
3. *Gandhi on World Affairs* (1960), p. 35.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Gandhiji—A Study* (1958), p. 32.
6. "Mahatma Gandhi—Political Philosopher ?" in *Political Studies*, February 1960.
7. "Magnificent Failure ?" in *International Affairs*, April 1964.
8. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. V., p, 206.
9. For example, he expressed his picture of independent India as "Ram Raj" which he explained and meant as "the rule based on moral authority". In spite of his explanation that by "Ram Raj" he did not mean Hindu Raj but "the kingdom of God", the God of truth and righteousness, it never failed to arouse the fear of orthodox Muslims that Gandhi meant to establish a Hindu Raj. Perhaps, for a man so thoroughly steeped in Hindu philosophy, a different vocabulary was not possible.
10. Bondurant, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
12. P. F. Power, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

LOYALTY TO COUNTRY

ARLO TATUM

All of us who seek—however ineptly and inconsistently—a nonviolent orientation to life and its complexities are willing to deal with touchy subjects, sensitive problems, and painful issues. We must do so to move forward. If love and respect are present even a pinch of wisdom in a sea of errors will be useful. In this sprit I broach the subject of the relationship of an individual to his country.

No one, obviously, selects the country of his birth, nor does a country choose a particular individual to be born within its boundaries. Those of us who have been privileged to travel extensively must remember that even in this jet age the vast majority of human beings never leave the country of their birth, nor could they if they wished. For a beginning let us agree that no individual acquired special obligations to a country because his parents caused him to be born in it.

Countries are political units, for the most part by-products of the military history of the human race. Many boundaries are wildly illogical; others stand as monuments to tragic injustices perpetrated by past generations. The boundaries themselves, then, should be sources of sorrow to believers in nonviolence rather than objects of loyal devotion. Time and again I have heard conscientious objectors to military service

say they would not kill for their country but would gladly die for it. I have yet to hear this sentiment explained in terms of dedication to nonviolence, and doubt that it can be. All that is noble is not nonviolent. The pages of history are filled with accounts of men eager to die for the wrong reasons, and admiration for their courage must not obscure the tragic folly of their deaths. If a decision is made which results in the destruction of the human race, it will probably be made by such men.

What of the many benefits and privileges one receives from his national society ? Does this not naturally—and therefore morally—lead to feelings of loyalty to one's own country over all others ? This question is more difficult, but my answer is a qualified negative. Of privilege we want none; the concept of government granting privileges is politically and morally repugnant, for it is predicated on government's controlling the people rather than the reverse. Patriotism is a sense of community perverted by a misconception of the state.

To talk in terms of benefits is less dangerous, but certainly exposes our middle-class circumstances. Let me use "my own" country—the U. S. A.—as an example. We perfected and continue to practise diligently the system of apartheid to which the Republic of South Africa aspires and, like the Republic, we use it against the original inhabitants of this area—American Indians. It "works" because, unlike Africans in the Republic, Indians are a small minority. They are much more badly treated than American Negroes have been since the end of slavery, appalling as our record is in that regard. Men who have served time in prison are second-class citizens; prejudice against other minorities exists as well. For example, anarchists cannot become citizens and communists are persecuted. It is not coincidence that the most fervently partriotic are veterans of military service, who are "first-class-plus" citizens with perpetual preferential treatment.

My object is not to denegrate the U.S.A. Such a list of shortcomings could be compiled for the Soviet Union or India or any other country. My point is that were love of country based on a counting of blessings bestowed by the State it

could not be universally demanded of citizens. Perhaps even more important, a feeling of obligation is quite a different emotion from that of love.

It has always seemed to me that the story of the Good Samaritan in the Christian Bible indicates the correct attitude for a person seeking to be nonviolent. We have no special loyalty to our national community, but have a special obligation. The obligation is based on physical proximity rather than shared national citizenship. Although it would be a splendid vocation, we are not morally obliged to seek out and assist all those who lie robbed and beaten along the world's roadways. But if our path crosses such a man we must assist him. And we must help the robbers around us, as well as the victims, if only because none of us is exclusively one or the other.

If my reasoning is correct, world citizenship, world brotherhood, and a nonviolent way of life are beyond the grasp of those of us who have a particular love for or a particular sense of loyalty to our own country. Most of us do, and therefore at this primitive stage of our development we are capable of international peace organisations but not of a world peace movement. By example, we are calling for less violence while we talk about nonviolence. Perhaps it should be the other way around. At least, our ideal should be clear to ourselves, and I am not convinced that it is.

THOREAU AND INDIAN THOUGHT

M. YAMUNACHARYA

In *Walden*, his literary masterpiece, Henry David Thoreau strikes the keynote of his affinity with Indian thought by saying : "The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges". This was basically due to the fact that though he was a New Englander by birth, by temperament and early influences he felt himself *en rapport* with much to be found in the Indian literary, philosophical and religious tradition. He had a fragmentary though profound acquaintance with Indian thought. It was fragmentary in the sense that he did not know much quantitatively about Indian writings but profound in the sense that the little he knew of it was sufficient to strike a chord in his innermost being.

His environment in his boyhood and youth happened to be congenial to this process of assimilation of Indian influences. There was Ralph Waldo Emerson with whom he lived on intimate terms. Emerson infected Thoreau with a certain enthusiasm for the wisdom of India. Emerson, Thoreau and a few others constituted what has come to be called the Transcendental Movement in America. The place which was the scene of their activities was Concord. Hence this little group of thinkers and writers came to be called, half in jest and half in earnest, the "Concord Brahmins". In addition

to this congenial company of free thinkers Thoreau had in himself a vein of intellectual independence which resisted doctrinal or dogmatic conformity to any given religious tradition. The pagan and the Christian in him jostled with each other. He was too non-conformist to adhere to any given Christian Church. It is this non-conformity that allowed him in all matters to strike out an independent line of thought and a distinctive way of life which was his own. This caused not a little surprise to his contemporaries to whom he was a riddle and a curiosity. But he went his way undeterred. He felt himself to be out of tune with the existing social milieu. This was again an instance of his social non-conformity. It made him almost a Bohemian. This frame of mind kept Thoreau open to fresh influences. He kept his mind open to all the winds of doctrine from whatever direction they came. He looked to ancient Chinese philosophers like Confucius and Lao-tze for a gospel of life. He wandered in his mind over the entire gamut of Asian thought and finally settled on India for some of the lessons of life which became the warp and woof of his earthly being.

Thoreau read books as diligently as he read nature. He read nature as the Rishis of India did—to put himself in tune with it. They never sought to know nature in order to exploit or conquer her but to assimilate her and to be in constant communion with her. They discovered a harmony or concord in nature. The Vedic seers called this Rita. What was Rita or cosmic order in nature became Satya or truth or the moral order in the heart of man. The feeling of awe and reverence they evinced towards nature was akin to the feeling of awe and reverence that Kant had, when he said : "There are two things that strike me with awe and reverence. One is the starry heavens above and the other is the moral law within." The cosmic law that governed the starry heavens was *Rita*. The moral law that governed the world of man was *Satya*. Thoreau seemed to have shared this feeling fully as is illustrated by the following passage: "The indescribable innocence and beneficence of nature, of sun and wind and rain, of summer and winter, such health, such cheer

they afford forever : and such sympathy have they ever with our race, that all nature would be affected and the sun's brightness fade, and the winds would sigh humanely, and the clouds rain tears, and the woods shed their leaves and put on mourning in midsummer, if any man should ever for a just cause grieve. Shall I not have intelligence with the earth ? Am I not partly leaves and vegetable mould myself ?" Thoreau discovered this harmony everywhere in nature. For instance, he said : "The birds with their plumage and their notes are in harmony with the flowers". Here is a feeling similar to the one which the Vedic Rishi expressed in the beautiful Rig Vedic hymn to Ushas or the Dawn. Ushas of the Vedic hymn is Aurora, the Greek Eos to whose "blushes" Thoreau refers. Thoreau discovered this attunement with nature in Kalidasa, when he said : "Even in Kalidasa's Drama of Sacontala, we read of 'rills dyed yellow with the golden dust of the lotus'. Let us first be simple and well as nature ourselves, dispel clouds that hang over our brows and take up a little more life into our pores." To Thoreau every nuance of nature was familiar. Every change in nature thrilled him. He was so attuned to it. "All change", he said, "is a miracle to contemplate ; but it is a miracle which is taking place every instant".

Now coming to the reading of books, Thoreau did not relish reading all sorts of books. His books were confined to those that gave him a knowledge and insight into the spectacle of nature and to those that gave him a philosophy of life which led him from the surface of life to its depths. He said, "To read well, that is, to read the books in a true spirit is a noble exercise and one that will task the reader more than any exercise which the customs of the day esteem".

One of the books that he read this way was the *Bhagavad-Gita* to which Emerson had introduced him. He looked upon the *Bhagavad-Gita* as the greatest discovery of the age in the face of which every other discovery of earlier times was worthless. He asks, how much more admirable the *Bhagavad-Gita* is "than all the rains of the East". That the *Gita* be-

came the daily food for his soul is confessed to by him when he says : "In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonal philosophy of the *Bhagavad-Gita* since whose composition years of the Gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial".

To the great Indian philosophers philosophy was life. It was not merely an intellectual pastime but a guide to living. Philosophy etymologically means love of wisdom. Thoreau had this in full measure and could be termed a philosopher in the old sense in which this term was understood in ancient civilizations in China, in Greece and in India. He quizzically remarked, "There are nowadays Professors of Philosophy, but not philosophers", and goes on to observe : "To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts nor even to found a school, but so to love wisdom, to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity, and trust. It is to solve some of the problems of life, not only theoretically but practically".

"The philosopher", to Thoreau, "is in advance of his age even in the outward form of his life. He is not fed, sheltered, clothed, warmed, like his contemporaries." "How can a man be a philosopher", asks Thoreau, "and not maintain his vital heat by better methods than other men ?"

Thoreau was struck by the ancient ideal of the philosopher as one who could live happy and independent without piling up external possessions. He was impressed by its ideal of simplicity and voluntary poverty. He held, like many of them, that "most of the luxuries, and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind". He maintained that "with respect to luxuries and comforts, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meagre life than the poor". Also that "the ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich inward". Further he adds : "None can be an impartial or wise observer of human life but from the vantage-ground of what

we should call voluntary poverty. Of a life of luxury the fruit is luxury, whether in agriculture or commerce or literature or art." No wonder that the great Sannyasins of India had divested themselves of all possessions except their staff and begging bowl—a phenomenon that appealed to Thoreau. Here is a fine pen picture of the image of such a sage who lived in his hermitage in the forest and to whom pupils from far and wide repaired to learn. Thoreau writes : "I lay down the book and go to my well for water and lo ! there I meet the servant of the Brahmin, priest of Brahma and Vishnu and Indra, who still sits in his temple on the Ganges reading the Vedas, or dwells at the root of a tree with his crust and water jug. I meet his servant come to draw water for his master and our buckets as it were grate together in the same well." "Money", says Thoreau, "is not required to buy one necessary of the soul". But what is meant by "necessary of life"? Thoreau says, "By the words necessary of life, I mean whatever, of all that man obtains by his own exertions, has been from the first, or from long use become, so important to human life that few, if any, whether from savageness or poverty or philosophy ever attempt to do without it. He was for simplicity of dress as for simplicity of food. He condemned our donning "garment after garment, as if we grew like exogenous plants by addition without". He considered vegetarian and abstemious food to be indispensable to the higher life. He held Asvada, abstemiousness, to be one of the great virtues of a wise man in the manner in which Indian religious thought maintained it. His affinity with Indian thought on the subject is clear in the following words : "I believe that every man who has ever been earnest to preserve his higher or poetic faculties in the best condition has been particularly inclined to abstain from animal food, and from much food of any kind". He even experimented for some time with eating rice and drinking water. He says : "It was fit that I should live on rice, mainly, who loved so well the philosophy of India".

These views of Thoreau should not lead us to conclude that he was an ascetic. He warns us from drawing this con-

clusion. Wholesome food, wholesome clothing, avoidance of over-eating, drinking and smoking were considered by him to be indispensable to leading a healthy life, following nature. Thoreau was not ascetic in the sense that he despised the body. He believed in keeping the body healthy and strong so that it may become the vehicle for the expression of his soul. An Indian scripture says that the body is the temple of God and should be looked upon as such : *"Deho devalayah proktah"*. Thoreau speaks of the body in a similar vein. He says : "Every man is the builder of a temple, called his body, to the God he worships, after a style purely his own, nor can he get off by hammering marble instead. We are all sculptors and painters, and our material is our own flesh and blood and bones. Any nobleness begins at once to refine a man's features, any meanness or sensuality to imbrute them."

There is however an element of the Pasu or animal in every one of us. This is the cause of our bondage or Pasa. The Indian saint struggles to free himself from this Pasu and Pasa in him. This is rendered possible only by the grace of Pasupati, the Lord that rules over us. This is one of the variations of an idea struck by Indian thought in this regard. Similarly Thoreau avers : "We are conscious of an animal in us which awakens in proportion as our higher nature slumbers. It is reptile and sensual and perhaps cannot be wholly expelled, like the worms which even in life and health occupy our bodies. Possibly we may withdraw from it, but never change its nature. I fear that it may enjoy a certain health of its own ; that we may be well, but not pure." Thoreau longs not so much to be well as to be pure. He is prepared to go to seek the wise man who could teach him this purity. The Upanishadic seers prescribe Sama and Dama as necessary conditions for the attainment of Brahman. Sama is the restraint of the mind and Dama is the restraint of the external senses. Thoreau quotes anonymously an Indian scriptural statement to this effect : "A command over our passions, and over the external senses of the body, and good acts are declared by the Veda to be indispensable

in the mind's approximation to God".

To use the Indian idiom the Sattva in us will go to sleep when we lull it to sleep by Tamas. Tamas is the cause of inertia or sluggishness, according to the *Gita*. This is first shaken off by exertion or Rajas and then Sattva awakens to chasten it and sublimate it. Says Thoreau, "From exertion come wisdom and purity : from sloth ignorance and sensuality. In the student sensuality is a sluggish habit of mind." In these words one can clearly discern the influence of Indian thought on Thoreau.

Thoreau, like the Indian philosophers and saints, attaches as much importance to the role of Brahmacharya or continence as to vows like Asvada, Ahimsa and Aparigraha, temperence, nonviolence and non-possession. "If you would be chaste", he says, "you must be temperate". Here is a clear discernment of the relation between Asvada and Brahmacharya. In speaking of Brahmacharya, Thoreau wants us to shed prudery, as our own Dharma Sastra writers did. In Thoreau's words we discover a striking resemblance to the words that Gandhi speaks about Brahmacharya. Thoreau admires the frankness of the Dharma Sastra writers when they speak of the sex impulse and its restraint. He says, "We discourse freely without shame of one form of sensuality [perhaps Thoreau has gluttony in mind] and are silent about another. We are so degraded that we cannot speak simply of the necessary functions of human nature. In earlier ages, in some centuries, every function was reverently spoken of and regulated by law. Nothing was too trivial for the Hindoo law-giver, however offensive it may be to modern taste. He teaches how to eat, drink, cohabit, void excrement and urine, and the like, elevating what is mean, and does not falsely excuse himself by calling these things trifles." Thoreau is obviously referring here to Manu and his Dharma Sastra.

Thoreau speaks about the sex instinct and its sublimation in the manner of the Hindu sages. He writes : "The generative energy, which, when we are loose, dissipates and makes us unclean, when we are continent invigorates and inspires us. Chastity is the flowering of man : and what are called genius,

heroism, holiness and the like, are but various fruits which succeed it. Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open. By turns our purity inspires and our impurity casts us down. He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day and the divine being established." Could there be a more eloquent testimony than this to the deep influence that Indian thought in this regard exerted on the mind of Thoreau? Gandhiji speaks in a similar strain of the sex-life of man. It is the deep calling to the deep.

We may here advert to a vein of metaphysical thought characteristic of the Vedanta philosophy of India. A certain school of Vedanta emphasizes the distinction between appearance and reality, man as he appears and man as he is. The lack of a clear distinction between the two is, according to Thoreau, responsible for the mean life which is the lot of many persons. He says : "I perceive that we inhabitants of New England live this mean life that we do because our vision does not penetrate the surface of things. We think that that *is* which *appears* to be."

What is the cause for this meanness and pettiness of life ? It is the lack of self-realization. It is the lack of the realization that you are greater than what you think you are. Man is greater than he knows. Self-realization is the realization of the true self in man. It is discrimination of the spirit from that which is not of the spirit. Spirituality is the pilgrimage of the soul to the temple of God where it realizes its true nature, where its inherent perfection comes to be completely unfolded. It is the lack of the discovery that you are divine at the very core of your being that is responsible for all meanness. Philosophical knowledge consists in your realizing that Brahman is immanent in you and that you live, move and have your being in Brahman. Going further, it is the discovery that you are Brahman at the core of your being, "*Tat tvam asi*". This Vedantic truth is expressed in the *Brahma Sutra* and its commentary as a matter of self-discovery. Commentators on the *Brahma Sutra*, like Sankara and Ramanuja, liken this self-discovery to a young prince who loses his way

in the woods, is brought up by a forester as a forester, grows up without knowing that he is really a prince but is later made aware of this fact when the prince comes to his real estate. This parable must have exercised some fascination on the mind of Thoreau, so much so that he quotes it *in extenso*, taking it from one of the commentaries on the *Brahma Sutra*. To quote Thoreau himself: "I have read in a Hindoo book, that there was a king's son who, being expelled in infancy from his native city, was brought up by a forester, and growing up to maturity in that state, imagined himself to belong to the barbarous race with which he lived. One of his father's ministers having discovered him, revealed to him what he was, and the misconception of his character was removed, and he knew himself to be a prince. So the soul, continues the Hindoo philosopher, mistakes its own character, until the truth is revealed to it by some holy teacher and thence it knows itself to be Brahma."

In consonance with this philosophy of India, Thoreau considers that "only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence". "When we are unhurried and wise", says Thoreau, "we perceive that only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence, that petty fears and petty pleasures are but the shadow of the reality."

His occasional references throughout *Walden* to the Veda, *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Vishnu Purana*, even to a mystic poet like Kabir, reveal Thoreau's great interest in Indian thought.

Is it any wonder that Gandhiji found in Thoreau a kindred spirit not merely in his philosophical and religious thought but also in the applicatlon of these principles to the solution of social and political problems, as is evidenced by Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience which became such an effective spiritual weapon in the hands of Gandhiji, in the form of Satyagraha. Life, to Thoreau as well as to Gandhi, was all of a piece. It was one integral whole with no compartments.

Thoreau has quoted the *Vishnu Purana*, saying: "The householder is to remain at eventide in his courtyard as long

as it takes to milk a cow, or longer, if he pleases, to await the arrival of a guest." "I often performed this duty of hospitality", says Thoreau, "to the visitor who never comes." But we say he comes, and ever comes, as Tagore says, and down the nights with majestic instancy and unhurried pace into the lives of men, like the Hound of Heaven of Francis Thompson. In our desperate haste to succeed in desperate enterprises, Thoreau expresses his resolve by saying, "We will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality".

R. R. DIWAKAR: A PERSONAL PORTRAIT

U. N. DHEBAR

There are few persons today in India who are absolutely noncontroversial although in public life. I think, Diwakarji is one of them. One who is effective and wants to be effective cannot always remain non-controversial. The very emphasis on an approach leads to a reaction. In India where there is still so much immaturity, and where our feudal background still persists, every difference is related to assumed personal likes and dislikes. The reaction to an approach soon takes the form of a personal equation; from this to group formations and tensions is merely a question of time. The persons operating on the side lines do their best to reduce the time element to a minimum. Once the unhappy reaction is untied they see to it that there is misunderstanding, bitterness and even complaints. If Diwakarji is spared from this it is because he is objective and least ambitious. His writings also show that he is a constructive student of the problems. Whatever comes out of his pen is the result of study and not a flamboyant essay to show off his skill as a writer.

I have had the privilege of working with him for the last six years very intimately as a colleague in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Both these institutions demand incalculable patience. These activities carry a

certain degree of status because of the name associated with them, and every activity carrying some kind of status involves responsibility. But peculiar as it may seem in Gandhi's land these activities have to avoid treading on anybody's toes and yet to function. Most of the members of these two institutions are in Government. No other person save Diwakarji could have functioned without creating embarrassing situations for himself and others, and yet sustaining the basic prestige of the Nidhi and the Foundation in the minds of the people.

Diwakarji avoids the limelight; but his contributions are substantial. All that he writes carry the impress of deep study and balanced thinking and a vitality of their own, though subdued as the author himself.

He is a fine Chief to work with. You can never be afraid that he will suspect you of going against him which in Indian public life is a rare thing. Nearly half of our troubles originate from supposed or suspected rivalry which does not really exist. He is solicitious of knowing the views of the other side. He even goes out of his way to know their views. One can be sure, however, that agreement or disagreement, a decision once taken will be carried out loyally. In a sense he is an ideal Chairman.

But the best of all traits is his love for all that is precious in the Indian heritage. As Governor of Bihar he gave to the people of Bihar, as few Governors could have done, a record of Bihar's past glory, all properly collected and tabulated in a volume. He has given to the people of Karnataka a collection of the hymns of their great saints and also got them translated into other languages. He has a passion to place before the present and the future, in his own unobtrusive way, all that is rich and worthy in the history of our past.