THE SAGE IN Revolt

A REMEMBRANCE

By PRAN CHOPRA

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THE SAGE IN Revolt

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FOREWORD

I welcome Shri Pran Chopra's book, *The Sage in Revolt*, which deals with Gandhiji's relevance to the world of today. The book analyzes in depth the contemporary situation and points out that the choice before mankind is between the humane world of Gandhiji's dreams and a nightmare of mutual strife and ultimate destruction.

I commend the efforts of the Gandhi Peace Foundation in bringing out meaningful books and I am sure this book will be a worthy addition to the growing volume of literature on the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi.

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A WORD FROM THE GENERAL EDITOR

Centenaries of great men are usually meant to bring to mind their greatness, their contribution to history, and the debt we owe them. But in the case of creative personalities, formal paying of tribute is not enough, because their life, thought and action continue to serve as an inspiration for generations to come.

Such is the case with Gandhi. He was the architect of India's freedom. This meant the liberation of the vast mass of the then three hundred million people with a continuous history and civilization going back to at least three thousand years. They had been held back from playing their role by the foreign forces of imperialism and colonialism. This freedom Gandhi was instrumental in achieving by the sheer moral power of truth and nonviolence. Without any visible sign or symbol of birth or wealth or power, he awakened and inspired the souls of people to dare suffering and death in the fight for freedom against the mightiest ever of military empires. He breathed into them a sense of the soul's immortality which made them ready 'to die without killing'.

What Gandhi did and was doing in South Africa and India could not but attract the attention of the world and touch the hearts of all sensitive men and women. In his own life time, he was called a 'moral genius' and 'the conscience of humanity'. When he was assassinated by a fanatic of his own community, in the midst of his mission for peace

and goodwill, millions all over the world shed tears. The U.N. flag flew half-mast and politicians there paid spontaneous tribute to one whose only love was humanity and whose only goal was a peaceful, happy and harmonious Family of Man.

No wonder the UNESCO thought that here was a centenary which ought to be observed in solemnity by all nations. Special committees were formed in most countries and several fitting programs were drawn up for paying tribute, for holding demonstrations, exhibitions and discussions, and for deeply thinking out the implications of the gandhian outlook and technique for the solution of socio-economic problems and to bring about radical social change.

There is ample material available for a voluminous report on the centenary in the archives of the External Affairs Ministry of India, in the several Embassies of India abroad, and also in the reports of special committees formed by most nations. But the aim of this publication is not to give a report of that type, but to survey in retrospect what thoughtful men and women outside India have expressed, through different media of communication, about this 'little man' Gandhi: his life which was an open book, his thought which was as comprehensive as the human mind, his perception and concern about the future of man, and his action which promises to enable the weak and oppressed to fight evil and injustice with the moral weapons of truth and love.

Ecce Homo—here was a man who believed in God with his whole soul but loved the nearest man as God's own image and served him to the utmost in all ways. Here was a man who worshipped Truth, the truth of life and being, and followed it to death in search of his God. Here was a man who declared that his own spiritual salvation was his highest concern but spent all his life for the social and economic salvation and collective happiness of all here on

earth. He believed in rebirth but lived from day to day and moment to moment as if this was his last life on earth as well as in heaven. He wished every moment to reduce himself to zero—and yet the documentation about him, both by himself and others, is more voluminous than about any other person in ancient or modern times.

We have here in this modest publication a cross-section of views and thoughts about Gandhi culled from all over the world and which were expressed only during the Gandhi Centenary. While *Mahatma Gandhi 100 Years,* an earlier publication of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, presents the views of several thoughtful persons on Gandhi just before the centenary, this present volume is, as it were, a sequel. Gandhi will, however, continue to be a subject for thought today, tomorrow and the day after, as his personality, thought and action embrace humanity itself, its past as well as its future.

I may take the reader here into confidence and say that a similar volume of views and thoughts is in preparation, covering the centenary period as it was observed in India. These two volumes read together would, I hope, give a fair idea of the whole Gandhi Centenary period.

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PREFACE

This book is not about Gandhi, nor is it about the world-wide celebration of the first centenary of the birth of Gandhi. It is about what the world made of Gandhi in celebrating the centenary.

'Made' both in the colloquial sense — how far did the world understand him, what did it understand his life to mean? — and in the sense of the formalizing verb — what shape did it give to the image of the man whom it commemorated as it has never commemorated any other national hero? In other words this is a book about the reflections of Gandhi as they were caught in the varied streams of the centenary celebrations.

The book has been written at the invitation of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. But the author alone is responsible for the views expressed in it.

Reports about the centenary were made available by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. The sources of the book are limited to them.

The author gratefully acknowledges the generous assistance given by Manoranjan Mohanty, which was as painstaking as it was creative.

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THE IMAGE IN THE EVENT

He has lessons for us all.

— SENATOR DIOKNO

The world takes time to absorb great ideas; in fact their greatness may be measured, almost, by the time it takes others to appreciate them. Perhaps this is the price of prophetic vision. A sensitive conscience foresees; others wait for events, and in the time lag underestimate the vision. This also happened to Gandhi the social innovator, though as a political leader he became a power in his lifetime.

Because Gandhi was the creator of India's freedom movement and throughout most of its active phase its unsurpassable controller and director, he lives in most Indian minds in the role of political liberator. But his genius was many-sided. The struggle for India's political independence engaged only a part, probably the lesser part of him, while his ambition and thought ranged far beyond that. He envisaged the total regeneration of India, and by methods which would be an example to other societies as well. His ideas of change did not stop with the objective of transfer of power from British hands to Indian. If they appeared to stop there it is because people as a whole, including most of their

leaders, can only see one step ahead at any one time, and right up to the time of Gandhi's death the step that most mattered to all Indians was the transfer of power. They thought his other ideas could wait.

Some of these ideas were undoubtedly taken up by the Congress in his lifetime; but more as instruments of the national struggle than as pathways to elevation of the human personality. After independence was won, the Government of India continued to pay homage to some of them. But in name only; the spirit was lacking. They were never woven into nor treated as parts of a dynamic, upturning, revolutionary complex of action and thought. In fact the word revolution was drained out of his legacy and only an emasculated Gandhi lived on in the official Indian tradition. He lived in the tradition of the world at large, in so far as he did, only as a curious, incomprehensible little figure, part man, part unbelievable legend. That he was the begetter of India's political freedom was remembered by many; everything beyond that was treated as the imaginary folklore of a grateful people.

Yet, less than 25 years after his death, the first centenary of his birth became the world's greatest event of this type. The concluding chapter of this book, 'Centennial Homage', sets out the magnitude of the centenary celebration. But more remarkable is the quality of its significance, which forms the subject of all the earlier chapters. Every aspect of his ideas about social change, including some which had remained embryonic in him, came under the scalpel of sociological engineering. While presidents and kings and ministers of the church joined in the homage because Gandhi was the most remarkable leader of his nation, others searched through the record of his life and work to find answers to the many riddles of modern society. While he was alive, Gandhi was never the subject of so much analysis, or analysis

of such a high order as he became two decades after his death.

This happened, as I have explained in the chapter on the relevance of Gandhi, because in these 20 years the world was gradually drifting into that very umbra of the problems of man which Gandhi foresaw and against which he had tried to raise his voice above the din of India's movement for freedom.

During the years of this movement, these deep-seated problems of industrial society still wore, in the eyes of all of us, the beguiling clothes of technological achievement. In our state of rural backwardness, we took the smoking chimney to be the highest altar of the mid-twentieth century. Gandhi's warnings against the accompanying danger were dismissed as the product of outdated notions. Few heeded them in India; fewer still abroad, because not many people in other countries knew much about him then. But in the intervening twenty years, four major things happened which made Gandhi more timely than he was in his own day.

First — despite the irony, it merits first mention — China proved the regenerative power of many of the 'outdated notions' of Gandhi. The irony is four-fold: that this proof was furnished under a political system which in some of its aspects, like the dragooning of the human personality, would have aroused Gandhi's intense opposition; that Sino-Indian relations fell to such a low point that they prevented China from acknowledging its debt to Gandhi and India from acknowledging that many aspects of the new Chinese society are living proof of the validity of Gandhi; that China should be the one country, apart from Pakistan, where the absence of any centenary celebration was not just an act of national forgetfulness; and that the only people who disfigured the centenary by burning effigies of Gandhi should have been Indians who claim to speak in the name of Mao, the man

some of whose actions are a greater homage to Gandhi than the verbal homage paid by many another leader.

Yet a time must come when both countries will see that along the lines of what Gandhi taught, China proved that human ingenuity can be superior to the most complex technology; that human initiative is at its best when it is dissolved among the masses of people; that there are Asian answers to Asian problems and rural answers to the problems of a rural society.

The second change that occurred in the two decades after Gandhi's death was the defrocking of the Organization Man. He lost the pulpit from which he had preached to the world, almost ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution, that the maximum organization of the largest number is best. His doctrine that human happiness flows from a tightly built pyramid of organizational effort had put the shackles of routine upon an ever increasing sector of the human race; to question it was regarded as both blasphemous and foolish, contrary to the logic of machine-aided labour. This gave almost irresistible power to the two active principles of this doctrine, maximum centralization and maximum power at the top of the pyramid.

But the intellectual subversion of this principle started from about the late 'fifties, and by time of the centenary it had captured the imagination of western society. Modes of organization still did not change very much; but at one level, thinking changed, and at another level, behaviour. Organization lost its capital O; its deification ended. Even as they confessed that little could be done to reverse the process of organization once it had begun, as in the industrial economy, thoughtful people admitted that unforeseen social consequences had proved to be dangerous. The more rebelliously thoughtful went a step further: if the process cannot be reversed where it has begun, they said, it should

not be allowed to begin where it has not as yet, and they raised the demand for 'participation' in institutions ranging from the college to the State. By 1968 it was P that had become capital in sociological vocabulary. At the level of behaviour came the drop-out phenomenon, the retreat from affluence, the renouncement of the consumer society, the increase in the number of the barefooted devotees of torn trousers and shaggy heads. The aberrations apart, at all these levels of new thinking and behaviour, the idiom of Gandhi's life and the content of his actions, which were carefully integrated with the direction of his thinking, acquired an appeal which the western world had entirely missed before and most Indians had appreciated only as a means to political mobilization.

The third change was in the dimensions of violence. It may seem absurd to suggest that the world was less aware of violence during the lifetime of Gandhi; two world wars had occurred while he was still rising to his final fame, and two cities had been reduced to gaping holes in the map by nuclear bombs before the bullet hit him. But it is true that in the two decades after his death, violence acquired dimensions which it did not have before. In the first place, cataclysmic violence now became possible with the competitive 'advancement' of nuclear technology; enough bombs were available not only to blast two cities off the earth but to burn up the earth itself. But perhaps what more acutely disturbed more people was the second dimension, the internationalization of violence in urban society, where it proliferated beyond the reach of those countervailing measures, such as deterrence, which have kept nuclear violence on the leash up to the moment of writing. It was the acid bulb, the truncheon, the hand grenade or gun or even the bicycle chain which had been baffling urban society, both oriental and western, for five years or so before the centenary started;

it was in search of antidotes to this violence that people turned to Gandhi as they had never turned before. Non-violence, satyagraha, civil disobedience were not looked upon, at least not outside India, as the moral actions of a pious Hindu but as methods invented by a practical sociologist for peacefully dismantling inner social conflicts. Concern with Gandhi rose in the West along with concern over the ugly tensions of industrial society and over the inability of the megalopolitan mind to find the answer to them.

The fourth and a more intense variety of change was the internal and external radicalization of coloured societies during the 'fifties and 'sixties. The struggle against western imperialism was in full swing before Gandhi's death; he was himself its very epicentre. But in his own day his contribution was not fully understood. It was thought to be limited to India and simply to the overthrow of foreign rule. But its magnitude stood out with far greater clarity and power as country after country achieved independence and a full range of confrontation developed between the coloured world on one side and the white world on the other, often reaching out, as notably in the United States, to the internal frontiers of pigmentation within an independent society. Now this enveloped not only the political aspiration of the coloured people to rule themselves but the total aspiration of their collective personality. They not only demanded freedom but also the overthrow of many of the alien cultural ideas and values, most of them irrelevant and some of them harmful, which the white man had injected into coloured societies during his days of domination either out of indiscriminate goodwill or intent to harm. At the same time the underprivileged of all coloured societies also rose against internal discrimination, whether economic or social, and demanded justice in all its forms and range.

As one of the early leaders of the movement of economic and social justice within a society and as the liberator of the largest coloured nation ever to be conquered by the West, Gandhi came to be re-read with a much sharper interest than he would have been if Indian independence had remained an episode by itself. And being re-read in the light of the intense conflicts which followed him, he was discovered to have been far more radical in his thinking than was realized in India when he was alive (or was allowed to be realized for some time after his death).

Even without the centenary, events might have drawn the world's attention to these aspects of the life and work of Gandhi, provoking a posthumous reassessment and greater understanding than they received in his lifetime; his contribution to human development was too great and varied to have been forgotten with the achievement of Indian independence. But the centenary, and more than that the world environment in which it took place, gave the reassessment a range and depth which it would not have had otherwise. Gandhi emerged from this combination of the time and event as a far more vivid and resplendent image. The world saw during the centenary a far more compelling social innovator than India saw when he was alive.

Fortunately, the remembrance was not merely adulatory but self-consciously analytical, respectful but not uncritical. As a consequence, the incompleteness and shortcomings of Gandhi's vision were not overlooked. Nor was the fact slurred over that even to this day, and in many respects, Gandhi remains an unproven prophet. Some of his most essential efforts were not crowned with success in his own day; nor were they crowned with it afterwards because he was not followed by adequate apostles. But the clear recognition of these gaps made the image even more real; it did not become the insubstantial smoke of incense which sanctimoni-

ous homage would have made it. Because of this image, and in spite of the emasculation in the earlier Indian remembrance, the re-valued Gandhi will go down in history as a far more vibrant, daring and radical leader than he would have done without the centenary, as a person more disturbed by the human ailment than only by the foreign domination over India, and as a humanitarian who spent more of his time in finding universal remedies than in clearing the British out of India. 'He has lessons for us all', as Senator Diokno said; but the lessons are not to be derived from the meekness of nonviolence which used to be attributed to him, but from a nonviolence which, as Diokno paraphrased it, 'is a force, not retreat; it is a weapon, not a shield'.

The chapters which follow describe the making of this image.

SIMPLICITY IN ESSENCE

He wove intricately the
cloth of human nobility
Into beautiful patterns
of self-respect.

— JITNARINE GANESSING

To some Gandhi appears to be a superior man, to many a superman. This was so even during his lifetime and has continued to be so since. Everybody can see the mahatma in him. But while some think that he acquired his great qualities by human endeavour, by his studied 'experiments with truth', many, especially in India, regard him as yet another incarnation of God. But in both images of Gandhi, there is a clear recognition of his rare capabilities and achievements. Everyone sees the greatness of the man. But those who see it as a quality independent of his actual life and environment put him beyond human possibilities. On the other hand, those who see in him a possible climax of human endeavour feel his greatness to be within human reach.

In the centenary celebrations admirers saw Gandhi in their own frames of reference. Usually people of other countries treated Gandhi as a superior human being and placed him in the context of his environment as a unique man in history. With such an approach they could separately identify his

different roles and more clearly see their relevance to the contemporary world; thus the centenary discussions abroad made for a clearer and deeper understanding of the person and his message. Some did see him as a saint or a prophet and compared him with Jesus and Buddha. This was natural, because for ages these names have been symbols which have carried ideas for men. Yet the dominant image of Gandhi was that of a 'great man' rather than of a 'superman'.

In a centenary service at New York's Community Church, Dr Donald Harrington recalled that his predecessor at the Church, Dr John Haynes Holmes[1] was the first American to recognize Gandhi's greatness as early as 1921. In his famous sermon that year on 'Who is the Greatest Man in the World Today?' Dr Holmes singled out Gandhi and said that when he thought of Gandhi he was reminded of Jesus Christ. Dr Holmes prophesied that one day the Mahatma would die for the kingdom of God on earth. In a different spirit, though in substance the similarity is startling, V. Srinivasa Sastri also had referred to the future possibility of Gandhi's assassination. R. Ramani[2] recalled a remark made by Sastri who had said rather irreverently of Gandhi, 'The old man's only ambition is to die a violent death so that he may be remembered as the modern Jesus Christ'. Sastri made the remark in lighter vein. But such associations of Gandhi with religious prophets naturally came to the minds of many men because they associated social and religious symbols with their image of Gandhi. The Information Minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Khac Tinh, for example, described Gandhi as 'Asia's contemporary saint'.[3]

But serious analysts who also recognized Gandhi's greatness constantly reminded their audience that Gandhi was not a prophet. Prof. Guiseppe Tucci, President of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, said: 'Gandhi was not a saint, as he was called by many in India: the man himself

silenced the enthusiasts, who everywhere wish to endow with superhuman traits the very persons who succeed in fulfilling in themselves the richest and fullest humanity.'[4] Prof. Tucci said that both terms, 'saint' and 'mahatma', exaggerated the exceptional experience that could be lived by human mortals in their quest for truth. Voicing a similar sentiment Karl Jaspers said:[5] 'Gandhi rejected being taken for a saint. Almost nothing else became more important to him than to guard himself from a deification of his person, to resist the pressure of the Indian darshan seekers.'

An admirer in Trinidad, Jitnarine Ganessing, saw Gandhi in stark human terms and a poem by him had these lines:

This was a MAN
the essence of simplicity
with bifocals, sandals
and his hand-made 'dhoti'
He wove intricately the
cloth of human nobility
Into beautiful patterns
of self-respect.

Similarly at a function in Baghdad, Medhat al Jader spoke of Gandhi as an exceptional hero: 'He was a man small in size, calm in temper and indulgent in mood. But in him was a boisterous revolution apt to explode.... Several heroes have appeared on the stage of time with surroundings of grandeur, pomp and authority. But unlike Gandhi they did not create in the depths of the souls or on the sands of time such impressions as Gandhi left behind.'

Speaking of Gandhi's very human qualities George Catlin referred to his strict vegetarianism and called him a 'food faddist (who) was full of obstinate idiosyncrasies'.[6] Catlin said satirically that unlike 'the great men' such as Stalin and Hitler, Gandhi was 'entirely human'. Another interesting sidelight was a comment in the Stockholm daily news-

paper, *Aftonbladet* of 30 July 1960, that 'Gandhi, one of the bravest men, was afraid of snakes, ghosts and thieves'. Reminiscences like these brought Gandhi within the frame of human comparison and yet even some of his very human qualities appeared to some people to be impossible for ordinary mortals to emulate. R. Ramani said: 'The Mahatma looked intensely human. In his physical presence one did not feel he was larger than life in spite of one's... expectation. But away from his presence one felt he was indeed larger and perhaps closer to one's concept of Divinity; and in mental recollection he filled a larger mould than mere man.'[7] Lord Casey, former Governor of undivided Bengal who had dealt with Gandhi in a very difficult situation, also recollected[8] some of Gandhi's qualities as a person, but of a more substantial variety: 'Although he was always most courteous, he could be quite positive.' On his friendly attitude even towards critics Casey said, 'Another admirable and unusual thing about him in my experience was his practice of never making any harsh or critical comment on other individuals, even on those who had said hard things about him.'[9] These impressions led Casey to say in 1945, 'Of this I am sure — that he is the most important figure in India today, and I believe he will continue to be.'[10]

A brochure prepared by the Gandhi Centenary Committee of Columbia University carried an interesting article on how Gandhi acquired the superhuman description, the Mahatma. According to it, Gandhi was first called Mahatma in January 1915, on his triumphant return from South Africa. He had gone to Gondal in Gujarat to thank the Maharaja of Gondal for his help in the cause of Indians in South Africa. At the royal reception to Gandhi the Raj Vaidya (the traditional Indian doctor serving the king) presented an address in Sanskrit appreciating Gandhi's work. There he described Gandhi as Jagat Vandaneeya Mahatma (a great soul worthy

of being worshipped by the world). The Vaidya, Jivraj Kalidas Shastri, later known as Charantirthji who was 90 years old in 1969, claimed that this event in 1915 was the real start of the habit of calling Gandhi the Mahatma. However, a more popular account has it that it was Tagore who first described Gandhi as Mahatma.

The description, however it may have originated, added superhuman attributes to Gandhi's image. But a closer look at the concept of mahatma suggests that this need not have been; mahatmas are also men, though with superior qualities. Thailand's Prince Wan Vaidyakorn analyzed this concept while inaugurating the centenary exhibition in Bangkok on 2 October 1969. He said that the description of mahatmas in the *Bhagavad Gita,* which was so dear to Gandhi, suited him very well. He quoted Krishna from the *Gita* as saying: 'But my mahatmas, those of noble soul who tread the path celestial, worship me with hearts unwandering, knowing Me to be the source, the Eternal Source, of life. Unendingly they glorify Me, seek Me, keep their vows of reverence and love, with changeless faith adoring Me.'

The Mahatma's purity of purpose and fearlessness were recollected by Dagmar Stake.[11] He recalled the picture of Gandhi in a court trial in 1922. 'The parties are as usual the accused who, contrary to the rule, admits his crime of having exhorted people to adopt passive resistance towards unfair laws decreed by the colonial power and who, far from deploring his action, declares himself willing to repeat it and to endure any punishment, and the British judge who, in compliance with British law, sentences the accused to six years in jail at the same time as he declares that no man would be happier than he if only he could cancel the sentence. In such circumstances, I think there are reasons enough to say that the parties had switched roles.'

Many people recollected Churchill's well-known descrip-

tion of Gandhi as 'the naked fakir'. But the description had long since lost the scorn implicit in it when Churchill used it. As an article in *Filii Tui*, journal of the Propaganda College, Rome, put it, the description very well fitted Gandhi's simplicity and challenge. Referring to some contemporary trends Ylva Tjornstrand said[12]: 'Nowadays he appears as a bizarre figure. But he was much more than that.' He appeared bizarre only because he was a challenge to accepted notions of the normal. The editors of *Filii Tui* not only saw in Gandhi 'naturally Christian virtues' but a personality which was 'intoxicated with the divine'. Yet in the same journal Alfred Mutegeki described him both as a 'practical man' and a 'sage', the image thus alternating between human and superhuman elements the moment it enters the area of spiritual and ethical values, leaving practical politics behind. While the *German Catholic Weekly* called him a 'spiritual giant', Academician Jozsef Bognar of Hungary referred to him as 'not a conventional political leadership personality'[13]. He also described Gandhi as 'the venerated symbol of the spirit of the East'. Mentioning both the traits, Malta's Governor-General, Sir Maurice Dorman Candelmas, said that Gandhi 'combined rare political genius with an almost supernatural force'.

Noticing Gandhi's simplicity and courage, participants marvelled at the moral strength of Gandhi's personality and traced it to his nonviolent mode of action and commitment to truth. As President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines said:[14] 'In life, Mahatma Gandhi showed us the supreme example of the invincibility of the human spirit.' This spirit Gandhi wanted every Indian and the Indian nation to possess. As Marcos put it, 'Gandhi infused his nation with moral strength. By precept and example, he showed the Indian people the way to spiritual totality and peace.' Giving an example of Gandhi's courage, *The Catholique*, a magazine

in Mauritius wrote: 'Suspecting a plot, the police doubled its watch (for Gandhi's protection, in January 1948), but Gandhi refused to have people searched who came to the prayer meeting. He said, "If I have to die, it would be better when it is at prayer. Besides, do not believe that you can protect me. That is God's duty".'

It was the element of spirituality in Gandhi that made people mistakenly think of him as a person endowed with superhuman capabilities. In his goals, means as well as manners there was a search for higher values. These values embodied considerations which lay above and beyond the normal material demands of man. As we shall see in later sections, freedom meant more to Gandhi than a change in political and economic conditions. The organizations which he led held their members together not in common material pursuits but in commitment to moral ends. Seeing this dominant note of spirituality in Gandhi, people read superhuman dimensions into his personality. Dr Ernest Sturner, writing in the *German Catholic Weekly,* spoke of the force of Gandhi's spirituality and described him as a 'spiritual giant'. But the Rector of Saigon University, Thich Minh Chan, came closer to it when he described Gandhi as a 'spiritual liberator'.[15]

Gandhi's spirituality made his ideas and concerns universal. The cause of freedom, justice and peace that he upheld was not only the cause of India's freedom or justice and peace for Indians but of nations and peoples all over the world. The best reflection of this aspect of Gandhi is a celebrated sentence from Anatole France which was often quoted during the celebrations, 'He was a moment in the conscience of mankind'. President Saragat of Italy in his centenary message[16] elaborated on this and described Gandhi as 'one of the greatest apostles of mankind'. He said: 'Gandhiji's life and thoughts are a warning and advice to

the conscience of all those who fight for a good cause and will always be a splendid heritage for the eternal history of human mind.' More specially pointing out Gandhi's special relevance to the Afro-Asian peoples, *Zambia Mail,* in an editorial said, 'For us in the third world Gandhi was a prophet'.

Many participants in the centenary questioned the wisdom of putting Gandhi on too high a pedestal for people to imbibe his ideals. Referring to the tendency to elevate Gandhi to the height of divinity, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan told Satish Kumar in an interview: 'In India you are making Gandhi into a hero, but no one is following his path.'[17] This was one of the most appropriate remarks to an Indian during the centenary and it came from one of Gandhi's closest associates. The tendency to attribute Gandhi's moral values to some divine ordainment, which inadvertently creates a gulf between Gandhi and the common people, has been seen most glaringly in India. Gandhi himself never claimed any superhuman qualities. He sent the following reply in 1933 to the organizers of the World Fellowship of Faiths, who had asked him for a birthday message: 'What message can I send through the pen, if I am not sending any through the life I am living?' Exhibiting extraordinary humility Gandhi once said: 'Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an inadequate follower I am of myself; for I cannot live up to the conviction I stand for.'

Those who recollected the stages of development through which Gandhi's life passed got a clearer view of his acquired virtues and cultivated capabilities. K. Santhanam, who participated in the International Gandhi Seminar in Budapest, pointed out that Gandhi's childhood was not very eventful. It gave no indication of his future greatness. Even during his student days in London the most remarkable thing he

did was to fulfil the vow he had taken before his mother to avoid meat, wine and women. It was later, during his stay in South Africa, that he acquired an awareness of the racial and colonial problems of his time. Confronted with choices of action he weighed several alternative modes and evolved his satyagraha approach with some success. He read Ruskin's *Unto this Last,* which had great influence on his mind, converting him to a life of simplicity. Thereafter, Santhanam said, 'Gandhi's self-development began to proceed at a rapid pace. He felt he could simplify his life to the utmost extent and bring his body, mind and emotions under strict control.' Later, as Gandhi acquired confidence in his own values and methods, the relationship between his development and his experiences became very clear.

Many saw a social and political challenge in Gandhi's life and work. Writing in the memorial volume of the College in Rome, Alfred Mutegeki described him as an 'unusual revolutionary who propounded a revolutionary way of life'.[18] Tendulkar, Gandhi's famous biographer, sharpened this image of Gandhi while speaking at a function in Turkey. He said that Gandhi was the 'greatest rebel of this age'. These contrasting roles of Gandhi as rebel, reformer and thinker led many participants in the celebrations to compare him as man and leader with other great names of the age, many of them heroes of the participant's own nation. The comparisons which emerged threw more light on Gandhi's varied personality. In these comparisons one can also see reflections of the participants' own cultural and political milieu.

In an interesting comparison between Gandhi and the French thinker, Charles Peguy, E. Van Itterbeek said[19] that both the thinkers despised money. Peguy had said: 'One would earn nothing, one would live from nothing and yet one was happy.' Or 'One is not necessarily happy because one is rich or necessarily unhappy because one is poor.'

Referring to the process of monetization, he said: 'All evil came from the bourgeoisie, all absurdity, error and all crime. And it is the capitalist and bourgeoisie who infested the people.' Itterbeek compared this with what Gandhi had said in a similar vein, 'Many problems can be discarded if you only think that money is the god of the Englishman.' Peguy placed the power of Christian faith against the power of modern capital, resting the former on solidarity with the poor, and compared it with Gandhism. Both had a similar conception of work and happiness. Both Peguy and Gandhi were inspired by the same spiritual consideration. In both the moral value of work and of the working man is confronted with the economic value in a spirit of opposition.

Prof. Johan Galtung of Oslo University in a centennial article made a fascinating reference to comparable elements between Gandhi on the one hand and Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on the other.[20] Discussing the logic behind satyagraha he said, 'the task of the nonviolent fighter is to find a form of struggle which changes the social structure without eliminating the people'. This task is implicit in the nature of the strategy, and as Gandhi said, it forces the satyagrahi to rely on and to develop his ingenuity through steady experimentation. This ingenuity sparkled in few politicians as much as in Gandhi. He possessed, said Galtung, the tactical inventiveness which Mao Tse-tung was to show later, and he exercised it on a superior ethical plane. He anticipated Mao by working out the double strategy of confronting the opponent on the one hand and simultaneously developing one's alternative system, and doing so by methods which worked on both planes at the same time. Consequently, 'Gandhi's nonviolent campaigns did not differ essentially from guerilla warfare, but they differed widely from the military'.

The comparisons which many participants made between Gandhi and their own national heroes were, by contrast, not

so wide-ranging. But they gained by being more specific. In the United States, Martin Luther King was likened to Gandhi. Rev. Jesse Jackson, Director of Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, speaking at a Chicago rally described how powerfully Gandhi had influenced King. He said, 'The vision of Gandhi and the super-vision of Martin Luther King were against those forces that would not allow man to be natural or free.' Former Vice-President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey, said that Gandhi's influence on King was in return for the inspiration that Gandhi drew from the American thinker, Thoreau.

In the Philippines, Gandhi was compared with Rizal, who heralded the Philippine freedom struggle towards the end of the nineteenth century. The *Manila Times* editorially wrote on 2 October 1968, 'Both men were lovers of peace who had to live with violent forces unleashed by a world not of their own making'. Senator Jose Diokno of the Philippines also saw striking parallels between Gandhi and Rizal. 'Both belonged to the middle income group and journeyed to Europe for higher studies. Both were early consumed by the burning desire to free their people from oppression and to cure the ills of their society. Both had superior minds and strong wills; both were great men and even greater patriots. Both lived by the ideals of truth, equality, freedom, self-reliance and nonviolence. But where Rizal was forced by circumstances to live apart from his people, Gandhi was able to toil with them; and where Rizal declined the offer to lead the revolution, Gandhi conceived a technique of nonviolent mass movement and used it to lead his people in a successful struggle for revolutionary changes in his society.' In addition to comparing Gandhi with Rizal, some others in the Philippines also remembered their poet-statesman, Senator Claro Mayo Recto, who died on 2 October 1960.

In Tunisia, Gandhi was compared with the country's popular leader President Habib Bourguiba, to whom the emergence of modern Tunisia owes a great deal. *L'Action* of Tunis in its editorial on 16 November 1960 wrote on 'Bourguiba and Gandhi, two liberators and men of genius whose policies are those of conciliation and nonviolence'. A radio talk in Tunis also said that 'like Bourguiba, (Gandhi) appealed to the qualities of his people'. The role of both leaders in the anti-imperialist mass struggles was recalled by many in Tunisia. In Turkey an obvious comparison was made between Ataturk and Gandhi. Prof. Enver Ziya Karal wrote an article in the souvenir brought out on the occasion of the centenary comparing the commitment to freedom which the two leaders had in common.

Mexicans were reminded of Benito Juarez, who is regarded as an apostle in that country. A Mexican paper wrote: 'Both men preached peace. Both men upheld the sacred heritage of national sovereignty. Juarez, if not in the same words as Gandhi's, gave Mexico a similar heritage in his words: "Among individuals, as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace". Thus Juarez might easily be considered the Mexican counterpart of our great Indian peacemaker.'[21]

In the preceding paragraphs we saw Gandhi compared with 'apostles', 'leaders of national liberation struggle', 'noble men' and 'revolutionary mass leaders'. These comparisons are so wide-ranging because of the dynamic qualities of Gandhi's varied personality and leadership. But the contradictions between them did not receive sufficient attention. An 'apostle' is a religious phenomenon with an almost superhuman appeal. On the other hand a revolutionary mass leader of the type of Mao Tse-tung is secular and rational. Rizal and Peguy were liberal humanists and one can see parallels between them and Gandhi. But it is unusual

to combine liberalism with revolutionary Marxism. The comparison with Ataturk was very appropriate in one sense because he too led national popular struggles. But he widely differed from Gandhi in that the means were not very important for him so long as they yielded the desired ends. And in his unique and firm commitment to nonviolence Gandhi differed from all the leaders with whom he was compared, correctly in many other respects. This is a tribute to the comprehensiveness of Gandhi's personality and to his effort at synthesizing opposite traits. But the element of internal discordance, which was not fully eliminated, was not sufficiently commented upon by participants in the centenary celebrations. However, none of this detracts from what a Libyan poet, Fathimtz, said of Gandhi that 'he left for the generations to come an immortal legend'.

Gandhi is universally regarded as a man of love. Among his many rare qualities his love for all men identifies him best. This was most vividly expressed in his love of children and one of the most popular pictures which appeared in the foreign press and in centenary brochures and souvenirs was that of Gandhi kissing a child. In many countries the organizers tried to convey Gandhi's message of warmth and hope to children. In England the proceeds of the Albert Hall Concert Program went to the Handsworth Adventure Playground[22] in Birmingham. Similarly in Chicago, the Children's Choir played special compositions on Gandhi. The Directorate of Chicago Public Schools worked out a Cultural Enrichment Project for school children; the young students staged plays on Gandhi, discussed his ideas and answered questions.

Gandhi's fascination for the youth brought thousands of young students out of their schools and colleges to join his marches and movements during the freedom struggle. After India achieved independence the appeal of Gandhi to the

youth became more complex and varied; he became one of several models before the contemporary youth. But Gandhi continues to inspire a great many young people all over the world. During the centenary year also many young people were involved in the celebrations. Considering the scale of the celebrations, the number of young people taking part in them was not very significant. In many European, Asian and African countries, it was the respective governments or institutions of the establishment which sponsored the celebrations. But youth initiative was conspicuous in the United States, and not only in celebrations on the university campus. In Chicago all large-scale celebrations were organized by young people. Adlai Stevenson in his address at the Chicago celebrations stressed the need for the young people to be inspired by Gandhi. Rev. Jackson related the contemporary youth discontent to Gandhi's fight against injustice. Thomas Clark, a Berkeley student who won the Gandhi essay prize, saw a link between the young Americans burning draft cards and Gandhi's call for peace. Several student speakers at various places recalled Gandhi's plea for the simple life and his stand against luxurious urban living. This reflected the contemporary trend in the U.S.A. and Western Europe of the youth challenging the materialist and commercial values underlying their social systems. The youth's demand for humanism and release from materialism — hippies are an exaggerated expression of it — found inspiration and authority in Gandhi. In the several universities in the U.S.A. where Gandhi centenary functions were held, it was mainly the students who took the initiative to organize them.

Although not as conspicuously as in the U.S.A., youth organizations joined the centenary celebrations in other countries also. Some young people got together in London and set up a School of Nonviolence, sponsored by Christian Action, a pacifist organization. It was launched on 30 Janu-

ary 1969. Symbolic was the address by Prince Charles at the Albert Hall concert on 21 October. He voiced 'a young man's sentiments' on Gandhi. Boys and girls of the Port Louïs and Black River Youth Federations in Mauritius, representing both urban and rural youth, met at Anse-la-Raie in a symposium on Gandhi.

The elements of regularity and discipline in Gandhi's life were recollected by many people. In an interesting radio talk over the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation, the chief editor of *Advance* presented reminiscences of Gandhi by Mira Behn (Madeleine Slade, daughter of a British admiral, who was drawn to Gandhi by his message). From her reminiscences relating to one of Gandhi's visits to England, the broadcaster quoted: 'This is the account of a typical night after the establishment of the new time: Bapu comes back at 11.30 p.m., exhausted. I take the charkha and the bundle of papers in an envelope from the hands of a detective who accompanies him to the top of the staircase. As soon as he is in bed I vigorously rub his feet to warm them. At the end of a few minutes, he is asleep and I go to my room, where I set the alarm clock at 2.30 a.m. At 3.00 a.m. sharp I wake Bapu up and at 3.15 we start our morning prayers. At 3.45 a.m. he goes back to bed and I return to my room to set the alarm for 4.50 a.m., at which time I have to get up once more and make Bapu's drink of warm water, milk and lemon juice. After drinking it, he goes for a walk, which lasts until the dawn, along the feebly lit streets of Bow; Muriel Lester and one or two members of the Kingsley Hall staff accompany us.

'There was no night better than that and some were much worse, for example, the one when Bapu returned at 2 a.m. after a visit to Lloyd George's country house; that night I put the clock close to my ear when I went to bed. I could not expect to wake up otherwise at 2.50 a.m. In the daytime

there was of course no time to sleep; so, when it happened to me to attend a talk or a meeting, I could hardly keep my eyes open.'

Not all remembrances of Gandhi were complimentary. Arthur Koestler recalled[23] Gandhi's 'personal authoritarianism' towards his sons. He never forgave his eldest son, Harilal, who had an affair with a woman at the age of 20. His second son, Manilal, was punished with 'banishment' to South Africa to edit *Indian Opinion* for having come to the help of his denounced brother. However this 'relentless tyranny over his sons' as Koestler has called it, must be understood in the light of Gandhi's firm commitment to certain values and norms.

Gandhi fought tough battles. He had to face strong enemies. Sometimes his only weapons were his moral strength and purity of purpose. Yet he never broke down. Optimism was an ingrained part of his being. Devi Prasad, the General Secretary of War Resisters' International, quoted Gandhi in the symposium in Budapest[24]: 'I am an irrepressible optimist. My optimism rests on my belief in the infinite possibilities of the individual to develop nonviolence. The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes till it overwhelms your surroundings and by and by might oversweep the world.' Gandhi was so optimistic that some of the constraints on his nonviolent action appeared distorted to him. Gunnar Myrdal[25] identified Gandhi's 'overoptimism' as a flaw in his nonviolent argument. Gandhi treated his followers as well as his enemies in his own scale of humanity. As a result sometimes even during his lifetime his leadership was unable to carry his followers to the goals he had set for them.

Gandhi's role as the great leader of the freedom struggle overshadowed the several other roles which he played simultaneously. But during the celebrations people not only re-

membered him as the thinker and philosopher whose doctrines of truth, nonviolence and religious tolerance were written out in his actions but also as the great reconciler, the artist and the journalist. There was a synthesis of many divergent forces within him which accounts for his success in reconciling the divergence around him; for example, the warring religious groups. He tried to build up the Congress as an organization representative of all religions and communities in India. Thousands of Indian Muslims accepted his credentials as a harmonizer. In politics he was the first to be accepted as a 'moderate' when he declared that Gokhale was his 'political' guru. But in 1921 when he gave the slogan 'swaraj within a year', he came to be recognized as a 'radical'. After assuming the leadership of the Congress, he steadily played the role of a mediator, especially in the recurring divergence between the more moderate and more extremist tendencies. As Hutchins says, 'The conservative was as impressed by Gandhi's efficient management of his resources as was the leftist by his ability to get results'.[26] Both categories of people felt uneasy in his company. Yet he represented a dynamic balance between left and right ideologies and between radical and conservative factions. Lord Mountbatten recollected this fact of Gandhi in his speech during the service at St Paul's in London. At his last meeting with Mountbatten, Gandhi expressed his concern at the worsening of relations between Nehru and Sardar Patel and asked for Mountbatten's help to effect a reconciliation. It is immediately after this that Gandhi was shot. Mountbatten brought together Nehru and Patel in the room where Gandhi lay dead and told them of his last wish. They wept and embraced each other and, as Mountbatten said in his speech: 'To their eternal credit they achieved, under conditions of the utmost stress, a highly effective working partnership.'

Through most of his active leadership, Gandhi's role as a mediator between conflicting groups was effective because the overriding issue then was freedom from imperialist rule, and many differences could be subsumed within the agreement on this broad objective. At times communists accepted his leadership just as much as several conservative forces did. But this prevented the development of ideological clarity in Indian politics. If Gandhi's own political model had been sincerely accepted by the country and the Congress, the problem of ideological confusion may not have arisen. But without that, the co-existence of many conflicting ideological groups within it continued to blur the image of the Congress for a long time. However, even if ideological polarization was arrested as a consequence, Gandhi's mediatory role achieved and preserved unity, and that at a time when the primary need was in fact nation-wide unity for a national goal, not sharp differentiation between ideologies. This is the importance of his success in forging a national united front against British imperialism.

Gandhi exhibited both realism and imagination, acceptance of the limits of the possible as well as a striving for the impossible, and common as well as uncommon qualities. Hence he caught the imagination of very diverse kinds of people — not only politicians and men of public affairs but also many painters, musicians, actors and dramatists. It was therefore appropriate that the national committees for Gandhi centenary celebrations in almost every country included artists among its members. Yehudi Menuhin and Vanessa Redgrave were members of the United Kingdom Committee. In the U.S.S.R., Prof. Semyon Tyulyayev, the Nehru Prize winner artist, elaborately discussed the artist's image of Gandhi. In a paper to the symposium at the Oriental Art Museum he discussed Gandhi's long friendship with the artist Nandlal Bose. A Syrian weekly magazine *Al Tha-*

gafa Al Usbyiyeh of 3 May 1969 carried an article called 'Gandhi the Artist'. Its author referred to a remark by Herbert Read that Gandhi was indifferent to art and said: 'If the function of art is to reveal the artist, Gandhi was the greatest artist of the century, for no one else has revealed himself with such absolute frankness as he did.' He quoted Nehru as saying that Gandhi was a perfect artist because he knew the art of living. The article said in conclusion, 'in fact he was an artist's image of the ideal man'.

Gandhi's role as a journalist was discussed at a seminar in Kabul by Ghulam Shah Sarshar Shamali, joint editor of *Daily Islah.* Shamali recalled Gandhi's effective stewardship of *Young India* and his efforts to evolve a national policy for Indian journals. A paper in Uganda remembered Gandhi's advice to a journalist: 'Give the best of yourself to the country, and do better than your best, from week to week....'[27] Eric Hagge wrote on 'Gandhi as a Newspaper Publisher'.[28] He pointed out that when Gandhi started the *Indian Opinion* in Durban in 1903, he refused to print commercial advertisements. He wanted to keep the paper clear of market competition. He maintained the same policy in *Young India,* which he started on his return to India. Even then *Young India* continued to flourish in the 'twenties, reaching a circulation of 40,000 at one time. But in the mid-thirties it faced financial difficulties. Later Gandhi changed his stand vis-a-vis business advertisements. But he continued to hold the opinion that advertising was a form of indirect taxation and that advertisements awakened needs which many people could not satisfy. Hagge concluded by regretting that 'as an irony of fate, Gandhi was himself exploited by smart advertisers after his death. His name and photograph often appeared in advertisements for consumer goods, which Gandhi deplored for various reasons.'

Thus Gandhi was remembered by people in many coun-

tries as a unique man in history. His rare human qualities appeared difficult to imbibe; that is why some took him to be superhuman. But most people saw him in the various real roles which he played with imagination and novelty; they saw him as a person who had reached an exceptional human level rather than as a superman. The man and his experiences, including his failures, did convey a mystical quality to many people. Hence the images of the saint and the prophet which so often came up during the celebrations. But the more sophisticated participants realized that to attribute mystical qualities to him was to deny him his due as a leader among men. As the report on the Gandhi Centennial Symposium at Honolulu put it: 'Discussion inclined toward the position that the wide range and variety of Gandhi's following testified to the empathetic yet basically self-assured features of his mind and psyche that may escape final explanation.' But essentially he was a man of action who wanted everyone to 'experiment with truth' as he did.

1. Pastor in New York's Community Church.
2. In an article in the 'Sunday Mail', Kuala Lumpur, 5 October 1969.
3. At the Centenary meeting of the Vietnam-India Association in Saigon, 2 October 1969.
4. At the premier function in Rome on 13 May 1969.
5. In his article 'Gandhi on his 100th birthday' in 'Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years', S. Radhakrishnan (ed.).
6. 'More than a statesman', in the Singapore Souvenir.
7. Op. cit.
8. 'An outstanding personality', in the Singapore Souvenir.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. In an article in the Swedish paper, 'Nya Wermlandstidningen', October 1969.
12. In an article in the Swedish paper 'Goteborgst Idningen', 1 August 1968.

13. At the International Gandhi Seminar, Budapest.
14. At the Centenary function in Manila on 2 October 1969.
15. At the Centenary function in Saigon.
16. To the premier function in Rome.
17. The 'Times of India' (New Delhi) I October 1969.
18. Op. cit.
19. In the Belgian journal 'Kultuurleven', February 1970.
20. Johan Galtung, 'Gandhi's views on the political and ethical preconditions of a nonviolent fighter'.
21. The 'News', 2 October 1969.
22. A new playground with natural surroundings created for the children. Lady Allen of Hurtwood puts it: 'They (these playgrounds) were conceived as a constructive protest against the sterile asphalt playgrounds.' A child described this playground as 'my second home—almost my first'.
23. In a major article in the 'New York Times Magazine', 5 October 1969, entitled 'The yogi and the commissar'.
24. Op. cit.
25. 'Gandhi as a radical liberal', Radhakrishnan (ed.), op. cit.
26. Francis G. Hutchins, 'Spontaneous Revolution: The Quit India Movement' (New Delhi, Manohar Book Service: 1971).
27. The 'People', 2 October 1969.
28. In a Stockholm paper, 'Pressens Tiding', 14 November 1968.

THE MASS PERSPECTIVE

In discouragement of preachments he cautioned us to remember that 'to the hungry God is food, to the homeless God is shelter, to the naked God is clothing'.

— STUART NELSON

Gandhi's appearance brought a new dimension and a qualitative change to India's freedom struggle when, for the first time, he drew the common people into political action in large numbers. Before him, some religious and humanist leaders, like Vivekananda and Dayananda, had travelled far and wide, appealing to their countrymen to revive the great virtues of the original Indian culture and moving thousands to join their organizations. But theirs was a movement of religious revival. The partition of Bengal in 1905 stirred the emotions of the Bengalis. Tilak went on whirlwind tours in the country addressing lakhs of common people and urging them to demand swaraj as their birthright. Yet these were insignificant beginnings of mass action. Politics remained confined to constitutional petitions and negotiations between the western educated Indian elite and the British rulers. It was only with the launching of the Khilafat movement by Gandhi and, even more, the non-cooperation movement that mass participation came into

Indian politics as a new phenomenon. This was appropriately remembered in several countries during the centenary year.

It is not a coincidence that the upsurge of the masses occurred soon after Gandhi's emergence in Indian politics; he brought it about both because of and as a consequence of the special modes of action developed by him. His own life style represented the norms and values of society which were most acceptable to the Indian masses. His ideology embodied in it the popular preferences in behaviour just as much as it was to become a synthesized expression of the people's aspirations. What was dear to most people in India was dear to Gandhi. This gave Gandhi a mass perspective which no other leader had in the same measure and it led to two consequences. On the one hand, Gandhi became the charismatic leader of millions of Indians and in no time won their unquestioned loyalty. This became his greatest asset and he used it well to pursue his strategy of mass satyagraha. On the other hand, his ideology had to accommodate and justify numerous existing practices and customs of the Indian people. Undoubtedly he tried to give a more just, workable and reformed shape to the prevalent social institutions. He tried to rid the caste system of the element of discrimination without discarding the system itself. He wished people to continue to be religious but at the same time to spread the message of harmony, not intolerance. While pleading for the revival of traditional village institutions, he tried to fit them into an overall frame of economic justice. In all this there was an urge in him to accept the traditional wisdom of the masses while giving it a new social relevance. But some of the regressive pull of traditionalism remained. This element of traditionalism in Gandhi's approach appeared to some participants in the centenary celebrations to be primitive and conservative, as we

shall see in later sections. Perhaps this is a price Gandhi had to pay for his effort to carry the people with him.

Prof. Jozsef Bognar, participating in the seminar at Budapest, pointed out that 'Gandhi played a revolutionary part in the history of mankind and Asia because he shaped a nation out of the shapeless, demoralized, despairing, oppressed masses of India who were incapable of resistance. It goes without saying that this was done not alone by him but in cooperation with the radical leaders of the Congress; but it was he who made a mass movement out of the Congress.' This was also pointed out by the Russian Indologist, L. Mironov, who wrote an article entitled 'Great Son of a Great People' in the Soviet press. According to him Gandhi realized that 'only the masses can compel the imperialists to retreat, and therefore he sought support among the broad circles of the ordinary people. That happened in 1909, when he headed the struggle of the Indian people in South Africa; that happened in India itself when he headed the national liberation movement in the 'twenties. His militant appeals instilled in the Indian people confidence in their strength, kindled in the minds of the 400 million people the idea of mass resistance to imperialism, and roused the people to decisive struggle for their emancipation.'

Mironov also referred to the mutual regard that the mass leaders Gandhi and Lenin had for each other. 'Gandhi regarded Lenin as one of the greatest thinkers of the day, an unsurpassed expert in organizing the masses, a brilliant leader of the revolutionary struggle of the working people. Gandhi studied some of Lenin's works which helped him to better understand the world revolutionary process.' Heman Ray, tracing the evolution of the Soviet view of Gandhi, pointed out during the centenary that there was undoubtedly a similar mass perspective in both Lenin and Gandhi and so long as Lenin was alive the Soviet Commu-

nist Party was a mass-based party; it was only after his death that it became cadre-based.[1] Though they pursued different strategies of action, both Lenin and Gandhi based their organizations on the strength of the masses. That is why at the Second Congress of the Comintern, held from 19 July to 7 August 1920, Lenin maintained the view that Soviet Russia should support national liberation movements in Asia, including India, regardless of their ideological basis. He also held the view that since every stage of social revolution was historically determined, colonial countries like India should pass through their own bourgeois democratic revolution before entering the stage of proletarian revolution. He believed it to be the duty of the communists to help the colonial liberation movement under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, regarding the latter as an objectively revolutionary power. To Lenin, Gandhi as the leader of a mass movement like the Indian National Congress was a revolutionary.

One of the things which took Gandhi closer to the masses was his pattern of living. The austere living conditions and the simple food and dress annihilated the distance between him and the ordinary people. He came from a well-to-do family and had been educated in England. He was a lawyer and had all the facilities for acquiring the means for at least moderately affluent living. Yet he chose a life that he could share with the masses of the Indian people. An article by V. Ram written for publication in Indonesia discussed this aspect of Gandhi. 'What indeed was the secret of success of his appeal to the masses which eventually laid the path for the peaceful transfer of power?' Ram asked, and he answered: 'Gandhi was essentially a man, more than which he could not be; if he were less, his nature would never forgive him. His simple life, his simple diet and habits, his day of prayer, his day of silence every week, his loin cloth, his

lowly seat, his innocent smile of a child's sincerity brought him nearer to his people; even the poorest of the poor felt that he was the product of the Indian soil, bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. When he spoke to them he did so in a language which they understood as their own; when he talked to them of winning independence through love and nonviolence, the people believed him as they believed the Buddha and Mohammed; they understood him and so they accepted him.'

In this process Gandhi built up a strong national following. As the Indian Ambassador to Hungary, Dr S. Sinha, put it in the Budapest symposium: 'He breathed new life into the people. His cult of the spinning wheel called on them to weave their own homespun cloth. It was a grand spectacle of a resurgent people on the move. The political awakening which he brought about with his mass campaigns inevitably spelled the end of British rule in India. The master had stirred people's minds and had cast off their fear. Once they were rid of fear, ordinary men and women could stand up to the imperial power.' All this Gandhi made possible by living like the common man. Clad in loin cloth, he became the living symbol of India, drawing the world's attention to the stark reality of India's starving and underclad millions.

As Dr Sinha said: 'If there was any shame in being half-naked it did not affect him, because vast numbers of his countrymen had to bear that shame. A rather unspectacular figure, he would not have been noticed in a crowd of peasants. He did not wear his hair long, nor don the saffron robes of the unworldly, for he had no wish to set himself up as a special kind of man. It was his very ordinariness and his calm courage in the face of great ordeals that made him an extraordinary man and a towering giant. Deliberately, he took on the garb of one of India's suffering millions, identifying himself with the "least, the lowliest and the lost".

Self-denial, rigorous regime, austerity and his famous fasts of atonement were his essential means of communication with people.' Ambassador Sinha also pointed out that Gandhi was emotionally so close to the masses that the British, who often did not know what to make of him, accused him of 'transfiguring the imagination of masses of ignorant men with visions of an early millennium'.

Not only did Gandhi live the life of the Indian people, his lifelong dedication was also to their causes. Political and moral liberation of the masses was his supreme goal. This is how Thailand's Education Minister, Sukitch Nimmanhewinda, described Gandhi's devotion to the cause of the ordinary people, the masses. 'Gandhi sought to identify himself with the people at large through his adoption of their way of life and living. He considered it both his duty and responsibility to represent the common people, and to fight for them, in all matters involving their interests and well-being.'[2] In a similar view President Marcos of the Philippines referred to Gandhi's goals: 'He was the liberator of his people — a vast multitude forming a fifth of the entire human race. He set himself lofty goals to which he devoted his whole life. He sought to restore the dignity and self-respect of his people, foster their freedom, lift them out of poverty and ignorance, rescue the outcasts and set the Indian women free.'[3]

Pierre Olivier, described Gandhi as 'the standard bearer of a whole people'.[4] Olivier said: 'His language was that of the humble. Gandhi had left everything to identify his problems, preoccupations, miseries and hopes with those of his people. Around him, there were millions of human beings who followed, loved and venerated him. The people trusted Gandhi and he trusted them.' This is a valid description of Gandhi's relation with the people. As the New Zealand Minister, J. Rae, put it in his tribute: 'It was his concern for the

ordinary man and the quality of his life which inspired his political activities'.[5] Mar Zoraida Brandao, Secretary-General of the Panama National Commission for UNESCO, also referred to Gandhi's profound faith in the common man. A newspaper in Mauritius, *Zamana,* thus paid its homage: 'Let us pay a worthy tribute to the Master who had identified himself with the poorest.'

Dr Stuart Nelson, Vice-President of Howard University, addressed a meeting at the Indian Chancery in Washington on 2 October 1969 and spoke of Gandhi's 'love and solicitude for the dispossessed'. Dr Nelson said: 'For him these human beings were not only the subjects of profound concern but of insights and action of far-reaching significance. In tortured Noakhali a small party of Indians and Americans asked him for instructions before departing for their assigned village. In discouragement of preachments he cautioned us to remember that "to the hungry God is food, to the homeless God is shelter, to the naked God is clothing". Thus insight into the mind of the poverty-ridden masses came to him because he shared their identity with his own, to live and feel like the poor people in order to be able to work better for them.' The centenary celebrations were full of this theme.

Many leaders and philosophers in history have spoken of the masses, their needs and aspirations. But not many have genuinely followed up their commitment in action. In fact, most leaders try only to manipulate popular support in favour of their personal or partisan ends. In the twentieth century, with improved means of communication and other technological facilities, leaders have many resources at their disposal for winning over large sections of the population. But the real test of a mass perspective is whether there is a commitment to the people not only at the level of goals, which all ideologies profess, but also at the level of strategy.

Only strategies which take mass support as a crucial resource can claim to be mass oriented, as Gandhi's was. He not only had popular goals before him; he also pursued a strategy of action which could only work with the involvement of large numbers of people. This aspect of Gandhi was recollected by several people during the centenary.

Prof. Galtung[6] pointed out that these modes of action and strategies sprang from Gandhi's belief in people's power. Gandhi's concept of satyagraha, discussed more fully in a later chapter, would have been unthinkable without mass involvement. Gandhi believed that people with a will and determination to fight for a just cause could stand and win in the face of a strong and well-equipped army. Like Mao soon after him, Gandhi tried to mobilize wide popular support and to pursue the struggle of the people primarily with the strength of the people. Kamal Bahaq el-Din, Assistant Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, mentioned this aspect at the Budapest symposium.[7] He said, 'Satyagraha was a mass incentive for changing history as much as it was an individual's incentive for moral change for the better.' The Foreign Minister of Singapore, S. Rajaratnam,[8] also pointed out this aspect of Gandhi: 'Where Gandhi differed from preceding sages of nonviolence is that he developed nonviolence into a technique for mass mobilization; into a practical weapon for achieving concrete ends. Because he was born at a time of great political and social ferment in India he developed and applied nonviolence for political ends.'

Gandhi created popular symbols to involve the common people in his work. The spinning wheel was one of them. It was both a political instrument for involving the masses in the freedom struggle and a symbol of protest against British imperialist exploitation of the Indian economy. Salt was another symbol. The British government banned the

unlicensed making of salt on sea beaches. Gandhi took up the issue and called upon the people to disobey the ban. All over the country people joined in thousands in this satyagraha in the early 'thirties. As Peter Sagar said[9] of the swadeshi campaign Gandhi based on the charkha: 'It was the first concrete step to bring the masses out of the miserable poverty in which they were living, and at the same time its use was also meant to hinder the sale of British textiles in India, one of Lancashire's greatest markets. It was also with these twin symbols — salt and the spinning wheel — that Gandhi first brought women into the independence movement.'

Prof. J. Bognar elaborated this point at the Budapest symposium about Gandhi's leadership of the mass movement. He said, 'Gandhi combined modern with traditional aspects of the mass movement'. He utilized traditional symbols and norms to mobilize the people but at the same time he added many modern features to his leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle. 'He used religious slogans and at the same time built up a national political organization in modern terms.'

Gandhi's social and economic ideas also emanated from his mass perspective. Dr V. R. Bhattacharya[10] wrote about this: 'Gandhiji was a practical economist. Gandhiji's profound love for humanity gave him an outlook where he found it very difficult to distinguish between man and man. Gandhi's direct contact with the masses gave him a unique opportunity to feel and realize the practical day to day difficulties of the poor and the downtrodden. So he does not give a mere theory to solve the economic problems of the masses; he voices the miseries of the millions for which he wants an immediate solution.' It is this mass perspective which was primarily responsible for the charismatic image which Gandhi acquired. His daily prayer meetings were attended by hundreds of people. His long journeys all over the

country made him so popular that millions of people thronged to see him and hear him wherever he went. A word from Gandhi became an order with the greatest authority. At least till the Quit India agitation, the charisma of Gandhi's leadership became steadily more effective.

At the Budapest seminar Ambassador Sinha gave an example of Gandhi's hold on the imagination of the people. 'I recall an incident of 1931', he said. 'That year the city of Rangoon was rocked by a great earthquake which reduced many of its buildings to rubble and buried alive numberless people in the falling debris. Just then word had reached that Gandhiji had been arrested in Patna. Roving bands of people, mostly working class Indians and Burmese, came out into the streets armed with staves and stones shouting "Victory to Mahatma Gandhi and Down with British imperialism". They believed that the arrest of Gandhiji was the cause of the earthquake.' But at the level of more serious history, Gandhi's mass politics was fully demonstrated in the Quit India movement of August 1942. Francis Hutchins' study[11] of this movement describes how masses in their millions responded to Gandhi's call and created impossible conditions for the British. To what extent this movement can be generalized into a theory of 'Spontaneous Revolution' is debatable. The Quit India movement was no more spontaneous than any movement can be in a revolutionary situation where the intensity of the struggle against the enemy is already high. Moreover, the national upsurge was unleashed only after the Congress gave a call on 9 August 1942. But the inspiration Gandhi lent to it was unmistakable and that is what gave it its peculiar fervour.

This mass perspective combined with a commitment to nonviolence led to the formulation of Gandhi's ideology which had several novelties and some apparent contradictions in it because such a combination was being worked out

for the first time in history. Dr H. Kamuzu Banda, President of Malwi, said in his message to a celebration ceremony, 'It was a new ideology which Mahatma Gandhi developed and practised'. These novelties and contradictions led him to his 'experiments with truth'. Sometimes the logic of the mass perspective came into an apparent clash with the logic of nonviolence. In his own mind, Gandhi never visualized a conflict between the two values. But observers, while judging his actions in concrete circumstances, sometimes noticed a clash and also thought that the resolution was mostly in favour of the latter and only sometimes in favour of the former. Ludwik Krasucki[12] discussed this and referred to Gandhi's desire to limit mass struggles to his nonviolent norms. 'During World War I, though he was prosecuted and imprisoned by colonial authorities, against whom he fasted many times, he called for loyalty towards Great Britain. After the war, when the authorities brutally showed their ingratitude for the country which was their faithful ally, Gandhi initiated a wide protest based on the doctrines of non-cooperation and civil disobedience and the so-called "hartal" — a form of general strike, based on the principle of rejecting the authorities' orders. When the movement overgrew its frames, becoming a form of mass struggle, Gandhi decided to cancel this action. He did so a second time when the impetus of the awakened masses brought them to an anti-colonial uprising at Chauri Chaura.' Nehru also resented Gandhi's decision to withdraw the non-cooperation movement on this occasion.

K. Santhanam[13] referred to an interesting use that the British government made of Gandhi. While they indiscriminately imprisoned all active Congress workers and leaders, sometimes 'they did not arrest Gandhi, as they were afraid that without his restraining influence the situation might get beyond their control'. This has been interpreted as a

constraint by Gandhi on the spontaneous development of a mass struggle. But according to the logic of nonviolence, it was necessary to keep the movement on the planned course. Therefore, while it might appear that Gandhi indirectly helped the imperialist government temporarily by arresting the growth of mass action, in reality the constraint he applied was purposive and strategic.

Gandhi's satyagraha took many forms. Sometimes it involved participation on a large scale, at others it was carried out by small groups of selected people and sometimes only by individuals, such as himself on several occasions either in the form of fasts or in other forms.

In his lecture Santhanam described a case of the second type: 'The Government of India played into his hands in 1919 by passing the Rowlatt Bill in the teeth of the opposition of all Indian politicians. After the end of the first World War, the Government of India appointed a Commission headed by Justice Rowlatt to devise means to check terrorists. It recommended the vesting in the executive of arbitrary powers of detention without trial and restrictions on the press. When the protests of political parties and the united opposition of the Indian press were ignored and the measure became law, Gandhi declared that this lawless law would be opposed by satyagraha. He did not, however, want mass participation and satyagraha was to be offered by select groups in various parts of India.' The second and third forms of satyagraha were also sometimes cited during the centenary as deviations from his mass perspective. It was said that the assumption behind these forms was that all common people were not capable of satyagraha.

In an address during the celebrations in Iraq, Medhat al Jader commented upon a very different type of departure from the mass perspective by Gandhi as he saw it. He said: 'Gandhi holds an uncommon conception of classes. Although

he admits class distinction, he thinks that this should not be based on superiority or privileges. His assessment of class distinction is constructed on the basis of diversification of duties. He holds that every class has a certain task to fulfil to the best of its ability, and as such should claim no superiority over other classes.' Medhat here referred to Gandhi's notion of cooperation between castes. This is the only differentiation in the masses, in terms of the traditional caste grouping, which Gandhi made. He wanted the functional specialization of castes to be retained while uniting them on every other plane. In general, to Gandhi all people were good and, therefore, one single entity. He regarded even the oppressor to be potentially good. Therefore, the aim of his struggle was not to liquidate the enemy but to change his heart. Whereas in violent mass struggles the enemy is isolated and liquidated, in Gandhi's framework he also forms part of 'the masses'.

There may be difference of opinion as to the nature of Gandhi's mass struggle, but not regarding his identification with the aspirations and characteristics of the people, which was complete. Mountbatten put it thus in his centenary article: 'He had the greatness to embody the oppressed and their sufferings, and to seek truth wherever it might be found.' Nehru's very dramatic description of this element was quoted by a Stockholm newspaper, *Freden,* of 8 October 1968: 'And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness ... like a whirlwind that upset many things, but most of all the working of people's minds. He did not descend from top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition.'

1. 'Changing Soviet Views on Mahatma Gandhi', 'Journal of Asian Studies', Vol. 29, No. I, November 1969. Ray quotes among his sources Govorkyan and Komarov, 'Landmarks of Great Friendship: The October Revolution and the Soviet Indian Cooperation', published by the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India in 1967.
2. Talk at the National Library on 15 October 1969.
3. Loc. cit.
4. In the Tunisian paper 'L'Action'.
5. At the Auckland Indian Association meeting.
6. Op. cit.
7. Loc. cit.
8. At the commemoration function in the Singapore Conference Hall on 23 September 1969.
9. In an article in the Tanzanian daily, 'Standard', 2 October 1969.
10. In an article in the Philippine Souvenir.
11. Op. cit.
12. In an article in the Polish paper, 'Trybune Ludu', 15 November 1969.
13. In a lecture at the University of Law, Pees, Hungary.

POLITICS OF THE GOOD

Gandhi had the vision to pronounce that unless power reached every home, unless everybody felt that he wielded influence on the decisions made at the centres of power; in fact, unless everybody felt that he was co-responsible for the decisions made, society could never live in peace and prosperity.

— DEVI PRASAD

One line of opinion about Gandhi has always been that he was a non-political person, too saintly, too much above the level of ordinary people, to be concerned with competition for power, which is all that politics is supposed to be in this view. He was never interested in assuming power and sought no office. In the cut-throat competition for power, there is no room for moral or ethical consideration, for moral norms and values, and since to Gandhi these were supreme, he could not be a man of politics. He also advised the Indian National Congress, an organization which had rallied the support of millions of people throughout India and thus acquired an enormous political advantage, to abandon politics and become a Lok Sevak Dal instead. Gandhi is contrasted with Nehru in this respect. While Nehru was interested in building up a political organization with a supporting network for meeting the responsibilities of state power,

Gandhi believed in loose structures based on moral appeal. While Nehru wanted to assume power to pursue state objectives, Gandhi sought avenues of work for social regeneration. That is why Gandhi did not choose any of the existing ideologies but tried instead to reconcile them in order to evolve a common acceptable program of work.

This line of opinion has some perception of the real Gandhi in it. But it is also nourished by a sentimental regard for an idealized Gandhi, and this element has grown with the posthumous romanticism which surrounds the memory of all great men; an occasion like a centenary celebration makes it even more conspicuous. It was particularly developed by Ingemar Henrikson[1]. He said that though many politicians had been influenced by Gandhi, 'he could never affect politics.... He forsook no occasion in fight man's craving for power. He had realized that politics corrupted man. When man gets power he only thinks of how to safeguard it and forgets all his previous ideals.' It is of course an exaggeration to say that Gandhi 'could never affect politics'. The freedom struggle was indeed political and he definitely shaped its character and course; even after his death, Gandhi's thoughts had some influence on Indian politics. But the emphasis here appears to be that influencing politics was not Gandhi's main or direct concern. An article in an Argentinian journal put further stress on the ethical significance of Gandhi's ideas. Writing on 'The Image of a Great Soul', the author said[2], 'His struggle was more of a religious nature than of a political one. He was the conscience of his nation, the revelation of a mystical soul reaching the state of complete self-control.'

This view was directly contradicted by Philip Noel-Baker and Romesh Thapar. They argued at a symposium in Paris, which was sponsored by UNESCO, that Gandhi was a supremely successful politician. In fact, Noel-Baker called him

a supremely successful *party* politician (italics in the original). Elsewhere also, emphasis was laid on the political role of Gandhi. It is probably because of the 'inventiveness' which Johan Galtung found in his politics that Gandhi was mistakenly thought to be aloof from politics. His use of traditional symbols and norms was misunderstood to be an immersion in religious activity. But as Noel Baker said in Paris, Gandhi had a sophisticated intellectual conception of the task he had to face; that is why, to him politics and ethics were inseparable. Noel-Baker quoted Rousseau, who had said that 'those who would separate politics and morals know nothing either of the one or of the other'. An ethical approach to politics did not make Gandhi a non-political person, much less an anti-political one. He practised what one might call the politics of the good, in which political ends cannot be achieved unless they encompass the moral values and goals of the good society. In the work and thoughts of Gandhi these values transform such apparently political concepts as equality and freedom into moral categories, as later discussion will show.

Those who believe Gandhi was aloof from power have a power-centred view of politics which is not the only valid view. It is true that the centralization of coercive power has become one of the essential characteristics of the modern state and capture of this power the goal of politics. Participation in politics has come to mean competition for power. But a new trend has appeared because of which large numbers of common people are drawn into the political process by their concern with a better life, not with power. Mass politics has thus begun to question the very basis of the old type of power-oriented politics. To the old question, how to capture power, which continues to be important, a new question has been added: Power for what? The dominant elite of a country can no longer decide political goals and the

goals of power; the needs and aspirations of the people as expressed by the people themselves have come to exercise a strong influence upon those goals. Thus power politics increasingly comes under pressure from mass politics.

Gandhi came on the scene when the transition from power politics to mass politics was taking place, and he strongly reinforced the new trend. While the dominant groups were still aligned to the old forms of power politics, Gandhi consciously championed the cause of mass politics, transforming a constitutionalist reform movement into an anti-imperialist mass struggle on the one hand and on the other hand a movement for a new form of society, new social values and social organization. While power politics still held its ground, by and large, mass politics began to encroach upon it. Values reigned in Gandhi's politics — ethical values in essence, not the interests of power. He derived these values from the Indian religious tradition. His goals, therefore, were spiritual and not primarily materialistic. This was often misunderstood to be the Mahatma's preoccupation with religion.

Gandhi's goal oriented politics were similar to Plato's. As Marie-Pierre Herzog said: 'If I were to draw any personal conclusion, it would be to say that Gandhi was a politician who gave a new dimension to politics or who revived the political dimension that Plato, for instance, had always striven for.'[8] But Gandhi added a dimension which was lacking in the Greek thinkers — the dimension of the mass approach. His goal-oriented politics would have been a departure enough from the political standards prevailing in India at that time. But being goal-oriented and at the same time invigorated by his mass approach, gandhian politics became an even greater departure. Those who could not comprehend the departure believed him to be non-political.

Non-Indian participants in the centenary celebrations who mainly admired his human ingenuity saw higher human ele-

ments in Gandhi's thought, superior skill in his action and novelty in his arguments. This phenomenon was very well pointed out by Carlos Romulo[4]. He said, 'When westerners marvel at Gandhi's politics, they are actually wondering how the element of folk wisdom or philosophy, the logic of non-violence, and an overwhelming benignity could be a political force.' Then he went on to explain the cause of the western bewilderment. 'In the West, politics has mainly proceeded through the logic of force. This is not to reject the fact that philosophical assumptions about the State, about Society, and about Man underlie political decisions and action in western culture. But the enforcement of these ethical and moral precepts in western politics rested mainly on force. To the western consciousness, society is inconceivable without the police, and foreign relations meaningless without military, naval and air forces to support the terms of treaties.' The substance and idiom of Gandhi's politics of the good was, on the other hand, independent of 'the logic of force' or armed forces and treaties. The values of his politics were very different.

Humanism was one of the values to which Gandhi attached the greatest importance. Man must live in self-respect and peace. This was Gandhi's fundamental belief. The dignity of every man must be assured; the social system must ensure equality between human beings, and violence which kills human beings must be shunned. James Cameron[5] described Gandhi as 'a man of intense humanity'. Romesh Thapar[6] pointed out that humanism was the starting point for Gandhi. 'Gandhi was a humanist ... from his first moment of self-consciousness'. Thapar also saw the roots of Gandhi's humanism in Hinduism wherein, he said, Gandhi discovered the two basic streams of her thought: truth and nonviolence. Several other participants in the UNESCO symposium also laid stress on this quality. Among them G. Rama-

chandran said, 'Gandhi the Indian was also Gandhi the humanist'. Here humanism meant universalism as against parochialism. But he expanded the concept to say that Gandhi's humanism had three essential elements: freedom, justice and peace. The idea was further extended by others, who saw Gandhi's whole system of social values founded upon humanism. The Chicago City Proclamation on the centenary celebrations said: 'Mahatma Gandhi earnestly sought early progress towards the achievement of a peaceful, happy, harmonious and cooperative community for all men; and Mahatma Gandhi dedicated his life and talents to the establishment of a social order based on peace and brotherhood; and Mahatma Gandhi exemplified the value of love, truth and nonviolence in his life in the fullest measure, thus providing an appropriate basis for the establishment of such a social order; and the centennial of Mahatma Gandhi's birth provides a most suitable occasion for renewing hope and confidence in the creation of a social order governed by the basic human values for which Gandhi stood.'

Gandhi's humanism has sometimes been mistaken for individualism, for example by Leonard Cheshire, founder of the world-famed Cheshire Homes for the sick, who described[7] the essence of the Mahatma's life to be the importance of the individual. He said: 'That is the greatness of India. The Indian has time to think of the individual. Gandhi showed us that it is not governments that change the course of history but small acts performed by each one of us.' But the relationship between Gandhi's humanism and what is understood as individualism in western thought is more complicated. This question was dealt with by Indira Rothermund.[8] Discussing 'The Individual and Society in Gandhi's Political Thought', she suggested that Gandhi's premise was the traditional Indian idea of the essential identity and goodness of all men. In order to realize this essence, according to

Gandhi, the individual has to discipline himself in a manner that lets all the faculties of the soul rise to their highest level, and this ethical ideal hinges upon the principle of 'self-purification'. She quoted Gandhi as saying, 'Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society enriches both the individual and the society of which he is a member'.

Mrs Rothermund drew an interesting distinction between Gandhi's concept of 'social restraint' and what Rousseau postulated as man's willingness to submit himself irrevocably to the general will of society as a whole. 'In Rousseau's thought the individual seems to acquire a dual character inasmuch as he can use his "particular will" to his own advantage, but as a member of a society he "wills the common good" and, being a unit of this, he acquires a common identity. But for Gandhi the individual has already transcended the discreteness of individualism since his soul is a part of the transcendent and immanent Brahman — the Supreme Being. There is no question of man's agreement, as in Rousseau's social contract, to give up a part of his own will; the individual in Indian thought just has to follow his dharma.'

Analyzing the concept of dharma, Mrs Rothermund said that according to the earlier Vedic meaning of the word each man's endeavour to follow his own dharma (svadharma) is a kind of yajna (sacrifice) when it is aimed at the good of all. In that sense Vinoba Bhave used the term Bhoodan yajna, the movement for the donation of land to the landless which is thought of as an offering that benefits both the giver and receiver. Thus if man realizes that it is his dharma to give up part of his own right for the good of all there is no need of collective action. Similarly, Mrs Rothermund argued, if all collectively followed their own dharma the individual would not be forced to give up his private judgement. The interdependence of all individuals ensured the

working of dharma. To counter the likelihood of deviations from dharma, the individual had to make conscious effort to ensure dharmic performance.

Thus Gandhi resolved the dichotomy between the individual and society which western political thought has posed for centuries. He envisaged effective unity among men through moral values. As Mrs Rothermund pointed out, each man's dharma would impel him to act for the social good, which would ensure common commitment to higher human values. This was the basic principle of Gandhi's politics of the good. In western political thought the conflict between man and society is sought to be resolved through the institution of the state, a legal machinery which 'distributes powers' with 'checks against (their) arbitrary use'. But its processes are such that it neither preserves the moral bond among men as members of society nor the faculties and ingenuity of individuals; the individual is reduced to a legal entity, a citizen, subject to the instruments of power. Gandhi sought ways of maintaining both social bonds and individuality. This is the importance of moral values in the system designed by Gandhi. But this, strangely, is what some participants in the centenary celebrations relied on as proof of Gandhi being non-political — he by-passed state power. In reality, however, that is the proof of the supremacy of politics in him — but a different form of politics. The mistake only illustrates how inadequate the prevalent political vocabulary is for a correct understanding of Gandhi. The mistake is on par with another, discussed in a later chapter, that because Gandhi emphasized social change by means of and within the frame of the moral bond he saw between men, he did not desire to change the social structure of society.

Gandhi's form of social organization was certainly not the state. It was not 'society' either, a term which leaves the

nature of interdependence among individuals undefined. Perhaps it was the 'community' Gandhi wanted to create which had the essence of the organization envisaged by him; the moral bond implied in 'brotherhood' exists in a community. Therefore, it is of some significance that the Chicago City Proclamation referred to 'the achievement of a peaceful, happy, harmonious and cooperative community for all men' as one of Gandhi's goals. The operational unit in this community could have been the ashram, a concept to which fascinated attention was paid by Anibal del Campo.[9] In the gandhian model of a social system, he said, the ashram was at once a way of life and a living community. He quoted Kaka Kalelkar's description of an ashram: 'It is a sort of community shelter for people who have a common vision of a purer, nobler and richer life. The genuine ashrams are centres of hope, struggle and repose — hope of a better life, struggle for the victory of the spiritual force over the non-spiritual force and repose based on the harmonious integration of the legitimate requirements of life in which conflicting ideas can find a terrain for reconciliation. The ashram, in fact, is a society in miniature.'

Equality is another value to which Gandhi attached enormous importance, not only equality of the kind required for economic justice and freedom from economic exploitation, but equality in a higher social sense: equality between men as units of social organization. The Columbia University brochure on the centenary quoted Gandhi: '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 low class of people.' Gunnar Myrdal[10] pointed out Gandhi's stress on equality. He said: 'Even in regard to the distribution of income and wealth, Gandhi's views were radical. Often he spoke as if he demanded complete economic

equality.' Myrdal added, 'A radical change in the social and economic order was, indeed, (to Gandhi) the meaning and essential purpose of overthrowing foreign rule.' Another dimension of Gandhi's idea of equality was emphasized by Youness Haider who pointed out:[11] 'Gandhi was concerned with social justice. He felt the severe stress caused by discrimination on the basis of colour, religion or class. Therefore, he rejected class distinction and regarded it as one of the justifications for violence.'

Gandhi himself, as quoted by Haider, looked upon equality as part of his idea of individualism, just as individualism was to him part of his humanism. He said: 'While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of his will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum. I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear because, while apparently doing good by minimizing, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress.' Participants in the centenary celebrations elaborated on this thought. Senator Diokno of the Philippines also drew attention to this value of Gandhi. 'For Gandhi, freedom is essential. But it is a freedom built upon equality.' He quoted Gandhi: 'We are all absolutely equal, but equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state. We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realize equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality.' S. Chakravarti[12] referred to a rare quotation from Gandhi. In it, Gandhi describes himself as 'a social revolutionist' and then says, 'Violence is bred by inequality, nonviolence by equality'. Conditions of equality are necessary for the operation of higher human values like truth. Therefore

equality was emphasized in the centennial homages as a political value which Gandhi highly respected, though the means of achieving it, which Gandhi envisaged, were thought by some participants to be so weak and ineffective that they questioned his commitment to equality, an aspect of the homage to Gandhi which is discussed more fully later.

Swaraj, a term which can be roughly translated as self-rule, is the third important political value for Gandhi — political in the gandhian sense in which the word has been used in these pages — which received great attention in the celebration. The importance of this concept in Gandhi's framework is demonstrated in two things. The entire anti-British struggle which he led had one goal: swaraj. He analyzed this goal in a booklet he published in 1909, *Hind Swaraj,* upon which many participants drew for an understanding of what swaraj meant to Gandhi. Secondly the mass politics he brought to the Indian scene had one theme — the liberation of the common people from all kinds of bondage. Gandhi never meant by swaraj only freedom from British rule. According to Devi Prasad,[13] General Secretary of War Resisters' International, what Gandhi meant was that so long as the common man of India did not live a life of dignity and fearlessness, India would not achieve the freedom of his concept. Gandhi said: 'I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange "King Log for King Stork".' The social, economic and political programs he chalked out aimed at freeing man from all these shackles. Therefore Gandhi's concept of swaraj had a far wider meaning than the prevalent concept of freedom. It had a spiritual content. Man must gain the spiritual height of love, truth and peace.

Centralization of power is the opposite of swaraj in

Gandhi's scheme of mass politics, as Devi Prasad pointed out in the article mentioned earlier. He quoted Gandhi as saying: 'Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is a foreign government or a national one.' Devi Prasad explained: 'Gandhi had the vision to pronounce that unless power reached every home, unless everybody felt that he wielded influence on the decisions made at the centres of power; in fact, unless everybody felt that he was co-responsible for the decisions made, society could never live in peace and prosperity.' He made the thought more concrete by quoting Gandhi, who had said, 'Real freedom will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused — in other words, freedom is to be attained by educating the people to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.'

All the three values in Gandhi's politics of the good — humanism, equality and swaraj — found joint and concrete expression in his shaping of the movement for India's freedom. J. B. Kripalani[14] analyzed the philosophy behind India's freedom struggle as conducted by Gandhi. Kripalani drew a distinction between the national struggles of the past and the Indian freedom struggle. The Dutch fight against Spanish rule or the American struggle against the British sought to achieve merely political independence, he said, that is, transference of political power from the hands of the foreigner to those of the native people. Gandhi on the other hand had a comprehensive notion of freedom. Adherence to moral law was an important component of the freedom for which he fought. As Kripalani puts it: 'Gandhi called his entire movement one aimed at national self-purification.' Thus to Gandhi swaraj meant social, economic, political as well as moral progress for all men. They

were, for him, inter-related aspects of his total perspective: love and respect for man remain incomplete without equality between men; while the humanist ethic implies a commitment to the progressive fulfilment of man's potentiality, equality is an essential condition for it; thus Gandhi's swaraj stands on the assumptions of humanism and equality. Among the three values humanism was the predominant one in Gandhi's mind. He saw something good in every man and that was the expression of God in man, according to him; his pursuit of truth aimed at identifying this good in men. He wanted to build structures that would help bring out the good through participation. The rules of the game, therefore, had to be nonviolent, because violence according to Gandhi obstructed the good. Thus truth and nonviolence — the two ethical values of the utmost importance to Gandhi — rested on humanism though each embodied a host of ethical norms for moral conduct.

As noted earlier, Gandhi advocated a decentralized system of management in which all men could effectively participate. Commenting on this S. Chakravarti[15] said that in this age of centralized authority 'Gandhi symbolized a profound challenge to the trend.... Gandhi wanted a vertical movement to be manifiest everywhere in society, through the regeneration of the weakest.' Gandhi's nonviolent society would thus overturn the social pyramid and bring the downtrodden and the poor into a position of reciprocal relationship with the rest. Such a society would be truly nonviolent, as centralized control and pressure would be reduced to the minimum in it, and a decentralized institutional frame would provide the physical control. Further interpreting Gandhi's position Chakravarti said: 'The process of change must grow upwards, but not through the fear of annihilation of the exploiters — the negative stimulus for change — but by the positive realization of the indivi-

dual and social conscience. When all men reach this conscience through a process of self-development, they reach their "truth". Gandhi was thus the harbinger of a new social system.'

Chakravarti's analysis clarifies two principles which underlie Gandhi's concept of political organization: decentralization and moral incentive. Decentralization would ensure mass participation at the grassroots level and moral incentive, not greed for power or wealth, would prompt men towards service. Together they would make possible the fulfilment of the basic values postulated by Gandhi.

Gandhi favoured a cooperative federation of 'village republics' as the social framework for the kind of politics he advocated. As Prof. Sardalla[15] said, 'To Gandhi this was better than most existing governments'. At the Budapest seminar Devi Prasad gave a detailed picture of the gandhian political system, which would be built upon common bonds among people, not upon power; on mutual trust at the grassroot level, not upon centralized control. He quoted from Gandhi: 'In this structure, composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, ever-ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom, but it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages till 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.'

K. Santhanam, explaining this system[17] of village republics, said that decentralization, in order to be meaningful, must have self-sufficient villages, thus adding another dim-

ension to the concept. Proceeding from a similar starting point Radivoj Uvalic[18] compared Gandhi's ideals of decentralization with the Yugoslav system. He said: 'Gandhi's concept of social organization, where the power of the state would be limited as much as possible, is an ideal which is particularly close to the Yugoslav concept of the organization of socialist democracy based on self-government. Gandhi always emphasized that decentralization of political power was the sine qua non for the creation of a nonviolent society. According to him, true democracy, based not on profit but on human relation, called for the full autonomy of small social communities. He called for decentralization of the economy in order to diminish present-day inequalities and social conflicts and to give a measure of autarky to the village. He was as enthusiast for cooperatives. In our contemporary society, he would certainly be much closer to the Yugoslav concept of socialism, based on a broad decentralization of power and on workers' self-management, rather than to state socialism, with its central power of intervention.'

Gandhi's views on governmental organization went through a process of evolution. While the underlying value of decentralized mass politics remained constant, sometimes he appeared to favour constitutional government and at other times autonomous politics at the grassroots level. In some of the speeches during the 'thirties Gandhi pleaded for 'parliamentary swaraj', a theme to which he returned in the late 'forties when the framing of the Indian Constitution was in the news. At other times he upheld moral law over legislative action and seemed to advocate populist extra-parliamentary forms of change. Prof. Sardalla[19] dwelt on this point. He referred to Gandhi's speeches during the Round Table Conference and said: 'Gandhi believed firmly in the value of a sovereign constitution, he also believed that

swaraj could be attained by working out such a constitution fully. The constitution should not set up a western type of democracy, under which the majority can impose its will on the minority.' Sardalla pointed out that Gandhi rejected the principle of majority rule after his experience in the Transvaal where the white majority imposed its will on the Indian minority. Instead, he favoured a nonviolent democracy where the majority could work with the minority in finding mutually acceptable formulae for resolving differences. Thus, the result would not be 'the greatest good of the greatest number', but the good of all. That is also the basis of sarvodaya.

Gandhi was in favour of universal suffrage. But he had some reservations about it which Geoffrey Ashe discussed.[20]. Gandhi could not bear the idea that a man who had wealth should have the vote while it may be denied to a man who worked honestly by the sweat of his brow, day in and day out, but remained poor, or denied to a man who had character but no wealth or literacy. Gandhi, however, did not favour the direct vote. He was for the election of officials of the central government by community representatives. Considering the size of India's population, the direct vote could be very difficult according to Gandhi. This led Stephen Hay[21] to make a remote comparison between Gandhi and President Ayub of Pakistan. Hay said, 'Among his occasional references to chosen representatives of the people, Gandhi rejected the British model of direct election to Parliament and suggested instead a system of indirect elections, like those later instituted in Pakistan under President Ayub Khan.' This comparison is remote because the starting points of Gandhi's ideas and Ayub's were very different. Ashe also mentions that Gandhi was in favour of a unicameral legislature because he believed that while responsible enough not to pass laws in such haste as would

give it a bad name later, it would be less expensive and more suitable for Indian conditions.

Gandhi's constitutionalism was compared with Locke's by Stephen Hay who found in Gandhi's stress on the importance of the individual the same message as in Locke's 'inalienable rights' — a concept of government which subordinated law to liberty. But Hay recognized that Gandhi went a step further in asserting the dependence of democratic self-government upon individual morality. He referred to a similar connection which Washington had noted in his Farewell Address: 'It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.' But Gandhi took a much stronger line than this, going so far as to assert: 'Self-government depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds. Indeed, self-government which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and sustain it, is not worth the name.' Hay interprets this to mean that Gandhi differs from Locke and Jefferson in the degree to which he places the performance of civic duty above the recognition of individual rights. He quotes Gandhi from a 1939 article: 'In swaraj which is based on ahimsa, people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights that flow from a due performance of one's.' Then Stephen Hay makes this provocative comment. 'Here is a Gandhi quite unlike the folk hero of the latter-day anarchist; not the adamant opponent of the state, but the willing and dutiful servant, not the Thoreauvian non-conformist, but an advocate of the kind of virtuous conduct which brings prestige, respectability and the good opinion of one's fellow citizens. There is something almost Roman in Gandhi's ideal of the unselfish public servants.'

This interpretation of Gandhi's constitutionalism can be invoked by modern rulers to justify their authority and create legitimacy for the sheer preservation of the status quo. But it is debatable whether this is a correct interpretation of Gandhi's political thought. It is obviously inconsistent with Gandhi's ethical assumptions. Only a constitutional system which fulfilled these assumptions could have evoked Gandhi's support or commanded the authority Gandhi is supposed to have attributed to it. As Indira Rothermund pointed out,[22] it is dharmic polity alone which, according to Gandhi, can ensure individual dignity and social harmony. In fact, Stephen Hay himself says that at a deeper level one sees in Gandhi a combination of the influences of Jain-Hindu and Judeo-Christian traditions. He does not pursue the logic of these influences in Gandhi's framework, but as we saw earlier, Gandhi's notion of swaraj meant not merely legal rights and duties but a host of moral conditions and commitments. That is why many writers have interpreted Gandhi as advocating a system different from the western parliamentary system. Stephen Hay quotes Adi Doctor from the latter's *Anarchist thought in India* to say that Gandhi did not have a single good word for any of the parliamentary institutions'. Thus a total at Gandhi's ideas confirms that his concept of sarvodaya politics went far beyond the lines of western parliamentary government and 'dutiful service' to the state which is supported by such a system.

Gandhi's political values and ideas about social and political organization provoked some interesting comparisons between him and other thinkers. As noted earlier, several authors like Stephen Hay and Indira Rothermund compared Gandhi with Locke, whose exaltation of the individual with the sanction of natural law found echoes in Gandhi's plea for freedom and the rule of dharma. Locke was the pioneer of western liberalism. Therefore, European liberal scholars

in their tributes to Gandhi saw a liberal philosopher in him. Arne Naess and Johan Galtung found similarities between Gandhi's thought and the New Liberal Movement. Gunnar Myrdal called Gandhi a radical liberal. But what is noteworthy is that Gandhi was not identified by them with the old liberal movement which was reigning in Europe in the age of laissez faire and expanding imperialism. He had some similarities with the 'new' liberal philosophy which had a less dichotomous view of man and society or freedom and authority. The new liberals of Europe were universalists in many ways, while the old liberals were mainly nationalists. The new liberals outgrew the values of competitive capitalism and thus became humanists. Myrdal identified Gandhi's stress on equality as a thought which differentiated him from European liberals. That is why he called Gandhi a radical liberal.

To what extent these labels, borrowed from the West, can adequately describe Gandhi is an open question. This was mentioned again and again by participants in the Paris symposium. In Gandhi there was a unique combination of mass perspective, traditional ethical norms and humanist values. While the mass perspective made him comparable to socialists and communists, traditional ethical norms made him appear to be a non-political and religious personality, or only softly political because of the liberalism, both in its classical and modern forms, which many participants attributed to Gandhi, and his strongly humanist values. That is why during the centenary, people and governments of countries subscribing to conflicting ideologies easily found something fascinating in him irrespective of whether they praised or criticized him. But what is probably more true is that the unorthodox philosophy propounded by Gandhi challenged contemporary trends in political thought and action and baffled those who tried to fit him into the strait-jacket of

their own ideological definitions.

1. In the Swedish paper, 'Dagon', 8 October 1969.
2. Op. cit.
3. At the UNESCO symposium in Paris, 14-17 October 1969.
4. Ibid.
5. At a function held in July 1969 at Camden, England.
6. At the UNESCO symposium.
7. At the function at Camden.
8. In the 'Journal of Asian Studies', February 1969.
9. At the UNESCO symposium.
10. Op. cit.
11. In an article in a Syrian magazine, 'Jayshul Shaab', 30 September 1969.
12. At the UNESCO symposium.
13. Budapest seminar on 'Gandhi's concept of freedom'.
14. In an article, 'Gandhi's conception of the national struggle', in the 'Standard' (Dar-es-Salaam) 2 October 1969.
15. At the UNESCO symposium.
16. At a symposium at the University of Santo Tomas, Philippines, 20 September 1969.
17. In his article, 'Mahatma Gandhi and India today', in a Philippine collection.
18. At the UNESCO symposium.
19. Op. cit.
20. In his book, 'Gandhi', published during the Centenary year.
21. In an article, 'Ethical politics: Gandhi's meaning for our times'. in 'Asia', Autumn 1969.
22. Op. cit.

INDIVISIBLE SARVODAYA

Gandhi perceived clearly that basically development is a human problem concerning attitudes and institutions. It must imply that people everywhere begin to act more purposively to improve their living conditions and then also to change their community in such a way as to make these strivings more possible and effective

— GUNNAR MYRDAL

Any system of political values remains incomplete until it is given concrete shape in socio-economic terms. Gandhi not only realized this but wrote extensively on the principles of social and economic organization which he advocated. The participants in the centenary celebrations also realized this; many extensive discussions took place on Gandhi's socio-economic ideas which were analyzed in relation to Gandhi's humanist values, ethical norms and mass perspective.

Gandhi's image of the ideal society was metaphorically compared with Ram raj which, according to Gandhi, would be a moral society where humanist values would be fulfilled under 'God's rule'. The epic *Ramayana* depicts Rama as the ideal king in whose reign there was no injustice and everyone lived in righteousness, peace, prosperity and happiness. In Gandhi's writings it acquires greater detail. Indira

Rothermund explained that in Gandhi's Ram raj moral authority would be the foundation of the sovereignty of the people.[1] Gandhi said, 'Ram raj is the kingdom of righteousness. By Ram raj I do not mean Hindu raj. I mean divine raj, the kingdom of God... the ancient ideal of Ram raj is undoubtedly one of true democracy.' Rothermund added that Gandhi would not tolerate in his Ram raj any 'iniquitous inequalities in which there exists an abysmal disparity between the few rich and the starving masses'. Dr Hajime Nakamura[2], Professor of Indian and Buddhist Philosophy, Tokyo University, spoke about Gandhi's methodology for changing the structure of society in order to introduce Ram raj on the strength of the moral bond among people. He said: 'Gandhi stressed the spirit of service (seva) and love (prema) as the principle for realizing social harmony and solidarity deriving from the attitude of nonviolence.' These values would be the means of social transformation. The stress was not on structural guarantees in society but on moral norms.

Olaf G. Tandberg[3], of the Swedish UNESCO Council, said, 'He was a great social reformer but his interest was not to change the structure of society but to change the human motive.' At its face value this is a narrow interpretation of Gandhi as a social reformer, because a change in human motives was not an end in itself, but a means of changing the structure of society without having to rely on structural guarantees.

Gandhi's emphasis upon egalitarianism in the moral society he wanted to build was evidently the radicalism in Gandhi which Myrdal, Galtung and Bognar referred to in their presentations during the centenary celebrations. Bognar said: 'Gandhi, who started from the grounds of tradition, is also a radical social reformer. It is this radicalism by which he is bound to the progressive intellectuals in the Congress. His radicalism originates not in politics but in moral phil-

osophy. It is a moral revolution that he wants to accomplish. As a moralist revolutionary he is unsophisticated and Utopian in many respects but as the originator of mass actions he is successful also from that aspect. He condemns the exploitation of masses and gives expression to the view that "political liberty must include the economic liberty of the starving millions".'[4]

The UNESCO symposium in Paris debated the interesting question of the relationship between ethics and economics in Gandhi. Drobyshev suggested that Gandhi's economic theory was a reflection of his ethical outlook[5]. In other words, Gandhi started from ethical assumptions and in their terms explained the social and economic choices before society. Drobyshev said, 'One characteristic feature of Gandhi's economic views is his relative indifference towards the problem of production expansion.' With his ethical starting point Gandhi strove towards a rise in the standards of man to make him perfect. Continuing this argument, UNESCO's Director-General, Rene Maheu, said[6]: 'It is because he was proceeding from the ethical to the economic that nonviolence occupied such an essential place in Gandhi's economic-cum-social action.' But Saul Karsz of the Paris University, Sorbonne, did not agree with this separation of ethics from economics. He said[7]: 'No social formation separates, by means of eternal notions, the mode in which it produces and distributes material goods from the ethical systems which justify that mode of production and distribution.' 'Only', he pointed out, 'different systems operated on different sets of ethics. There is even a capitalist set of ethics', Karsz said. 'Therefore, it is not at this level that we should seek to find a qualitative difference between the gandhian axioms and the axioms of any other system. Economics and ethics are inseparably intertwined in every society. It is like not forgetting to breathe when you walk: it is a definite situation and

not a theoretical problem.' He argued that in Gandhi we should not look at things from the point of view of an abstract union between ethics with a capital 'E' and economics with a capital 'E'.

Karsz points out very well the fact that all philosophies and systems have one kind of ethics or another. But he seems to underrate the importance of the order in which values are placed. In some systems, values like nonviolence and harmony may not be stressed at all, in others they may be elevated to the status of ends. Those who emphasize the ethical values and norms of Gandhi as his starting points identify a gandhian order of values in which nonviolence, truth and harmony appear very high on the ladder. On the other hand, both western liberals and the socialists place distributive values like justice and equality at a higher level than values like nonviolence which, to them at least, are instrumental. Therefore, the importance of the moral basis of Gandhi's social organization has to be understood in relation to his own logical framework.

The moral community of Gandhi's vision was undoubtedly a novel idea. Sugata Dasgupta[8], Director of the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, emphasized its importance. He wrote: 'The main contribution of Gandhi was not so much in arriving at a correct appraisal of the contemporary society in negative terms as in pointing out towards a new horizon; one that provides a positive alternative to a misguided elite and sets out to discover, on the basis of a realistic analysis of the total system, the perspectives of a new society. Such a society was obviously nonviolent and peaceful, and non-exploitative and equalitarian in structure. It was to be the next step in human civilization, what Gandhi called the swaraj society of the future.'

Francis Hutchins pointed out that Ruskin's influence shaped Gandhi's ideal system.[9] 'Ruskin advocated a socialism of

the heart, a society in which all work will be considered holy, and every occupation a vocation.' Gandhi, like Ruskin, did not require a levelling of social ranks according to Hutchins. His argument was that when the purpose of life came to be service and not competition, social organization would become humane and harmonious. This argument highlights the fact that ethical considerations lay behind Gandhi's model. But Hutchins underrates the enormous value attached by Gandhi to equality. The so-called 'socialism of the heart' referred to the nature of the means of social transformation in Gandhi's framework, not to his goals. These goals were very specific, as Gandhi explained them and he set them out in *Hind Swaraj* as early as 1909. While describing Gandhi as the leader of a 'self-fulfilling revolution', Hutchins underrates this continuity in Gandhi's attachment to his goals. According to him the 'self-fulfilling revolution' as opposed to the 'plan-fulfilling revolution' does not have preconceived goals. But Gandhi proclaimed and defined his goals at an early stage in the development of his ideas and then stuck to them.

In the eyes of Gandhi, self-realization was the supreme goal for man, and for attaining it moral prosperity was more important than the material. Therefore, the social conditions which Gandhi aimed at creating for man's moral development were not conditions of pleasure and comfort but of love and brotherhood. Any institution or policies which generated competition for power and enmity in competition would hamper man's moral progress and had no place in Gandhi's socio-economic model. But the desired moral conditions could not be created in separation from the desirable social conditions. Some religious people like Rev. Kok Kwong, Supreme Head of the Buddhist Association, Hong Kong, who exaggerated[10] the ethical aspect of Gandhi argued during the centenary discussions that moral development

was possible irrespective of the nature of the socio-economic environment. In fact, extending the example of the traditional Indian idea of sannyasa, or total withdrawal from society, they said that detachment from the social environment was a necessary condition for moral progress. Gandhi's simplicity of living, abstinence and uniform use of ancient Indian symbols were cited as evidence in support. But Gandhi did not subscribe to this view. He desired a different society for man's moral advancement than the kind of society which may result from contrasting philosophies. However, he certainly considered it essential that there should be a new society, free of colonial rule, so decentralized in its decision-making structures that all individuals may participate in its processes, endowed with socio-economic equality, largely rural in its patterns of economic organization, in which moral criteria would predominate.

Gunnar Myrdal discussed these conditions in his essay[11] 'Gandhi as a Radical Liberal', in which he dealt with Gandhi's concept of development. 'Gandhi perceived clearly that basically development is a human problem concerning attitudes and institutions. It must imply that people everywhere begin to act more purposively to improve their living conditions and then also to change their community in such a way as to make these strivings more possible and effective.... Gandhi wanted the village to be the makers of their own destiny with only general rules laid down from above. This view had, with Gandhi, a moral basis in his conception of the dignity of individuals and his vision of their having the capacity to organize their life together, in a way that was conducive to peaceful cooperation, progress and happiness.' Dr Irving Barnett, Professor of Economics at the State University College of New York at New Paltz, amplified the rural orientation of Gandhi's concept of development in a speech at the Gandhi Centennial Celebra-

tion Program of the College. He drew attention to 'the emphasis that Gandhi placed on the qualities he saw in the way of life in the Indian village. He urged that as economic improvement was sought, the planners should not lose sight of the admirable values that had developed over the centuries among Indian villagers.' Gandhi wanted those values to be used as the foundations of the new society.

This aspect of Gandhi's views on the sociology of economic change is particularly significant. Because economic development is normally identified with westernization and urbanization, Gandhi's advocacy of the village-based system came as a surprise to many. It is, however, consistent with Gandhi's general approach to building a moral community of people. In peasant societies of Asia and Africa, any form of mass politics has to mean that centres of power shift to the villages and that, in order to make participation meaningful, villages should form small, self-sufficient units which are strong enough to safeguard their autonomy. A self-sufficient village community could be maintained firmly on the basis of the traditional communal bond among the people of the village. Therefore, a country's development really involved upholding some traditional rural forms of politics and economy and getting on from there. This was Gandhi's logic of the kind of socio-economic development which would also be morally adequate and sound.

The novelty of Gandhi's concept of development and its special message for the Afro-Asian countries was pointed out by Elias Farah in an address at a Baghdad function held in connection with the centenary. He said: 'Gandhi's pronouncements were instrumental to a great extent in opening new horizons in our conception of the future of humanity. Those civilized nations which have dissociated themselves from the modern march of development and lost contact with the past began, during the era in which Gandhi

lived, groping their way in an attempt to discover self-realization, to form a picture of the future and to patch up their present with the past. They proceeded from a point of material and moral decay and took blindly to the brightness of western culture. Gandhi's thought and Gandhi's life came as a new optical instrument and a clear looking-glass for them through which they could see their true shape, the problems that confront them and the perspectives they should look forward to. Gandhi's thoughts made it possible to defeat the European intellectual invasion with a force superior to that provided by armies and modern weapons, and to create new cultural and spiritual climates in the Asian and African continents, extending to Europe itself. Reading Gandhi is a duty to the executing of which I would invite all those preaching the necessity of being acquainted with the basic features of the era in which Gandhi lived — an era the dimensions of which still apply to the present-day life of modern society... Gandhi has represented the aspiration of the Asian and African countries in Liberation, Renovation and Resuscitation and, through India, he was able to reveal the ailments of the modern age and the spiritual and moral impotences with which Europe is afflicted.' In brief, while the West gave out a model of modern urban industrial society, Gandhi defined for the East a new model of the good society.

William A. Eteki-Mboumoua, an African participant in the UNESCO symposium, elaborated the gandhian approach to development even more passionately. Eteki-Mboumoua, President of the UNESCO General Conference in 1969 and a former Minister of the Federal Republic of the Cameroons, said that Gandhi's concern, like the late psychologist Franz Fanon's, was to create a new man out of the dehumanized society. Fanon dwells upon this theme in his famous book *Wretched of the Earth,* Using Fanon's phrase, Eteki-Mbou-

moua said that 'the wretched of the earth' or the colonized people had passed through a long course of a cruel history of organized dehumanization in which they had undergone slavery, segregation, imperialism and absolute violence. In order to renovate the humanism of the East, Gandhi had a message which 'constitutes a harmonized and humanizing approach to a strategy of economic, social and cultural development'. He pointed out that sometimes this approach was called Gandhi's 'villagism' in misapprobation. But it was a new rational and comprehensive approach. President Nyerere also spelt it out in his 'Arusha Declaration' of 1967: he called it the sole means of attaining 'self-reliance'. Nyerere evoked the 'rejection of the concept of grandeur if it goes against the well-being of citizens'. Eteki-Mboumoua quoted Nyerere as saying, 'When the search for well-being comes in conflict with social dignity and equality, priority must then be given to the latter', and then he added, 'It almost seems as if one were hearing Gandhi's own words: "the sole interest of economics is not economic development, but the development of the human being".'

In an essay in an Italian magazine, Prof. Tucci dealt with Gandhi's rural orientation. He said: 'India has always been an endless constellation of villages; her philosophy and her religion have sprung and have lived suspended in that silence, as if outside of time. The call of the village rang into Gandhi's spirit.... There survives the ancient immortal, still capable of evolving without strains in a more human modernity.' On the danger of imitating Europe, Tucci quoted Gandhi: 'I feel convinced that today Europe no longer represents the spirit of God and of Christianity, but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest when he presents himself with the name of God on his lips. Europe today is Christian only in name; in reality, it worships only Mammon'. Here Gandhi referred to the decline of humanism

that had come about with industrialization and urbanization in Europe.

Just as Drobyshev[12] noticed Gandhi's indifference to 'the problems of production expansion', Bognar, going much further, said that 'Gandhi, being a personality who replaced economic laws by moral postulates, conceived that the ever recurrent gaps in the balance of economic development of society could be bridged not by the constant expansion of production and consumption but by reducing demand. This conception of his runs counter to the objective course of human history and economy.' The answer to these doubts was given by Jayaprakash Narayan, the best known gandhian alive today, who pointed out that development meant more to Gandhi than simply raising levels of consumption. He stressed the ethical dimension of gandhian economics.[13] 'Just as with politics, for Gandhi economics was not just a science of wealth, but it also had a moral and spiritual purpose and must serve the moral and spiritual ends of society. Economic activity must not be governed merely by considerations of profit, but also of social welfare and justice, individual happiness, freedom and creativity. While the material needs of man must be fulfilled, his other needs — moral, spiritual, aesthetic — must also be satisfied. Accordingly, material wants should not be multiplied without check, creating imbalance in human life and distorting the scale of human values.'[14]

Gandhi's views on science, technology and industrialization have been a major point of controversy for many years. During the centenary celebrations several interesting comments were heard about them. Almost all participants who spoke about them found them to be consistent with the major themes of Gandhi's ideology. But they differed greatly from one another in evaluating these views. Some found in them an economic strategy which was valid in some aspects and

situations but primitive in others; some saw them as further support for Gandhi's humanist outlook, although for their own part they placed their trust in full scale industrialization.

In an interesting observation, Alvin Thiessen, Associate Librarian, World Study Centre, New Paltz, New York, referred to the context of Gandhi's views on industrialization. He spoke of this as he recalled a meeting with Gandhi in London in 1931: 'In the question period that followed, Gandhi indicated his opposition to the industrialization which he said would only duplicate in India what was happening all over the world at that time, from Austria to Australia and from Britain to British Columbia and Brazil ... the stupidity of poverty amidst plenty. Italy had already gone Fascist and in Germany, Adolf Hitler was waiting in the wings, with his entry only a little more than a year away. The ugly phenomena associated with these movements — Fascist and Nazi — were painfully apparent and he wanted something better for India. The magnificent depression which then prevailed throughout the so-called capitalist world, attracted no admirers and Gandhi was opposed to generating industrial slums to add to India's woes.'

What Gandhi saw in Europe must have further confirmed his conviction that unrestrained industrialization brought human alienation with it. That is why he called Europe a sick man. He complained that industrialization had become the sole value in Europe, leading to dehumanization; that is why he wanted a different model for India. As the Lord Mayor of Rome said on the occasion of the unveiling of Gandhi's statue in Rome: 'What Gandhi rejects is not the modern world, it is not technical progress as such, but its mythical interpretation as a sole value, as a value having a dominating influence over all other values.' This was also pointed out by E. Van Itterbeek[15] who said: 'Gandhi's considerations on the anti-humanistic trend of technical civiliza-

tion coincide with the manifold utterances of unrest in Europe on the development of Western culture.' According to him, Henriette Roland Holst's *The Crisis of Western Culture* carries the gandhian argument. He describes her book as a warning against the rise of materialism, a riotous summing up of those aspects of modern civilization which are unworthy of man and a basic criticism of the Western capitalistic economy.

One of the corruptive consequences of industrialization is concentration of wealth. Gandhi wanted to avoid that by maintaining a decentralized economic structure. G. Ramachandran explained this in modern terms. He said: 'All big centralized industries, said Gandhi, must be owned by the community, the workers. On the other hand, spread throughout hundreds of thousands of villages in India would be what he called the decentralized industries (in which) the producers would naturally own the tools of production. In the decentralized industries, every man of course has his own tools of production in the village. Thus at both ends, Gandhi insisted that producers must own the tools of production.'[10] But it does not follow from this interpretation of Gandhi's views that he had no objection to industrialization so long as it did not lead to concentration of wealth. Gandhi's objection was more fundamental — it related to the status of man in a society which is dominated by the machine. The Soviet delegate to the Paris symposium, Drobyshev, pointed out that technological progress would not only mean a race for material benefits, which Gandhi would disapprove of, but 'as a consistent adherent of nonviolence, Gandhi was also hostile to the idea of the machine subjugating man'. To Gandhi the machine was a means of exploitation, although, as Drobyshev commented, 'As shrewdly pointed out by Jawaharlal Nehru, it was not so much machines that Gandhi resisted as their being used to the detriment of man, a trend

which he perceived in his environment'.

How far the machine itself could be disinfected of this trend and accepted as a tool which had no influence on the sociological environment is a point on which the participants were not unanimous; nor were all of them entirely consistent in their views. N. G. Ranga[17] said that just as Marx gave a ray of hope to those people who lost their self-employment and became wage slaves, 'what Gandhi tried to do is to help industrial and agricultural workers to become their own masters, so that this nexus between employment and exploitation can be eliminated' in the use of the machine. But Ranga himself also referred to a deeper aspect of the introduction of the machine in a predominantly rural society. He said that in peasant economics crores of peasants were self-employed and they would be replaced as industrialization progressed. Their 'self-employment' on the other hand 'is free from the evils of industrialization, free from the evils of wage slavery and employer-employee relations. It is non-exploitative.' Thus Ranga very well identified two basic arguments in Gandhi's position on industrialization. One relates to unemployment, the tremendous problem of man-power utilization, which the machine creates in populous peasant societies. The second relates to the conditions of exploitation which, at least according to the European experience, the machine creates. Of course a question which the participants could have raised in parenthesis is whether the old system of self-employment in agriculture and handicraft is free of exploitation though there is nothing to suggest that Gandhi wanted that exploitation to continue either.

The economic argument in Gandhi's approach to science and technology was acknowledged by Nobel laureate P.M.S. Blackett.[18] He said: 'Though industrialization must be accepted by any country which strives to improve the

standard of life of the people, there was much vision in his views — at any rate, in the first decade of attempted growth. Even if large scale industry is more efficient than small scale industry, it is not possible for a developing country to invest only in large scale industry, because this would lead to an unacceptable level of unemployment. For large scale industry uses too much capital and creates too few jobs.'

Though the social, ethical and economic arguments underlying Gandhi's position were thus appreciated by many, they also invited the criticism of those who felt that the gandhian approach had several limitations.

Arthur Koestler strongly criticized Gandhi's approach to development.[19] Gandhi thought, according to Koestler, that 'the principal evils of the West were railways, hospitals and lawyers.' Pointing out the utility of these things, Koestler commented, 'If western civilization was poison for India, Gandhi had installed the chief poisoner (Nehru) as his heir.' Gandhi's plea for the spinning wheel was primitive according to Koestler. He pointed out that khadi later became more expensive than mill cloth. The charkha, which was once called by Gandhi 'a sacrament and a gateway to salvation,' had to give way to a more rational choice of production techniques. Koestler said, 'Khadi never became popular among the anonymous millions for whom it was meant.' Only a select few used it in contemporary India, he said. He implied that what was intended to be a sartorial design for cheap living by the millions had become an expensive and uneconomic fashion. In the same spirit he also recalled the famous remark by Sarojini Naidu: 'It takes a great deal of money to keep Bapu living in poverty.' But these comments by Koestler obviously proceed from western values and goals, which he should have reassessed in the light of recent protests in his own continent against the

dehumanizing effects of pure technology. All that Gandhi insisted on was the place of ethical and human aspects in the process of economic development. Blackett[20] had similar criticism to offer, but he kept half an eye open for the other side of the picture. He said industrial technology, in the factory, mines and on the farm was the only known way of raising the material wealth of a whole people. And only thus non-material goods — health, education, leisure, culture — became possible. 'Though by no means inevitable', he had the wisdom to add.

Prof. Bognar[21] went much further in his criticism of Gandhi's approach to industry but he saw Gandhi's point more clearly than Koestler or Blackett. He said: 'Some ideas professed by Gandhi in the socio-economic field are, taken by themselves, mistaken, but still draw the attention of the people of India and of the world to certain basic correlations. I have in mind his dislike of modern technology and industry and his bias against towns in the first place. It is obviously a mistake of considerable magnitude to think that a country — particularly one with such a high level of birth-rate — could successfully cope, without modern industry and techniques, with the task of removing poverty and increasing tenfold, then twentyfold, the per capita national income. It follows therefore that industry is indispensable in India and in every other developing country. Industry in turn is not only a productive activity but also one of the regulators of the way of life, wherever there is industry, urbanization will be inevitable even if it is conceded that big cities do not present an attractive way of life for the population. This is but one side of the matter. The other side shows that the application of traditional technology — particularly in such a country as India, with enormous open and latent surplus manpower — will be needed for a long time to come, for generations. In countries which lack capi-

tal it cannot be attained at a quick enough pace for every working individual to be employed in a job at the highest level of technological development. On the other hand as a result of a quick increase of the population and the quick expansion of industry, small-scale industry included, a rapid increase of agricultural output is made inevitable. In the contrary event, India and other developing countries must face famine. Consequently the weight of agriculture is substantially larger than was assumed in the traditional "pro-industry" economic theories. Thus Gandhi, while starting from mistaken conceptions, came to discover instinctively veritable facts and correlations which must never be lost sight of when rational political and economic actions are taken.'

Gunnar Myrdal, in his essay 'Gandhi as a Radical Liberal', said that Gandhi's opposition to industrial technology sometimes appeared to be anti-liberal and traditionalistic. At the same time he saw a link between Gandhi's approach and the current economic trend in Asia. As a result though he too started with critical observations, Myrdal went still further than Bognar in recognizing the validity of Gandhi's views on the sociology of economic development. Myrdal wrote: 'Gandhi's hostility to modern industrial technology and to machines, and more generally, his pro-rural and anti-city bias were sometimes expressed in terms which are hardly compatible with enlightened liberalism. But the recognition in recent years of the very predominant importance of agriculture in economic development and also of the underutilized labour resources have, to an extent, proved these ideas of his to be less irrational than they seemed to be at a time when development was narrowly defined as industrialization and when it was believed that industrialization would rapidly create new employment that would make possible the "skimming of" of the "labour surplus" in agriculture. Even at the culmination of that era — approximately in the

years when the Second Five Year Plan was prepared — the planners found a compromise with gandhian ideas, viz. to reserve a large area of production of consumption goods for traditional labour-intensive technology. In regard to central state planning generally, where Indian policy has seemed to deviate most conspicuously from Gandhi's teaching there may now be forebodings of an evolution of thinking that comes closer to Gandhi's own. Plans produced in predominantly financial terms have turned out to be fictitious and misleading. Consequently India is beginning to recognize the necessity to perceive development as a process encompassing the entire social system. This was Gandhi's view, though he never elaborated it.'

As these paragraphs suggest, seminars and discussions during the centenary celebrations helped to draw the attention of the economists to the need for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to chalk out a new path to economic development. The stereotypes of early industrialization in Europe and the later version used in the USSR had appeared at one time to be ready-made models for the newly independent countries which, for some time, instinctively imitated their former rulers' model. Gandhi, however, presented them with a distinctly non-western model. Whatever its limitations in terms of viability and productivity it was the first non-western attempt to build a just society and a suitable economy. Decades later, through a process of trial and error, China diverted itself towards an agriculture-based rural oriented pattern of development. In the late 'fifties some of these ideas, like labour-intensive projects and self-sufficiency at the lower unit level, were adopted in the Great Leap Forward. In India even the more sophisticated exercises in economic development came to recognize the need for a decentralized economy as the proportion of the unemployed in the total population grew. But of greater interest in the

appraisal of Gandhi as he was seen during the centenary is the fact that the centenary coincided with intense and widespread disillusionment with the established western model of development in western society itself.

Gandhi's concept of the integrated development of man led him to oppose industrialization on social, ethical and economic grounds. The next logical thing for him was to find out ways of creating the kind of society he advocated — ways which would be consistent with his assumptions and goals. These he found in the theory of trusteeship. Jayaprakash Narayan explained the logic of this approach to the problem of economic redistribution in his address at the Kabul seminar. He said: 'For him (Gandhi) the oppressor and exploiter had to be helped as much as the oppressed and exploited. His method again was to "convert" both by love and service, and, when necessary, by satyagraha, nonviolent non-cooperation and resistance.' Thus Gandhi wanted to appeal to the conscience of the oppressors and bring out the good in them. He hoped that they would be converted and share their possessions with the common people. The rich would become the trustees of their possessions on behalf of God and would utilize them for the benefit of the whole people. Lest this trusteeship be misunderstood as acquiescence in existing levels of concentration of wealth, Gandhi made its implications clear. Dr V. R. Bhattacharya pointed[22] to Gandhi's commitment to equality which guided his economic thinking. He quoted Gandhi as saying: 'My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see, it is not to be realized. I, therefore, work for equitable distribution.' But he believed in the universal ownership of the instruments of production. For this again Bhattacharya quoted from Gandhi's views on the ideal of equitable distribution: 'This ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the

control of the masses. They should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be; they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others.'

The gandhian economic theory was explained by Alhaji Aminu Kano, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Communications. Kano argued[23] that Gandhi's two basic assumptions were the goodness of human nature and nonviolence. Therefore he was able to advise the owners of wealth 'to voluntarily convert themselves into trustees of their wealth, retaining stewardship of their possessions, using their talents to increase the wealth not for their own sakes but for the sake of the nation and, therefore, without exploitation.' Kano pointed out differences between Gandhi on the one hand and the socialists and communists on the other. He referred to what Gandhi had said with regard to western economic systems, including socialism: 'They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours.' On Gandhi's attitude towards capitalists he quoted Gandhi: 'I am not ashamed to own that many capitalists are friendly towards me and do not fear me. They know that I desire to end capitalism almost if not quite as much as the most advanced socialist or even communist. But our methods differ, our languages differ.' Later economic developments in India and the part played in them by the close associates of Gandhi were to place Gandhi's associations, and therefore the Congress party's associations, with Indian capital in a rather different light, perhaps in an unfairly unfavourable light as far as Gandhi himself is concerned. But looking only to Gandhi's own convictions, Kano was able to say, 'Fundamentally, he was the defender of the poor, advancing the cause of the under-privileged.'

Gandhi's economic ideas were discussed in an interesting article by Jean Rous.[24]. Writing on 'Les Theories Economiques et Sociales de Gandhi', Rous described Gandhi's

ideas of trusteeship as 'Reasonable syndicalism'. As in the original syndicalist theory, Gandhi wanted worker-employer participation in management. He explained Gandhi's position in these words of Gandhi: 'Workers should enjoy the same dignity and the same status as the capitalists. Why should a million rupees be more important than a million men in the families put together?' Though Rous has mentioned interesting similarities between the syndicalists and Gandhi, in his commitment to nonviolence and the moral bond, Gandhi stands apart from the syndicalists.

Gandhi's concept of trusteeship has been the basis of the sarvodaya movement led by Vinoba Bhave after Gandhi's death. Jayaprakash Narayan commended the movement in his address at the Kabul seminar. He pointed out that Vinoba launched the Bhoodan movement when practically nothing was being done about the redistribution of land in spite of a great deal of talk. He said: 'So far in history, redistribution of land has been brought about either by the sword or the law. In India, developing Gandhi's ideas, Vinoba came forward to redistribute land by love. He was laughed at by many but the fact is that far more land has been redistributed in India through Bhoodan than by the imposition of land ceilings or other legislation.' He gave the example of Bihar. While it was estimated that no more than 7,000 acres of land would be available for redistribution to landless labourers as a result of the implementation of the Land Reform Act, nearly 350,000 acres were distributed through Bhoodan.

Vinoba Bhave launched yet another movement—Gramdan—on gandhian lines, which Jayaprakash Narayan in his address described as 'the next instalment of his nonviolent agrarian revolution'. 'Gramdan', he explained, 'stands for the village community owning the legal title to land and regular sharing within the community of a part of the pro-

duce, income and labour, and community decisions by general consensus. In this manner, mental attitudes, values and social relationships are changed voluntarily. The aim is to make the village a cooperative and self-governing community, as visualized by Gandhi in his concept of Gram raj, or village self-government, which in turn would become the grass roots unit of Indian polity.' Giving details of the progress of this movement, Jayaprakash Narayan said that up to October 1966, nearly 70,000 out of India's 550,000 villages had voluntarily accepted Gramdan. He added: 'This does not mean that they have fully matured into cooperative, self-governing communities. But 75 per cent of their inhabitants have accepted in writing the basic principles of Gramdan. Thus the foundation has been laid of a new society, on which the superstructure has to be built.'

Jayaprakash Narayan's very useful report on the progress of the sarvodaya movement was one of the very few detailed references during the centenary celebrations to the concrete application of gandhian economics. One more came from Ceylon, where the Hundred Villages Development Program was launched on 1 January 1967, in connection with the Gandhi centenary program. As the report of the Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya put it: 'Awakening the people's inherent strength for their own all-round betterment is the ultimate goal of this project. An integrated community development program to improve the conditions of health, education, economy and self-government, etc. of the villages is envisaged.' For the rest, participants in the centenary did not pay a great deal of attention to Gandhi's views on modes of economic change, such as his concept of trusteeship. This only reflects the preoccupation of contemporary economic thought with modes which are dependent upon the use of the coercive powers of the state apparatus or political processes which have not abjured violence. Even such sarvodaya move-

ments as have been witnessed in India and Ceylon are limited in scope since the respective governments have continued to pursue legislative methods for economic change.

Those who preach and practise gandhian economics—in so far as there are any who practise it—have isolated one part of his methodology from the rest of it. Gandhi had a far more integrated concept of social action. He projected simultaneous action on a number of fronts, such as organizations of women, labour, crafts, village industries, basic education, etc.—all tending in the same direction, that of changing the motivations of people and thus bringing them together into a society in which moral bonds provide the necessary cohesion. In such a society, he believed, the means of ensuring economic justice and redistribution of wealth would not need any coercive sanctions. When, on the other hand, only one strand of gandhian action is pursued in isolation from the rest, it appears so ineffective and insignificant that it provokes no debate except perhaps as a concept. Gandhi's methodology can be assessed for its effectiveness, and would have attracted attention only in the context of the total frame of social and economic actions envisaged by him.

But for all the comprehensiveness of his objective, Gandhi wished to rely only on moral persuasion as the means. Social reforms have so far been attempted either by legislative methods or by educational methods or, to some extent, by a combination of the two. Governments pass laws against one social evil or another and then proceed to implement them. When the sanction of the law proves unavailing, they seek the aid of communication techniques and educational means. Gandhi's method of moral persuasion was different. He wanted public workers to demonstrate new values of life through their own living and thus to persuade others to imbibe them. When Harijan welfare campaigns were launched thousands of volunteers shed their inhibitions and started identifying

themselves with the poor and the depressed. Masses of volunteers, spinning and wearing khadi, began to live among and like the poor and the depressed. This is how Gandhi impregnated his campaigns with a moral force. Those who believe in other ideologies may dispute whether comprehensive change can be brought about by the persuasive force of example alone. But this was basic to the gandhian approach. Each of the social movements which Gandhi initiated primarily gave out vigorous moral calls to the people.

The movement to eliminate untouchability was the most important among them. Dr Usha Agarwal[25], Assistant Professor of South Asian History at the State University College, New Paltz, explained the magnitude of the problem of the outcaste and said: 'They were more or less like the slaves or serfs who served their master classes in almost all the major civilizations of ancient times. They constituted a significant appendage to the caste structural pattern of Indian social and economic system from the earliest times. Illiterate, overburdened with poverty, and always preoccupied with menial tasks, they gradually acquired mental and moral numbness, a sense of acute indifference towards their material progress and mental make-up.' Although Gandhi's was not the first effort for their uplift, it was the first comprehensive effort aimed at the emancipation of all the sixty millions of them. Gandhi remorsefully described untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism and said, as quoted by Mrs Agarwal, 'without the removal of the taint (of untouchability) swaraj is a meaningless term'. Following his nonviolence principle, Gandhi mobilized public opinion by holding large public meetings, conducting extensive tours, collecting funds, admitting Harijans to his ashrams, writing forcefully in his weekly magazine *Harijan* and by keeping repeated fasts in support of this cause. Dr Agarwal quoted Gandhi to illustrate his passionate commitment to the cause: 'I do not desire to be born again. But

if I am really born again, I desire to be born amidst the untouchables so as to share their difficulties, and work for their liberation.'

The epic fast that Gandhi undertook in 1932 on the question of a separate electorate for the untouchables was cited by many participants during the centenary. This was indeed an instance of Gandhi's approach to the problem. Gandhi protested against the decision of the British government, which he said was in keeping with their 'divide and rule policy', to put Harijans on a separate roster of voters from the caste Hindus. Gandhi began his fast on 20 September 1932. This spurred all groups in India to action. Finally the British government conceded joint electorates for the caste Hindus and Harijans with an increased number of seats reserved for the Harijans. Since then reservation of seats for the depressed classes has continued in Indian legislatures.

Hans Haste described[26] Gandhi's work for the Harijans thus: 'Gandhi lived among them. He shared their inhuman conditions. He ate their food, slept on their floor. He even performed the most despicable of all works: he cleaned up their latrines. He said to his supporters that they now had to choose: either let him down or accept the untouchables.' *La Nation* of Argentina, in an article on 22 August 1969, said, 'All his philosophy is aimed at service for the 'untouchables.' About the effectiveness of the campaign, however, two opinions were expressed during the centenary. Dr Agarwal noted that 'untouchability has been abolished' according to Article 15 of the Constitution of India. But she doubted whether Gandhi had succeeded in eradicating 'the last trace of untouchability from every Hindu heart'. The second view conceded that this doubt was justified but added that the movement which Gandhi initiated was irrevocable and a new climate was emerging in India which would remove untouchability. As Somnath Dhar, Indian Vice-Consul in San Francisco,

said, the wide codemnation of the advocacy of untouchability by the Shankaracharya of Puri was indicative of the new mood, and Gandhi had a lot to do with this.

Next to the untouchables Gandhi considered women to be the most oppressed section of Indian society. Pratap C. Dutta pointed[27] out how Gandhi thought that India's progress depended on the sacrifices of her women. To Gandhi they were not only a mass of manpower to be energized but they also symbolized a number of human values, like love and service. He did not want women to be either mere dolls or domestic drudges. On this Dutta quoted Gandhi again. 'To me this domestic slavery of women is a symbol of our barbarism. In my opinion, the slavery of the kitchen is a remnant of barbarism mainly. It is high time that our womankind was freed from this incubus. Domestic work ought not to take the whole of women's time.' And further: 'I am uncompromising in the matter of women's rights. In my opinion, she should labour under no legal disability.' Like Gokhale, Gandhi strongly advocated widow re-marriage, and even advised young men to take a vow to marry widows only. He was equally categorical about abolishing the dowry system. Dutta quotes him on this: 'The system has to go. Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement for money. The system is intimately connected with caste. Girls and boys and their parents will have to break the bonds of caste if the evil is to be eradicated.'

Gandhi's efforts to raise the status of women in India were discussed by Theodore Isaac. He pointed out[28] that Gandhi encouraged women to assume positions of leadership in the Congress. Sarojini Naidu, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Amrit Kaur and many others emerged as leaders under his encouragement.

The *Mauricien* of Port Louis, Mauritius, of 4 June 1969 published an interesting article on 'Woman according to

Gandhi's Thought of Work'. It quoted Gandhi as saying, 'On the lap of woman rests the future of India'. Gandhi attached so much importance to women because he believed that women shared more than men the ideals of love, sacrifice and service which he valued so much. Gandhi said, as quoted in this article, again, 'Women can better understand than man that peace and true freedom can be achieved but by the way of love'.

E. Van Itterbeek[20] critically discussed another aspect of Gandhi's views about women that one of the reasons for their status being poor was that they were considered to be only sexual objects by men. Gandhi aimed at liberating women from this condition and believed that the sexual acts should aim exclusively at procreation. Itterbeek said: 'Gandhi decided in 1901, at the age of 32, to give up sexual communion with his wife. In his Autobiography Gandhi writes that he met only with part success. In 1906, he made a vow of chastity...and according to his Autobiography, his wife Kasturba made no protest. According to Gandhi, Kasturba became truly emancipated only after he gave up sexual intercourse with her.' Commenting on Gandhi's functional view of sex, Itterbeek said: 'Gandhi's opposition to sexuality was part of his opposition to the very civilization against which Gandhi rose from his ethical option also, and from which he wanted by all means to keep India away. Eroticism as conceived by Georges Bataille has nothing to do with corruption or decay and similar things, but is intended as a kind of mystical attempt to perceive somehow the boundless totality of existence. This type of eroticism is again in opposition with the pseudo-religious glorification of woman, which is a product of the consumer-society. We are here alluding to functions of the Miss America type, of which Harvey Cox gives us a convincing socio-cultural description in his book called *The City of Man*. It would be wrong to fight contemporary

sexuality with Gandhi's conception of domination of sexual life. In the life of experience of today, sexuality's place is too complex to be brought down to schematizations of so simple a pattern.' In other words, according to Itterbeek, the new approach to sex which is manifesting itself in some radical quarters in the West is challenging the same value-system which Gandhi was challenging. Yet Gandhi's view of sex was so different from the new radical approach.

Another important social movement that Gandhi initiated was the basic education campaign. He wanted to introduce a system of education which would free Indians from the colonial legacies of the past and train their body and mind. Dr Husain Amin spoke on this on the Baghdad T. V. Amin pointed out that Gandhi insisted on the mental and spiritual training of the child to the extent he was trained for manual work. Thus Gandhi's educational scheme was quite consistent with his political values and socio-economic approach. It was meant to prepare everybody for some physical work for large scale labour intensive projects. It also aimed at preparing a child morally for living in a community based on love. At the time Gandhi advocated spiritual education. Dr Mohammad Altonji wrote about it, in the Syrian magazine *Al Mao'allem el-Arabi* of May-June 1969, in his article on 'Gandhi: A Fighting Human Teacher'. He wrote that according to Gandhi the spiritual education of students was more difficult to achieve than their physical and mental education. 'He believed that it was necessary to teach every student the principles of his religion and to get him acquainted with his religious books.' Gandhi wanted the entire educational system to be geared to India's needs and culture. He wanted English to be replaced by Hindi and other Indian languages as soon as posible. Dr. S. K. Shukla referred to a memorable instance from Gandhi's life in his lecture at a function in San Marino. Gandhi was invited to the opening

ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University, he said, and in the presence of the Viceroy of India expressed his 'deep humiliation and shame' at being obliged to 'address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me'.

Gandhi's sarvodaya samaj was the model of an ideal society which did not correspond to the western model of modernization. Its mass perspective and commitment to decentralization made for novel political and economic structures. The notion of development that underlay this model was intensely humanist and oriented towards the needs of the community as a whole. In order to realize these ends, Gandhi extended his nonviolent mode of action to the economic and social spheres; problems were to be solved in both spheres by the appeal of love, complemented by specific movements to raise the lot of the oppressed and the backward sections. In the sarvodaya samaj, the means for bringing about socio-economic transformation would be founded on the belief that human nature is always good. This belief was questioned by many participants in the centenary celebration but many were also inspired by it. In fact, the current trend in the West which challenges the commercial bureaucratic culture of the capitalist world in a way acknowledges Gandhi, while in the developing countries the special significance of the ideals of the sarvodaya samaj is being increasingly incorporated into state policy, especially with regard to the principle and goals of economic development.

1. Op. cit.
2. At the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Hall, 20 November 1969.
3. In a radio broadcast, 28 September 1969.
4. Op. cit.
5. UNESCO Symposium.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

9. Op. cit.
10. At the commemorative meeting organized by the India Association, Hong Kong, 2 October 1969.
11. Op. cit.
12. Op. cit.
13. Seminar in Kabul, 16 October 1968.
14. Ibid.
15. In an article, 'Nonviolence with Gandhi', in 'Kultuurleven', February 1970.
16. UNESCO Symposium.
17. Ibid.
18. In his Gandhi Memorial Lectures at the University College, Nairobi, entitled 'Reflections on Science and Technology'.
19. Op. cit.
20. Op. cit.
21. Op. cit.
22. In an essay 'Gandhi as a practical economist', in the Philippine Collection.
23. 'Morning Post' (Lagos) 2 October 1969.
24. 'Dakar Martin' (Senegal).
25. In a paper, 'Gandhi's Harijans', presented at the seminar at the College, 26 April 1969.
26. In a Swedish paper, 'Freden', 8 October 1968.
27. In an article, 'Mahatma Gandhi and Women', in the Philippine collection.
28. In an article in 'Filii Tui', Propaganda College, Rome.
29. In 'Kultuurleven', 1970.

SYMPHONY OF FAITHS

On the Mount in Galilee, Christ said: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit. Blessed are the peace-makers. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness.' It was that part of Christ's teaching which appealed to Gandhi. It was that part of Christ's teaching that he followed.

— ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Religion has been seen by people either as the cause or the effect of the main social forces which shape society; either as the creator or product of these forces. Those who take it as the cause and creator also look upon it as a cultural system which is ubiquitous in society and as the force which underlies all sectors of social life. Those who see it as the effect or product see it as only a cluster of symbols which are expressions of other dominant forces in the environment; its symbols are to them one of the many sets of symbols which a society may evolve for itself. In the latter view, religious behaviour is a manifestation of economic behaviour, to be treated on the same plane as economic and political systems.

Gandhi took the maximal view. To him religion was a basic motive force in society. He took it as a cultural system and wanted to build his political and economic structures upon it. His view of society started with religious or ethical as-

prayers and Ramdhuns in various countries. The participation of people from different religious denominations itself indicated both Gandhi's religiosity as well as his catholicism. In London's Chalk Farm an international Ramdhun was organized for twenty-four hours on 1-2 October 1968. Miss Rosalind Schama took the main initiative in organizing it in cooperation with Christian Action. In Berlin also, the Carl-Duisberg Society conducted a Ramdhun. In Dundee, 'Friends of Gandhi' organized an All Faiths Service. In the service at the Washington Cathedral, there was clear appreciation of Gandhi's universalism. Dean Sayre of the Cathedral and former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey paid glowing tributes to Gandhi who, they said, embodied the best of all religions.[1]

A centennial brochure in Washington explained the basis of Gandhi's universalism by quoting from him: 'There is no religion higher than truth or righteousness. The highest morality is universal.' Again: 'Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals.' Here is an important aspect of Gandhi's view of religion: his search for the common basis of all religions was so passionate that he deeply believed in the unity of all. He wanted to ascribe the differences among religions to existential factors. Each man had peculiarities of his own. But, he argued, all men and all cultures had the same common human values and therefore essentially the same religion. The symbols which different religions possessed were only apparently different in his view; they had an underlying unity. He went further: he wanted to see abolished those symbols to which a divisive character had been ascribed. The essential unity of all religions must be maintained, Gandhi argued. The Washington brochure printed interesting quotes

from Gandhi on this: 'Temples or mosques or churches... I make no distinction between these different abodes of God. They are what faith has made them. They are an answer to man's craving somehow to reach the Unseen.... So long as there are different religions, every one of them may need some distinctive symbol. But when the symbol is made into a fetish and an instrument for proving the superiority of one man's religion over another's, it is fit to be discarded.'

Gandhi believed that discovering and abiding by the true essence of his religion would automatically make a person universal, tolerant and harmonious. A good Hindu would then necessarily respect a good Muslim and vice versa for they would both realize the common truth of their respective religions. 'God has created different faiths just as He has the votaries thereof', the Washington brochure said, quoting Gandhi. 'How can I even secretly harbour the thougt that my neighbour's faith is inferior to mine and wish that he should give up his faith and embrace mine? As a true and loyal friend, I can only wish and pray that he may live and grow perfect in his own faith. In God's house there are many mansions and they are equally holy.... If a man reaches the heart of his own religion, he has reached the heart of the others too.'

Gandhi's approach to religious harmony was discussed by Robert Lawson Slater, Professor Emeritus of World Religions, Harvard Divinity School. In his preface to K.L.S. Rao's *Gandhi and C.F. Andrews,* which was published during the centenary year, Slater spoke of 'the coming dialogue between the great religions of mankind'. Rao described the friendship and understanding between the universal Hindu and the universal Christian. This was an example of what Gandhi called 'reverence for all religions'. Slater pointed out that the author was himself attracted to a study of Christianity under the influence of Gandhi and not out of any per-

suasion by missionaries. Thus, he argued Gandhi exemplified the need to study the several ways of faith by which people live and to arrive at a common understanding of them.

However, not everybody understood Gandhi's universalism. His use of Hindu symbols sometimes made him appear a sectarian Hindu leader in the eyes of some of his political rivals. This impression was not altogether absent in the discussions during the centenary year. Z. Chatty Hechmi called Gandhi the 'champion of Hindu independence' and alleged that 'Gandhi wanted a return to primitive Hinduism'. He also said that 'there was not a single custom in the old Hindu society...which he did not find wonderful and justify by new arguments'.[2] Such views could only have resulted from a very scanty acquaintance with Gandhi's actions and writings. In a rejoinder to the author, published in the same paper on 17 September 1969, India's Charge d' Affaires in Tunis, S.W. Zaman, pointed out that Gandhi fought for the rights of all communities and one of his major objectives was Hindu-Muslim unity. Lord Mountbatten also gave varied accounts of Gandhi's efforts to maintain communal harmony. In his address at St Paul's Cathedral in London, he recalled the days of the religious riots following the partition in 1947, when Gandhi's personal efforts in Bengal achieved what thousands of troops had not in Punjab.

Hechmi misunderstood Gandhi's approach as revival of primitive Hinduism. Gandhi was undoubtedly in favour of the maintenance of all that was best in the Indian tradition. But the evil social practices which had come to be associated with Hinduism he wanted to eradicate by all the means available to him. Hence his programs, discussed in earlier pages, of social action for the moral regeneration of Indian society. Zaman in his rejoinder quoted Gandhi on untouchability and Hinduism, 'I would far rather that Hinduism

died than that untouchability lived.' In fact, Gandhi discarded these social evils as having nothing to do with Hinduism.

While Gandhi made religion all important, he dissociated it from its two possible dysfunctions: disunity and stagnation. He looked upon each religion as universal and therefore tried to ensure religious harmony. He viewed religion as a constantly developing force, constantly acquiring better dimensions and giving up the unhealthy elements. Thus alone could he find in religion the basis for the creation of a just society.

The great importance that Gandhi attached to religion can be seen at three levels. First, at the level of assumptions, because Gandhi started from religious premises. Second, goals, which were clearly religious. Lastly, at the level of the instruments of action or the means of realizing his goals, which were also related to religion. Each of the three levels will bear separate scrutiny, though they reveal the total place of religion in Gandhism only when they are seen together.

In earlier chapters we have referred to Gandhi's ethical assumptions. For example, as Allwyn D'Silva pointed out[8], although Gandhi's political and economic arguments dwelt upon a certain notion of human nature, this notion itself, that human nature is good, he derived from his understanding of religion. So was his assumption that nonviolence is valid and important. In sum, as pointed out by Indira Rothermund in her article on Gandhi's view of the individual and society, to which a reference has been made earlier, dharma as understood in ancient India was the basis of Gandhi's political and economic approach. In his later writings, Gandhi always sought religious sanctions for his starting assumptions. It is not very clear whether Gandhi independently articulated these starting points on the basis of his understanding of the world and found sanction for these in his own and others' religions or, alternatively, he carefully

studied religions and arrived at the assumptions. Perhaps both processes were involved in the evolution of his thinking. Religious education was built into his cultural upbringing right from his childhood. On the other hand some other writings which, as he acknowledges, had strong influence on him — the writings of Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy — were not religious in the scriptural sense.

Gandhi's goals were clearly described in religious terms. As we saw in the preceding chapter, Gandhi's aim was to bring about the moral regeneration of people. Haridas T. Mazumdar[4] said that in *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi put moksha or the realization of God as his goal. Therefore the measures of social and economic development he preached were tied to religious standards. In this respect an interesting paradox came out clearly during the centenary celebrations. Some religious people saw in Gandhi a great man of religion. Others who do not put a high premium on religion saw Gandhi's goals to be the same as other great secular goals.

At the level of instruments of action Gandhi invoked religion, as Jayaprakash Narayan pointed out at the Kabul seminar, to commit the oppressed to the policy of moral persuasion and to help the oppressor in accepting changes in his mode of life and action which would put an end to his oppression. Thus at the level of both the oppressor and the oppressed he sought the aid of religion to bring about nonviolent transformation. He also used religious symbols to create moral norms for satyagrahis in particular and for the people in general. Gandhi's prayer meetings became a normal part of Congress activities everywhere. The scriptures of all religions were read at these meetings. The two songs which Gandhi used for his prayer meetings — 'Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram' and 'Vaishnav Jana To Tene Kahiye' — which were sung at a number of ceremonies connected with the centenary celebrations, became household songs all over

India. Gandhi made the *Bhagavad Gita* still more popular. The three monkeys symbolizing the virtues of not seeing, hearing or speaking any evil were a familiar part of his personal belongings and surroundings. Fasting, a famous element in his instruments of action, is a religious practice both of the Hindus and Muslims; he used it both for self-purification and for arousing the conscience of the people and the adversary, a fact commemorated by the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee of Greater Chicago which organized a twelve-hour fast on 4 October 1969.

It may be asked: did Gandhi use religious symbols for tactical reason only, for influencing people by appealing to their age-old religious sentiments? It was argued by some during the celebrations that Gandhi's main aim was to create mass support for the causes that he upheld. Therefore, instead of attacking the people's religious behaviour and alienating them, he only used religious symbols to attract their attention and to mobilize them. There may be some truth in this argument because Gandhi was very careful in choosing only those rituals for his organization which were consistent with his overall framework. But it stretches the argument too far to say that Gandhi used religion only for tactical purposes. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the influence of religion can not only be seen in the modes of Gandhi's action but also at the source of his assumptions as well as in the definition of his goals. This takes us back to the point made earlier that Gandhi attached a great deal of importance to religion, and taking the maximal view of it, treated religion as culture, something which influences thoughts, goals and actions and is much more than a strategic tool.

A specific aspect of the place of religion in Gandhi, his concept of God, received the attention of Allwyn D'Silva[5], who pointed out that Gandhi came from an orthodox Vaish-

nava family and his religious environment created in him a firm faith in an omniscient and omnipotent God. Gandhi took it as an assumption and not a rational fact. He quoted Gandhi: 'Belief in God has to be based on faith which transcends reason. Indeed, the so-called realization has at bottom an element of faith without which it cannot be sustained.'

At the same time Gandhi said that at least to a limited extent it was possible to reason out the existence of God. D'Silva explained that the heart and emotions were inadequate means for a man who would find his way to God. Reason too had to play a part, and D'Silva pointed out that Gandhi noticed this clearly. He quoted Gandhi as saying: 'If we exist, if our parents and their parents existed, then it is proper to believe in the existence of a parent of the whole of creation.' Gandhi also cited, according to D'Silva, 'the long tradition, the general consent of the human race throughout the world and throughout the ages, affirming the existence of God', and then humorously added: 'We are living in a democratic age in which the majority holds the reins, and they believe in the existence of God.' But according to D'Silva, the most evident argument of God's existence for Gandhi was his personal, direct experience with God. He felt God's presence in him and in everything around him. D'Silva quoted Gandhi: 'As days pass, I feel this living presence in every fibre of my veins.... I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. ... I can testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him.'

Gandhi did not leave his understanding of religion and God in the realm of the abstract. He worked out the social implications of his religious concepts and made them the basis of his thought and action. The concepts of truth and love pervaded all levels of Gandhi's thinking. In order to stress the importance of these values Gandhi took God to

be synonymous with truth. D'Silva quoted Gandhi on this: 'Deep down in me I used to say that though God may be God, God is truth above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But ... I went a step further and said "Truth is God".'

Expression of Gandhi's faith in God through concrete practice was illustrated by Dr Haridas T. Mazumdar[6]. He gave two reasons for which the quality of Gandhi's life arrested the attention of mankind: one, that he practised the presence of God in his inner life and the other, that he practised ahimsa and satya in all his external actions. Thus Gandhi's faith in God influenced his beliefs as well as his political actions. Mazumdar discussed in this context the unity of religion and politics in Gandhi. He referred to a letter which Gandhi wrote to his friend and early biographer in South Africa, Rev. Joseph J. Doke, in which Gandhi said: 'Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man.' Explaining how Gandhi practised the presence of God in his life, Mazumdar quoted Gandhi again: 'I am part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him (God) apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity.' Thus, as Mazumdar also argued, Gandhi did not visualize God as an abstraction unrelated to the people of this world and their problems. He saw the presence of God in his fellowmen and, like Vivekananda, defined the worship of God in terms of service to humanity. The way Gandhi defined the character of religion and God was such that many atheists became his

followers and remained atheists still.

That God meant to Gandhi a set of higher social values was also pointed out by Mr Benjelloun[7]. He wrote that in our age of widespread moral decay Gandhi brought in religion to establish certain moral values. Further: 'Moral progress has not kept pace with material progress in our age. Things deteriorated when human values were falsified and truth misrepresented.' In this situation Gandhi represented a reverse trend. Benjelloun said: 'The life of the Mahatma in this centenary is likened to a spiritual dynamism dedicated to an effort to prevent the abasement of humanity to the level of materialism. The social, religious and political aspects of life were complementary to each other in Gandhi's framework.'

Fr Giovanni Zampetti referred[8] to Gandhi's practice of religion in his day to day life. He spoke of the prayer meetings where passages from the *Gita*, the Vedas, the Bible and other sacred books of the various Indian communities were read. Every time he spoke at these meetings, Gandhi used to give a brief address reflecting his profound convictions and religious experiences. Prayer meetings were extremely functional instruments for explaining issues and arousing public opinion. Referring to Gandhi's program of social work for the oppressed classes, Fr Zampetti wrote, 'For him work meant adoration and prayer'. He also mentioned the religious norms like simplicity and celibacy which Gandhi practised in his life. He said that these were two monastic vows which Gandhi advocated for his organization. This was also true of the totality of Gandhi's thought and action. As Fr Zampetti put it: 'The very political activities of Gandhi were inspired by a strong theistic faith and lay moral and ethical values derived from the *Gita* and from the Gospel.'

In the totality, then, Gandhi defined religion in universal terms which would unite people of all religions. He empha-

sized the need for faith in God and the importance of religious principles. In doing so he wanted people from all religions to maintain their special symbols of identity and at the same time practise the common essence of all religions. Finally he translated this common essence into social norms and practices which could further his socio-economic goals.

This approach of Gandhi to religion had a definite value in the context in which he advocated it. The growing tension between Hindu and Muslims perturbed Gandhi a great deal. In fact, during the last decade of his life, his major preoccupation was harmony between Hindus and Muslims. If he was able to urge them to unite without hurting their religious sentiments, it was only because of this approach of religious harmony which he evolved. It was important for him to get the support of both Hindu and Muslim masses for the national freedom movement. At the same time he did not wish to advocate replacing religion with secular values because this, apart from the fact that he did not believe in it, might have alienated the masses. Therefore, Gandhi's approach was to seek to purify religions rather than to replace them. Purification of religion and the upholding of some of the ancient Indian religious values were complementary to Gandhi's political strategy; they gave a sense of national importance to the Indians, apart from providing a frame in which men of diverse religions could be brought within the frame of the national movement.

Gandhi's efforts to create and maintain religious harmony were gratefully recollected during the centenary celebrations. As Prof. Bognar put it in the Budapest symposium, 'His efforts in trying to bring about reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims are immeasurable'. Hans Haste discussed Gandhi's efforts to propagate religious amity. Gandhi had all along rejected the idea of the partition of India.

He devoted the last years of his life to an effort to prevent the disaster. He wanted reconciliation. As Haste puts it: 'He was a Hindu who preached the rights of the Moslems. He pleaded for the majority to treat the minority with mildness and justice. But it was all in vain, the country was divided.... Tens of millions of people were forced to flee, the history of Asia followed another course. Gandhi was not in a position to prevent it. In the end, he became himself a victim. A fanatic Hindu, who could not forgive Gandhi for speaking in favour of the Muslims' rights, murdered him. This fact, that Gandhi was assassinated because of the religious tolerance he preached, has become a memory which haunts the conscience of the people. Therefore, it was appropriate that the theme of the centenary celebrations in India was "communal harmony".'

Yet the Ahmedabad riots occurred in the centenary year and many participants in the celebrations mournfully referred to this as a reminder of how little Gandhi's ideas have been put into practice in India. Observers wondered why this was so. One of the answers is that Gandhi's religion was part of his whole system, which was an ideal system. It could be practised only in a sarvodaya polity, in which certain necessary socio-economic conditions for a moral living would be possible and higher human values would have replaced others. In any other society the practice of Gandhian religious harmony is very difficult.

As Prof. Bognar pointed out, Nehru symbolized a model of secularism which meant substitution of religious norms by modern rational norms, and rational political and economic actions which were not necessarily linked to any religious principle. As an admirer of western science and technology, Nehru's method was understandable. But Gandhi represented a different approach and when political decisions were taken in the Congress both before independence and after-

wards, Gandhi's approach had more votaries. The strength of the western educated elite, who were Nehru's main constituency in this respect, was overwhelmed by the strength of India's traditional elite when mass politics appeared on the Indian scene with Gandhi. Therefore when the Constitution of India was drafted the preference of the dominant Indian view was read into it. It did not make the state specifically secular; it gave freedom of belief, profession and practice to all religions as a fundamental rights of the citizens of India. Given the nature of Indian society, it is not surprising that a religion, and especially Hinduism, continued to occupy a dominant place in public life even after independence.

During the centenary Badshah Khan constantly reminded everyone of India's progressive deviation from Gandhi's way. The Constitution of India did not create a sarvodaya samaj of Gandhi's dream. On the other hand, it created a power-system of decision-making and control, with certain policy objectives and procedures. In the pages of the Constitution several gandhian ideas found space. Abolition of untouchability and religious freedom are two of them. But the important point here is that while these and other gandhian ideas were conceived in the plausible framework of a total gandhian system, the Indian polity picked up only a few gandhian slogans and tried to give them a frame independent of the total gandhian concept of social reorganization.

As far as religious harmony is concerned, constitutional provisions and their practice legitimatized Gandhi's approach rather than Nehru's. As G. Ramachandran mentioned[9] all religions have flourished in free India under the legal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Even under Nehru's leadership, the state aided and protected religious practices. But although the general thrust of India's planning process

is to build a modern secular state in terms of policy and the Constitution, tolerance of all religions has only led to the simultaneous reassertion of the orthodoxy of all religions rather than to a secular society. As a result, political practice in India today does not provide a clear definition of state policy towards religion, which hovers between the secular approach and the approach of religious tolerance. This has confused many observers of the Indian scene, and some of the confusion found expression in the centenary celebrations also. In fact, a delegate to the UNESCO symposium in Paris described religious tolerance as secularism. A.G. Ravan Farhadi, Director-General, Political Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, said: 'For a modern state, a "democratic" country, what does secularism mean? (It means) respect for other religions and especially the separation of church and state; in other words, having believers of different faiths live side by side, a desacralization of public precincts and activities.' In the last part of his answer to his own question, Farhadi makes a valid point that in a secular system, governmental activities are not conducted according to any religion. But in all parliamentary systems the government only reflects society and where the society happens to be as pluralistic as India's is, 'desacralization of public precincts and activities' is not possible.

The recurrence of religious strife in India is a sad commentary on the official approach to religion. To what extent Gandhi's aproach, which underlies India's state policy on religion, is itself responsible for this will continue to be debated. But the spread of religion in Gandhi's thought was the source of certain extra-rational elements in it. This is why Gunnar Myrdal, while describing Gandhi as a 'radical liberal', said that he also had 'irrational' elements in his thinking.[10] Referring to this Hans Haste said, 'Rational

Nehru was wiser than the spiritual Gandhi'.[11] An unintended consequence of the emphasis on religion was the self-assertion of religious groups based on their religious identity. Gandhi wanted to resist the growth of such parochialism by stressing the universality and the common essence of all religions. In the sarvodaya samaj, participation, economic equality and ethical conduct would have brought about the religious universalism of the gandhian concept. But the acceptance of his approach to religion unaccompanied by his other ideas has proved that it does not work.

1. The 'Statesman' (New Delhi) 20 September 1969.
2. In an article, 'Homage to Gandhi', 'L'Action', 14 August 1969.
3. In his article in 'Filii Tui'.
4. In the service at New York's Community Church.
5. Op. cit.
6. In his talk at New York's Community Church, 5 October 1969.
7. In an article in the Arab daily, 'Al Amal', 4 October 1968.
8. In the Vatican's organ, 'L'Observatore Romano', 26 December 1968.
9. UNESCO Symposium.
10. Op. cit.
11. Op. cit.

MILITANT NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolence is not a gadget to get what we used to try to get through violence and much trouble in the pre-gandhian days, just as we get cooking energy from electricity instead of from coal or wood fuel. Mahatma Gandhi's technique is no doubt presentation of love and truth in any confrontation against evil. But love and truth are not available in the market. We cannot procure them as we can procure rifles and pistols. They can issue only out of faith in God.

—C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The world celebrated the Gandhi centenary in the midst of the war in Vietnam, military tensions in West Asia, racial riots in Malaysia and the United States, the civil war in Biafra and communal troubles as well as political agitations in India. Acutely conscious of this environment, which was full of violence and agony, several public leaders and intellectuals recalled Gandhi's concept of nonviolence. Perhaps the place of nonviolence in Gandhi's approach to the problems of India's political freedom and social transformation would have come to the fore in any case in the course of the centenary celebrations. This is after all regarded as

Gandhi's most distinctive contribution; it is the one idea in his philosophy of action which occupied him most, and the posthumous image of Gandhi, mainly cast by Indians, highlights nonviolence much more than his struggle for social transformation. But the environment of violence in the world towards the close of the 'sixties made it inevitable that this aspect of Gandhism should attract the most anguished attention.

Typical of the times was a comment made by Mrs Gandhi.[1] She said: 'I hesitate to speak of the other great teaching left us by Gandhi — nonviolence. I hesitate not because I find any justification for violence. But mankind has accumulated such a fearful store of weapons of destruction that I sometimes wonder whether we have any right to hope. Wars still erupt here and there but even more distressing and alarming is the growth in all parts of the world of hatred in thought and violence in action, and the reckless recourse to the agitational approach.' That the principle of nonviolence was central to Gandhi's thought and action throughout his life was underscored in all celebrations. A survey of the topics on which lectures and discussions were organized in various countries indicates that the largest number related to nonviolence. This was only natural, for Gandhi dedicated his entire life to the cause of love, peace and human brotherhood. In a comment matching Mrs Gandhi's, Hubert Humphrey said in a message to the Greater Chicago Gandhi Centenary Celebrations Committee: 'There has never been a time of greater need for policies of nonviolence and for policies which bring men together to resolve their common problems'. The Information Minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Khac Tinh, speaking at a rally in Saigon appropriately remarked that the Gandhi Centenary was being celebrated in the midst of so much violence: hence, he said, the special significance of Gandhi. Expressing the same senti-

ment Geoffrey Ashe said in a lecture in London that Gandhi's principle of nonviolence should be the motto of the space age. Mr D. Thecoor wrote a series of articles in the *Advance* of Mauritius on 'Satyagraha in South Africa'. He also said that circumstances were still persisting in Africa which made satyagraha even more relevant today. Mr R. R. Diwakar, Honorary Secretary of the Indian National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary, also pointed this out and said: 'The realization of truth through nonviolence is of particular relevance today when the alternative to nonviolence is nonexistence.'[2]

Many others remembered Gandhi only as an escape from the sight of killings on television and extensive reports about them in newspapers and on the radio. They asked instead that the media should show finer human qualities at work. In October 1963, the *Guardian*'s Letters to the Editor columns were filled with writing on 'Violence and the Press'. Some people pointed to the gandhian alternative to violent action. There were others who reacted to some instances of rebellious youth resorting to violence and remembered Gandhi. Klaus Natorp said:[3] 'Life is very difficult for a Gandhi these days. It is the time of those who preach violence. Rebellious youth carry posters depicting preachers of violent revolution. Even if part of the adoration of force is only a temporary fashion, it must be feared that it will take a long time before people will be able genuinely to esteem the value of Gandhi's legacy.' In praise of the legacy, however, a British poetess, Helen Mayer, wrote a 'Song for the Gandhi Centenary Year', and quite appropriately she called at 'Soul Force'.

We shall not fly in bombers causing havoc with napalm
Nor with force from the barrel of a gun
But the force we generate your wrath will calm
It's the force from the soul of everyone
With soul force we'll look to the

needs of our brother
In a world that's our universal home
One united new world will be ours
We'll have no other
We'll be singing our song as we roam.
Spreading soul force—imbibing soul force
Forging bonds of caring love and trust
I and thou's own dialogue, Mr Everybody,
Power blocs will crumble in the dust.

As in Gandhi's own time, so in the celebrations, his notion of nonviolence continued to be diversely interpreted by people. To some it was an ideal that all men should cherish, to others a value guiding thought and action, to others yet a policy which was desirable and effective in certain circumstances, a practical tool to be used according to the capabilities of the user, and to some a technique suggesting one range of actions which may be supplemented or even substituted by other techniques if the situation so demanded. Each one of these different interpretations was usually supported by quoting from Gandhi's words and citing Gandhi's actions. In an interesting discussion over Cairo Radio the participants debated nonviolence as a principle, a mode of action, a way of life and a way of thinking.

It was natural that during the celebrations differences should come up in the perception of gandhian nonviolence. Natural, firstly, because everybody who participated in the centenary was not a Gandhian. Gandhi represented for them a model value system which could be studied with detachment. Secondly, because people viewed Gandhi from different social, political and territorial positions. Therefore lack of uniformity in understanding Gandhi and his theory of nonviolence should not be considered unfortunate; it helped to put Gandhi in a clearer context of relevance.

The positive content of the principle of nonviolence was

universally recognized. As Berlin's Mayor Klaus Schutz put it:[4] 'Nonviolence does not mean passivity or political vegetarianism. It is an active attitude, it permits the right for justice, challenges the opponent to declare himself.' More elaborately explaining the ends of nonviolence, Dr Haridas T. Mazumdar discussed the meaning of the concept.[5] He said that by nonviolence Gandhi did not mean surrender to evil or injustice, but 'the pitting of one's soul against the will of the tyrant'. According to the philosophy of soul force there were three types of human beings, he explained: 1. the coward who supinely submits to injustice in order to save his skin, 2. the brave man who is eager to redeem injustice by brute force methods, willing to kill and ready to be killed, 3. the superior person, the satyagrahi, the believer in and practitioner of nonviolence, who in the fulness of his strength, using soul force methods, forgives the wrong-doer and attempts to convert him to right-doing through nonviolence and love. He drew corroboration for this from what Gandhi himself had said: 'Nonviolence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and it knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.' And strength, contended Gandhi, came not from physical capacity but 'from an indomitable will'. Gandhi said: 'Nonviolence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering.'

Hubert Humphrey made an interesting reference to the premises of the concept of nonviolence.[6] As Gandhi's life was spent in pursuit of justice without violence, so also the time and cause of his death were moving symbols of our continued existence between the threats of personal, immediate violence and the final violent end of man. Humphrey added: 'The futility and desolation of both kinds of violence force us to re-examine Gandhi's basic premises that great ends

do not justify all means to achieve them; that great ends do demand sufficient means. Good causes are too often lost by means that are unworthy to achieve them. Violence in the name of peace is no more just than policies which breed despair.'

The principle of nonviolence can be better understood as a part of the more positive concept, satyagraha, comprising truth, nonviolence and self-suffering, as N. N. Panicker, a student of the University of California, Berkeley, explained in his prize-winning essay. Adherence to nonviolence, he said, was a natural consequence of the realization of the fact that no one was infallible; a satyagrahi would not struggle to achieve his pre-planned ends but to realize relative truth as judged by human needs. In fact, in the gandhian framework, ends were only conceived of as a culmination of the means. Gandhi used to say, 'Ends and means are mutually convertible.' In other words, the means are merely ends-in-the making, or as Ferdinand Lassalle wrote:

> Point not the goal until you plot the course
> For ends and means to man are tangled so
> That different means quite different aims enforce:
> Conceive the means as ends in embryo.

The concept of satyagraha was analytically examined by Fr Thomas Vellilamthadam.[7] According to him, Gandhi's notion of truth restates the traditional definition that truth is the correspondence of our perception of a fact to the fact itself. Perception and knowledge of truth are only preliminary phases, and knowledge must have its fulfilment in action. Thus 'right action', or rita in Vedic language, must go together with truth or satya. It is in this existential truth of everyday life that Gandhi sought always a correspondence between thought and action. Satyagraha means holding on to this truth or soul-force. As the author put it: 'It is the inner self in which every person possesses a power or strength

of mind which makes him capable of pursuing his ends in a regulated and restrained manner.' As Panicker pointed out in his eassy, the principle of nonviolence was derived from this basic notion about truth. Moral strength was the major resource of the nonviolent mode of action. Moral purpose gave it an element of invincibility.

Nonviolence as an effective strategic principle was explained by the American Civil Rights Leader, Rev. Jesse Jackson, in Chicago.[8] Rev. Jackson gave examples of the 1966 'Open House Marches' in Chicago and the 1969 Black Coalition's fight for jobs and said: 'The oppressor will react to suffering. Therefore the oppressed must take their suffering and make of it a strategy to split the oppressor.' Rev. Jackson quoted Martin Luther King as having put forth the same nonviolent argument that Gandhi did. King had said at Selma: 'We split the oppressor by assuming that the oppressor was not a mean man, but a sick one; we saw the oppressor as a brother, not as enemy—and if the oppressor is a sick man, then the suffering man must be his doctor.' Rev. Jackson added: 'We seek to liberate the oppressor by making him come out of himself, by raising the issues. We make him use the chin-bar of love and justice, and if it hurts, it is because love demands so much of him.'

Senator Diokno of the Philippines also interpreted nonviolence as a 'technique of mass force based on truth and moved by love or nonviolence'. Though this technique seems similar to traditional methods, it is also something new. According to Diokno,[9] satyagraha is 'based upon truth as one sees it, not upon advantage, and its ultimate objective is not to achieve victory, but to convince its opponents of the morality and validity of its ends'. Therefore, though at first sight it may seem that Diokno described nonviolence as a technique, in fact he attributes much more moral value to it than is due to a technique.

According to C. Rajagopalachari, nonviolence is not merely a 'technique' for resolving conflicts, it is 'the moral energy' which 'came from faith and true religious devotion'. Writing[10] on 'Violence in the Heart', Rajaji said: 'Nonviolence is not a gadget to get what we used to try to get through violence and much trouble in the pre-gandhian days, just as we get cooking energy from electricity instead of from coal or wood fuel. Mahatma Gandhi's technique is no doubt presentation of love and truth in any confrontation against evil. But love and truth are not available in the market. We cannot procure them as we can procure rifles and pistols. They can issue only out of faith in God.' Rajaji went on to stress another basic premise of the notion of nonviolence, namely, the goodness in all men, including the adversaries. 'The secret presence of God in the hearts of all beings is the secret of satyagraha. The moral appeal of soul force can reach the heart of the antagonist if it is realized that he too has a godly quality in him.'

Johan Galtung compared the concept of nonviolence with some of the ideas of the New Liberal Movement.[11] According to him, the means of struggle in both cases had to be found within the existing environment. He wrote: 'It was to be a struggle between one party and the other; but this struggle was to be fought out within the system itself, with the system's own means, and first of all by strengthening one's own party and not by direct attacks on the opposite party.' Galtung also pointed out a difference between Gandhi and the New Liberal Movement on the perception of the antagonist. Gandhi, he said, was more like the Quakers, who thought that there was something of God in every human being. Gandhi strongly distinguished between what a human being did by virtue of his position in society and what a human being could do by virtue of being human, which gave him the potential. This was the basic premise of the non-

violent argument. Another premise was the concept of victory, a very different concept from the New Liberal Movement's according to Galtung. Purification and moral strengthening in the course of the struggle were more important than achieving the targets in the ordinary sense. According to Galtung this was a distinctly eastern approach. Galtung, however, did not elaborate the differences betwen Gandhi and the New Liberal Movement. The latter may also claim to be aiming at changing social conditions and human motives as well as purifying them. Yet the tenor of Galtung's argument suggests that according to him the ethical fervour was far greater than among the New Liberals.

The logic of nonviolent action came out rather well in the clash of interpretations during the centenary discussions. The force that is available to every man, it was argued, is soul force or the capacity to have the determination to achieve one's objective, to love the antagonist and trust his good sense and to demonstrate one's unlimited power of self-suffering. Joan V. Bondurant presented the argument very well.[12] 'One who uses satyagraha develops an interacting force with his opponent, and this produces a new movement which may change the direction or even the content of force. The satyagrahi engages his opponent in a manner designed to transform the complexity of relationship so that a new pattern emerges. The subtleties of response from the opponent are channelled back into the satyagrahi's movement and these responding pressures are allowed the maximum opportunity to influence subsequent acts and even to modify the content of the initial claims and objectives. The conflict is thus conducted in such a manner that both sides triumph and neither side loses, because the effect of satyagraha is to move both sides towards truth.'

Stressing the moral force underlying nonviolence, Magdolena Villaba-Cue said,[13] 'Nonviolence means a strong un-

wavering resistance to the onslaught of evil. It is an intensely active force when properly understood and used.' The writer of an article in the Tunisian paper, *L'Action,* of 14 August 1969 gave an interpretation which appears to be slightly at variance with what nonviolence implies in the fulness of the term, but that may have been only because his use of words is different from a gandhian's. In his opinion, Gandhi's concept of nonviolence rejected the use of strength. 'His doctrine absolutely rejected the recourse to strength. Gandhi does not preach resignation, but he forbids the use of strength in resistance.' The writer has perhaps attributed a narrow meaning to the word 'strength'. Gandhi abjured only physical force, not moral strength. To have abjured the use of all forms of strength would have reduced nonviolence to a form of passivity, to which Gandhi was so opposed that in certain situations he would have preferred violence. He regarded passive submission to be worthy only of the weak and cowardly. As he said in a quotation used by many participants in the centenary celebrations, 'I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence....I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.' One consequence of this quotation was that many analysts understood nonviolence to be not an absolute concept but related to certain circumstances.

Galtung pointed out what he believed to be a weakness in the case for nonviolence which is worth discussing. He said that in the early years of the practice of nonviolence, the strategy had a 'factor of surprise'. Nonviolent action achieved a certain impact because the British were almost paralyzed by suddenly being brought face to face with something which they did not really know how to handle. During the late 'thirties and subsequently, however, nonviolent

strategy became less effective because by then the British had finally formed a clear conception of how nonviolence was to be tackled. While the limitation detected by Galtung is partly correct, it can be exaggerated because with every new experience, the nonviolent struggle also acquires new dimensions of organization and strength. That is why the civil disobedience movement was better organized and more extensive than the non-cooperation movement. The Quit India Movement carried unprecedented militancy and mass determination. Thus every mass strategy has enormous room for reformulation and development. Galtung himself compared nonviolent struggle with revolutionary guerrilla warfare. Applying his own argument, it can be said that the successes of a guerrilla movement cannot be ascribed only to the factor of surprise. During World War II, the Chinese Communist forces had this factor on their side and were able to put the Japanese forces in China at a disadvantage. But later, when imperialist armies faced guerrilla forces in Vietnam and other places, they did not suffer the disadvantage of surprise and yet they were forced on to the defensive, because guerrilla techniques had also evolved to new levels of effectiveness.

There was indeed the theoretical possibility, explained among others by Bondurant, that nonviolence may discover new capabilities in the face of new challenges. But the possibility remained untested. One participant, Dr Thomas Nyquist, of the State University College at New Paltz, gave edge to the incompleteness of the demonstrated efficacy of nonviolence when he quoted an African leader as saying in South Africa, 'If we tried to lie down across the railway tracks here in South Africa, the Afrikaners (people of Dutch descent in South Africa) would have run the trains right over our bodies.' The fact that the comment was made in the country where Gandhi made his first experiments in

satyagraha lends a piquancy to the question whether nonviolence can only succeed against an oppressor who, like the British in Gandhi's view, is not heartless, or can it also succeed against an oppressor who is not moved by the sufferings of the oppressed. Gandhi was once asked what was the basis of his hope that the British would succumb to the pressure of nonviolence. He replied he firmly believed that the British were not a heartless people. This left unanswered the further question as to what would have happened if the British had been as heartless as the Afrikaner.

It remains unproven that further development of the doctrine would have provided an answer, because after Gandhi's death, his followers did not apply the doctrine to any new situation. This is part of the phenomenon, noticed in other contexts also, that after Gandhi's death the element of resistance and struggle was drained out of the whole complex of gandhian teachings by those who claimed to act upon them but in fact did not, whether they held official positions or were the self-appointed heirs of the gandhian tradition. Nonviolent resistance to the forces of oppression or injustice in society came to be equated with non-resistance by the people; everything came to be left to the government, partly on account of the ever-increasing acquisition of authority by the governmental apparatus, partly on account of monopolization of popular forces by political parties at the expense of the non-party movements envisaged by Gandhi, and partly on account of the failure of the gandhians to generate the forces of any meaningful nonviolent struggle.

The lacuna in the practice of Gandhism after Gandhi came to light very prominently just as the Gandhi centenary celebrations came to a close, and once again by a piquant coincidence it came to light in the area where Gandhi had conducted his last popular movement of opposing violence with love — in East Bengal. The curtain had only just come down

on the centenary when one aspect of Gandhism, religious harmony in mass action, was more fully demonstrated in East Bengal than at any time in India. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the Awami League destroyed any political barrier there may have been between Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus of East Bengal and won a bigger electoral victory with a more completely integrated inter-communal support than the Congress obtained in India at any time. Immediately after this, when the Awami League ran into repressive opposition by the military regime, Sheikh Mujib announced a program of non-cooperation with and nonviolent resistance to the military regime which, at least in its non-cooperation aspect, turned out to be a unique success, again exceeding anything seen in India. Even the Chief Justice non-cooperated with the regime by refusing to administer the oath of office to the new Martial Law Administrator. This raised hopes of the doctrines of Gandhi being extended into new situations and being developed as a consequence. But the hope did not bear fruit.

First of all, the Awami League did not remain nonviolent; as the army's pressure upon it increased, it tried to become a guerrilla movement of violent rebellion; secondly, the Indian response to this situation did not assume any gandhian form whatsoever. The response was extensive and deep because essential Indian interests and security were imperilled as millions of refugees poured into India to escape from the tyranny of the revengeful military regime. But while attempts were made to raise a guerrilla force from among the refugees, none was made to train them as satyagrahis who would cross the border back into East Bengal and offer large-scale nonviolent resistance to the military oppression.

This fact was commented upon by the present author in a syndicated article published in several newspapers in the

middle of June 1971 under the heading 'What Would Gandhi Have Done Today?'. The author said: 'For all the tests (Gandhism) faced and passed before 1947, it never had to face anything so heartless as the kind of repression let loose by the army of President Yahya Khan on the people of Bangla Desh.... The British were different: Gandhi credited them with heart and they proved him right. Therefore Gandhi and his credo only faced in philosophic speculation, never in the field of battle, the touchstone of the question whether nonviolence can also be an answer to such ruthlessness. Yet, until it faces this question and successfully answers it, proving this success in a practical test, the active principle of Gandhism, nonviolent mass action with a specific political purpose, can never really be credited with the efficacy claimed for it.' Addressing the recipients and custodians of the legacy of Gandhi, the article asked: 'Will it be said in retrospect, perhaps when the time comes to observe the first quarter-century of the martyrdom of Gandhi, that this Christ never found his true apostles? Maybe not. But so far we have not accepted the full implications of a doctrine which the Archbishop of Canterbury described as "a gift and a challenge". We have pocketed the gift. From the challenge we have run away....'

In the course of the celebrations, several people referred to the various influences on Gandhi's thinking on nonviolence. Speaking of the inspiration that Gandhi got from Thoreau and Emerson, two great American thinkers, and the inspiration that Martin Luther King got from Gandhi, Hubert Humphrey said that 'India and America were rediscovering each other'. American writer and naturalist, Henry David Thoreau (1817-62) refused to pay what appeared to him an iniquitous tax and went to jail on that issue. Gandhi called Thoreau's book *Civil Disobedience* a masterly treatise. Another person who greatly influenced Gandhi was Leo

Tolstoy (1828-1910) the great Russian novelist, socialist philosopher and pacifist. In the celebrations in the U.S.S.R. several writers pointed out the importance of the famous Gandhi-Tolstoy correspondence in the first decade of this century. As Gandhi acknowledges in his Autobiography, Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* and also his *Resurrection* had greatly impressed him. Gandhi noted: 'All other books were obscure compared with these books for profound morality and truthfulness.'

A Soviet Indologist, L. Mironov, wrote a number of articles on Gandhi and Tolstoy. In one of them, Mironov cited Gandhi's first letter to Tolstoy, sent to Yasnaya Polyana from London in October 1909. It contained a request for support for the Indians in South Africa in their struggle for human rights. In his reply Tolstoy said he considered the struggle of the Indian people in South Africa to be evidence of the refusal of all the subjugated peoples to reconcile themselves to their subjugation any further. In the course of further correspondence, both thinkers, owing to their religious and moral doctrines, affirmed their adherence to methods of passive resistance. But as Mironov put it, it must be said that both Gandhi and Tolstoy were far from the idea of interpreting nonviolence and non-resistance as submissiveness to colonialists or capitulation to them.

Gandhi himself has testified to the influence of India's tradition and culture on his thought. He has recorded in his Autobiography that as a child he was greatly inspired by the stories of Prahlada and Harishchandra. The principle of nonviolence is coded in the age-old saying 'Ahimsa paramodharma' (nonviolence is the greatest duty) and this is central to both Buddhism and Jainism. Yet another traditional Hindu doctrine was cited by Fr Thomas: 'Satyannasti paro dharma' (there is no duty greater than truth). As Fr Thomas put it, 'Thus it is evident that truth and nonviolence are the

two paramount principles that Indian culture can offer to the world.'[14] Gandhi was the incarnation of these ideals. But while inheriting the tradition for concrete practice he added new elements to it. As Hutchins says, Gandhi accomplished a rational modification of tradition.[15] Prof. Amiya Chakravarty said[16] that some of the essential doctrines of Hinduism and other major religions were given concrete political manifestation by Gandhi. This has been most dramatically discussed by Erik Erikson.[17]

Erikson has studied Gandhi from a psycho-analytical point of view, seeking that point of reference in his life, that event or experience, which became the key to his subsequent behaviour. The 'event' took place in Ahmedabad in 1918. (Though these founding experiences are supposed to happen in one's childhood, Gandhi was already approaching the age of 55 at the time of the 'event' which Erikson uses as the key to the man.) This is how Gandhi himself describes the event in his Autobiography: 'I was in a most delicate situation. The mill-hands' case was strong. Shrimati Anasuyabai had to battle against her own brother, Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai, who led the fray on behalf of the mill-owners. My relations with them were friendly, and that made fighting with them the more difficult. I had consultations with them, and requested them to refer the dispute to arbitration, but they refused to recognize the principle of arbitration.

'I had therefore to advise the labourers to go on strike. Before I did so, I came in very close contact with them and their leaders, and explained to them the conditions of a successful strike: 1. never to resort to violence, 2. never to molest blacklegs, 3. never to depend upon alms, and 4. to remain firm, no matter how long the strike continued and to earn bread during the strike by any other honest labour.

'The leaders of the strike understood and accepted the condition and the labourers pledged themselves at a gene-

ral meeting not to resume work until either the terms were accepted or the mill-owners agreed to refer the dispute to arbitration.'

The philosophy of the event has been termed by Erikson as the 'philosophy of militant nonviolence' which became 'a political instrument ready to be used on a large scale and reaching far beyond the issues of industrial peace in the city of Ahmedabad'. As Erikson puts it, this experience was important not only because 'it gave him an insight into the whole situation which was to develop on a gigantic scale later on, but also because in this struggle all the basic tenets of Gandhi's truth were fully laid down and brought to their logical end.'

Generous tributes were paid to Gandhi because of the contribution nonviolence made to India's struggle for freedom under his leadership and to struggles elsewhere since his death — for example the civil rights movement in the U.S.A. Symbolic of the usefulness of nonviolence was an incident narrated by Lord Mountbatten as chairman of the U.K. Gandhi Centenary Committee. He recalled this event while participating in the Memorial Service at St Paul's Cathedral in London: 'Foreseeing troubles at the time of partition in August 1947, particularly when Bengal and Punjab were themselves to be divided, I had gathered a Boundary Force of 55,000 hand-picked officers and men to keep order in the Punjab. They were overrun by millions of migrating refugees who were mercilessly attacked by opposing communities.

'In Bengal, in the vast city of Calcutta, the second biggest in the Commonwealth, I realized troops would be useless. So I invited Mahatma Gandhi to go there to ensure inter-communal peace in circumstances far more difficult than in the Punjab. By his saintly personality he achieved in Bengal what 55,000 soldiers failed to accomplish in the Punjab —

peace — a truly modern miracle. Not without reason did I call him my "One Man Boundary Force".

The intensely practical orientation of Gandhi was stressed by Morarji Desai while inaugurating the Gandhi Centenary Seminar at Frankfurt. Speaking of Gandhi's influence on his own life he said, 'What impressed me most was not so much his idealism or the spirit of religion which he radiated, as his very pragmatic approach to problems.' Several other speakers and writers also pointed out the down-to-earth relevance of gandhian methods. These concepts of nonviolence and truth do not merely exist as ideals but have concrete and viable modes of action.

Gandhi used his nonviolent mode of action first in South Africa for opposing the white man's unjust racial discrimination against Indians. This fact was repeatedly mentioned by several participants in the U.S. and British celebrations, and for good reason they emphasized the need for a gandhian approach to the solution of contemporary racial conflicts in both countries. In many celebrations throughout the U.S.A., civil rights leaders, black activists and specialists in black studies took part and analyzed the relevance of gandhian methods to the racial problem and the black people's struggle. Prof. Richard Keyes, Head of the Black Studies Program at California's Fresno State College, said[18] that Dr King had demonstrated the applicability of nonviolent modes of action in the American black people's struggle for justice and equality. A march for racial harmony was planned in London on 30 January 1969. The International Ramdhun, which was organized in London in October 1969, also drew participants from different religious denominations and racial groups.

Dr Thomas Nyquist gave examples from the African scene where the gandhian approach to national struggle for freedom was first accepted.[19] He referred to the Pan-African

Congress, held at Manchester, England, in 1945, which called for independence for Black Africa. Several important leaders who became famous in later decades — people like Kwame Nkrumah and Nhamdi Azikwe — were present there. The Congress debated the central question of the use of violence. It was resolved that pending 'the last resort' which would be violence, 'positive action' based on Gandhi's teachings should be used; and positive action later became the slogan of the Convention People's Party of the Gold Coast in its successful struggle for independence.

Dr Nyquist also found that Gandhi's teachings and the news of his success in India had reached national leaders in Central and East Africa. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, while under restrictions by the British in the late 'fifties, wrote to a friend for books from India to help him understand the philosophy of nonviolence. In the Central African Federation, which included the territories which later became Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi, gandhian pamphlets were declared prohibited literature — suggesting that such literature had been distributed. Moreover, in the printed speeches of Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, one finds a commitment to nonviolence as well as references to the strong influence of Gandhi upon his life. This was also testified by Olaf Tandberge who wrote[20]: 'Political leaders like Zambia's Kaunda and Rhodesia's Sithole firmly refused to deny their belief in the principle of nonviolence. After Luthuli's death, Sithole is carrying on the struggle against racial oppression via passive resistance.' Dr Nyquist's study suggests that a number of African leaders were influenced by Gandhi's philosophy and its successful application in India's struggle for independence.

Special attention was paid in Czechoslovakia to the gandhian concept of nonviolent resistance. In the wake of the Soviet invasion, in August 1968, there was a kind of gan-

dhian protest, mainly organized by the youth. In a report on the celebrations in Czechoslovakia, Gangadhar Patwardhan noted the 'interest in Gandhi's teaching of nonviolence and non-cooperation as a weapon of an extra-parliamentary form of struggle against injustice'. A notable Czech participant, Smerokovsky, who was then Speaker of the National Assembly and who became President of the Czechoslovak National Committee for the Gandhi centenary, said in accepting the presidentship that he was doing so because he felt that he understood the gandhian spirit and thought. The Czechoslovak Committee said in its message to the Indian National Committee that 'Gandhi's thought is of special relevance to us in the divided world of today'.

The greater part of the discussion on nonviolence during the centenary naturally turned to its contribution to the achievement of India's independence. Most participants emphasized the importance of Gandhi's contribution. But there was one notable exception — Arthur Koestler. According to him, 'India had reached the point of independence not because of ahimsa, but because the British Empire had gone into voluntary self-liquidation'. But whatever the participant's estimate and whatever his understanding of the concept of nonviolence, much of the discussion was of a high intellectual quality despite a certain amount of centennial sentiment. The seminars organized by the Southern Illinois University, the State University College at New Paltz and the East-West Centre at Hawaii were among the most illuminating.

The centenary celebrations did not throw up a uniformly acceptable definition of gandhian nonviolence. A paper presented at the Honolulu symposium maintained that Gandhi intended ahimsa to be a positive way of promoting desirable change, not only a norm of conduct, and to assume a capacity to act violently as well as peacefully. The argument

was presented that not only did Gandhi condone violence if cowardice were the alternative, but at a higher level of generality he proposed guidelines for deciding according to the totality of each situation, what is nonviolent and what is not; he did not intend to propound a moral theory. Thus his absolutist condemnation of war was out of character, the paper said, because Gandhi was chiefly concerned with the quality of the agent's attitude, not whether actual physical harm was caused. Taken literally this argument would make a distinction between what Gandhi considered violence and what others meant by violence. The intent of this interpretation, perhaps, is that Gandhi was prepared to recommend a violent course of action if the situation demanded it.

Francis Hutchins also interprets Gandhi's approach to nonviolence as non-absolutist. According to him, 'Gandhi did not say, "I am nonviolent, but if you don't settle with me, others may come who will use violence." Gandhi said, "Your system must go, and if I were convinced that violence were the only way to end it, I would use violence myself." Gandhi was a nonviolent revolutionary, not a person using nonviolence for strategic, limited ends. A constitutional agitator differs with violent revolutionaries with regard to both ends and means; Gandhi differed with violent revolutionaries only with regard to means, and in this respect only conditionally.'

Contrary to this position, some other participants in the seminar at Honolulu said, explicitly or implicitly, that Gandhi's view of violence included motive as well as act, so that ahimsa was both psychic and corporal. Gandhi did did not allow, one participant wrote, violence beyond animal mercy-killing and major surgery; it was Gandhi's policy of gradualism for applying the law of love in the temporal world that gave his view on war and peace, at least until his last years, a non-absolutist notion; he did not wish to insist

upon its absolute application until conditions were ripe for that. So even in cases where Gandhi agreed to the use of violence he did not concede that nonviolence had a relative character.

In recent years the authority of gandhian nonviolence has been invoked by ruling groups to curb violent challenges to their power. In India the Congress and other parties wedded to the system of constitutional government, found in the theory of nonviolence very great support for the preservation of the existing system against violent challenge. Their argument is that for the country to function through the parliamentary system of government, there must be a consensus in favour of nonviolence. This point was developed by K. Santhanam who condemned violence saying that 'the tendency towards violence, which is still a powerful impulse in man, is the residue of his evolution through animal ancestors'.[21] Applying this belief to the contemporary scene, he pointed out that in recent years the incidence of violence had been on the rise in India. Expressing his commitment to the constitutional mode of social change he said: 'Only peaceful democratic evolution can bring about the social and economic transformation which we desire, in which poverty will be eliminated and notions of superiority based on birth,wealth or occupation will be extinguished.' According to him, gandhian principles were quite consistent with legislative change. As he put it, 'Nonviolence ... (is) the basic condition of the legal existence of any kind of association or organization in India.' Following up this legalist argument, Santhanam said that a law should be passed declaring those organizations illegal which believed in pursuing violent means for realizing social objectives. He said, 'The immediate justification for such prohibition is the emergence of Naxalites and the use by some labour unions of gherao and other obviously coercive methods.' Santha-

nam further suggested that there should be a movement of non-cooperation and nonviolent resistance against violence.

This is an interesting example of the absolutist notion of nonviolence. A non-absolutist concept on the other hand would place more emphasis upon the goals of society, like justice and equality, than upon the means. It will continue to be a debatable question whether Gandhi would have condoned violence if the alternative had been abandonment of major goals in a situation in which nonviolence had become ineffective or for any reason had lost promise of effectiveness in the future.

In spite of these differences in the understanding of the practical application of the nonviolent mode, there was frank and spontaneous appreciation of the moral appeal of this notion. Thomas Clark put it persuasively in his prize winning centenary essay. He said that like all great pacifists, Gandhi regarded the individual conscience as the highest law. He quoted Gandhi as saying, 'A satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience to the highest law, that is, the voice of conscience, which overrides all other laws.' Then Clark went on to say: 'This is an extraordinary example and noble idea, but it is lost altogether on those who thunder about "Law and Order", and on those whose blind allegiance to patriotic ideals suspends not only their critical judgement of the follies of government but also ability to stand up against the government if and when the time comes. The occasional person who puts his conscience before the law and refuses to fight in Vietnam is vilified by most as a coward and a traitor. As a nation we seem to have learned very little from the Nuremberg trials.'

In these words, Clark not only links the gandhian law of conscience to some of the current American crises but

demonstrates the universal significance of the concept and the ubiquity of such problems. Perhaps in the moral appeal of the gandhian principle lies its greatest contribution. With a sensitive response to this moral aspect of the appeal of Gandhism, the organizers of the International Ramdhun at London printed this in their invitation letter: 'HOPE FOR HUMANITY/THE SYSTEM CAN BE CHANGED THE NON-VIOLENT WAY/GANDHI'S WAY.'

But on the other hand, there is no way round the fact that in the United States the appeal of the militant Black Power movement is on the increase. Arne Naess[22] referred to this phenomenon, sought an explanation and went on to offer one himself. According to him, one of the basic premises of nonviolence is self-respect. A man who has no faith in himself cannot refrain from counter-violence, except through cowardice. Naess thinks that Martin Luther King, through his civil rights movement, was not able to solve the problem of self-respect. Therefore, the Black Power militants began to advocate counter violence in order to assert the dignity and self-respect of the black people. Black Power leaders get inspiration from Franz Fanon's statement about 'the liberalizing effect of violence' on the oppressed and the under-privileged. Fanon said[23]. 'As far as the individual human being is concerned, the exercise of violence has a cleansing effect. It drives the poisons out of the slave's mind, removes inferiority complexes and tendencies to passive contemplation and hopelessness.' However, Naess also argues that Gandhi wanted self-respect all along and for this he ultimately wanted to create institutions which would give the responsibility of managing their affairs to the people themselves. This would be possible only through a constructive, nonviolent struggle.

Thus during the centenary celebrations a very considerable degree of intellectual effort went into the appreciation

and understanding of the concept of nonviolence than ever before. This appreciation ranged from deep sociological analysis of the dimension of conflict to the policy implications of the gandhian mode. The understanding evoked at many places religious zeal for peace and brotherhood among men, and fine intellectual debate at other places. People saw in gandhian nonviolence clues to ways of dealing with national problems of racial and communal disharmony and international problems of tensions, conflict, arms race and war. Inevitably, no final interpretation of nonviolence emerged. Inevitably, because everybody saw in Gandhi a 'challenge rather a stereotype'. Quite appropriately Dr Ramsay, the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving the sermon at the Memorial Service at St Paul's Cathedral in London, described Gandhi as God's gift to India and the world — 'a gift and a challenge'. A whole seminar was organized by the Evangelical Academy at Bad Boll, West Germany, in February 1969 on 'Gandhi as a *Challenge* for the Modern World'. That nonviolence is a challenge and a dynamic, developing mode of action was the message of the celebrations.

1. In an article in the Malaysian Gandhi Centenary Souvenir.
2. At a joint meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society and the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon in London, 4 July 1969.
3. In the Frankfurt paper, 'Frankfurter Allgemeine', 26 August 1969.
4. While inaugurating the centenary celebrations in Berlin.
5. Op. cit.
6. In his message to Greater Chicago Gandhi Centenary Committee.
7. 'Filii Tui'.
8. Speech at a Chicago rally.
9. In a speech in the Senate.
10. Malaysian Souvenir.
11. Op. cit.
12. In her book, 'Conquest of Violence', issued as a paperback during the centenary celebrations.

13. At a centenary function in Manila, 29 September 1969.
14. Op. cit.
15. Op. cit.
16. In his lecture at the centenary celebrations in Chicago.
17. 'Gandhi's Truth': 'On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence' (New York, Norton & Co.: 1969).
18. In his talk, 'Gandhi and Martin Luther King', at the College.
19. State University College, New Paltz.
20. In the Swedish paper, 'Goteborge Posten', 2 October 1969.
21. Op. cit.
22. In a paper, 'Gandhi today', presented at a centenary meeting in Oslo.
23. From 'Wretched of the Earth', quoted in Naess, ibid.

CONCERN WITH HUMANITY

Gandhi represented the aspiration of the Asian and African countries in liberation, renovation and resuscitation, and through India, he was able to reveal the ailments of the modern age and the spiritual and moral impotences with which Europe is afflicted.

— ELIAS FARAH

The posthumous appraisal of many aspects of the life and work of Gandhi during the centenary celebrations was very different from the opinions people held of him when he was still in our midst. But in respect of no aspect was the change so marked as in that relating to his struggle against imperialism. Perhaps this is because the posthumous appraisal was made in the light of struggles in other parts of the world, very different from India's, which threw light upon the totality of his anti-imperialism, while in his lifetime we only thought of it in the context of his preoccupation with India's freedom movement; the limitation of the movement restricted the view of the anti-imperialism which was available to people, whereas independently of that context the fulness of his ideas stood out. But then, Gandhi is not the first great man to be better appreciated after his death.

India's struggle for independence from the British was

essentially an anti-imperialist struggle. Yet this aspect of its character did not sufficiently stand out contemporaneously. One reason for this was that transfer of power to India was a gradual process and was extended over a period of at least thirty years. When the British Labour government announced that it was giving India independence the announcement came very undramatically; it did not carry the impact of the struggle which had gone before. Another reason was the predominant character of the struggle itself. It was mainly a movement of moral persuasion by nonviolent means, and its slant was not so much 'anti-British' as 'pro-independence', Gandhi's approach being to convert the adversary, not to defeat him. Yet another reason was the character of the leading Indian elite who took their inspiration from British culture and institutions. Gandhi himself received his legal training in England and was inspired by many British values. The leading Indian elite who gradually acquired power after independence were also trained in British or in British-type educational institutions. They retained many of the social, economic, cultural and administrative institutions introduced by the British; they also devised an elaborate system of parliamentary government on the classical British pattern. In this process, 1947 brought only a 'transfer of power' and not the victory of an anti-imperialist struggle.

For these reasons it came to be thought that this transfer of power alone was the content of Gandhi's anti-imperialism. But Gandhi's program envisaged a complete replacement of the imperialist political, economic, social and cultural values and institutions inherited from Britain by a swadeshi system which would make swaraj possible in all spheres. Gandhi fully understood that the impact of colonial rule was not restricted to political, economic or administrative spheres, but that it contaminated the totality of society and all its

details. This fact was pointed out by E. Chelishev of the U.S.S.R. He said[1] that Gandhi had a comprehensive view of imperialist rule and therefore wanted to 'fight against imperialist economy, culture and ideology'. That made Gandhi a symbol of India's resolve to achieve liberation in the true sense of the term. Here Fanon and Gandhi stood on the same pedestal. As the Cameroons delegate[2] to the UNESCO symposium in Paris pointed out, Fanon, like Gandhi, laid stress on the fact that colonialism not only subjugated a country but dehumanized man.

In the years subsequent to India's independence the anti-imperialist character of India's freedom struggle came to be understood a little better, and the anti-imperialist elements in Gandhi's thought and action came to be recognized more clearly. This was because of the emergence of a number of new nations out of former colonies in quick succession, a process which drew some of its impetus from the example of India and Gandhi. Some of these new nations, like Vietnam and Algeria, achieved independence after prolonged, violent struggles and others like Ghana, Tanganyika and Zambia mainly through a process of constitutional negotiations. Most countries, however, experienced both—a combination of violent struggle and negotiations. Along with the Indian independence movement, all these countries came to be juxtaposed against a common antagonist first and then a set of antagonists, the imperialist countries. Soon after independence was won by so many former colonies, they began to assert a common identity through such ideas as the Afro-Asian consciousness and the concert of the non-aligned countries; this sharpened their awareness of the anti-imperialist character of their past freedom struggle, and it became sharper still when these ideas coalesced into a third world identity which ranged itself against the remaining areas of imperialist exploitation. The Gandhi centenary was

celebrated in the light of this awareness.

There is another reason too for the recent emergence of the anti-imperialist perspective in Gandhism which came to the fore during the celebrations. Both on the right and left, new kinds of elite have come up in India in recent decades who do not take Britain as their model. On the right, that part of the Indian elite has come up which did not lead the freedom movement but nevertheless, was locally powerful; it has asserted the importance of the Indian tradition and its values, and wants to re-create national structures based on these. The Jana Sangh is a conspicuous example. The new elite on the left looks towards the socialist countries, which have generally supported all anti-imperialist movements. Between them these two forces have accentuated an awareness of the element of extensive social change, suited to the Indian conditions and anti-imperialist, which was an important but lately a forgotten part of Gandhism. Because this change took place in the context of forces newly arisen in the Afro-Asian countries, which formed the backdrop to the centenary, it was no longer possible for anyone to look upon Gandhi as merely an instrument of the transfer of power which he had appeared to be for some time especially in the eyes of many Indians. The re-assessed Gandhi was discovered to have been a symbol of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Afro-Asian and socialist countries were quick to see this change. Appreciation of the true dimensions of Gandhi's role in the anti-imperialist struggle was widely emphasized by them during the centenary. Kenya's Vice-President, Daniel Arap Moi, said[3]: 'Perhaps many people in this country do not readily appreciate the extent to which the name of Gandhi has become commonplace in every household. Many of our citizens do not even realize that he was an Asian political leader. They think that he was, in fact, one of the

great African pioneers of freedom and independence.' In the celebrations in the Soviet Union, Gandhi's contribution to the worldwide anti-imperialist mass struggle was emphasized a great deal. L. Mironov recalled that Lenin recognized the anti-imperialist character of the freedom struggle led by Gandhi. That is why he asked communists to support the nationalist movements in Asia. This was also pointed out by E. N. Komarov.[4] He referred to a sketch which Gandhi wrote on Maxim Gorky in the *Indian Opinion* on 1 July 1905. Gandhi pointed out two features, the poverty of the people and the autocratic, oppressive nature of the governments of both India and Russia — the Tsarist power in Russia and the British raj in India. In this context, Gandhi saw in Gorky, above all, a courageous fighter against Tsarist autocracy. Komarov said: 'Gandhi laid the main stress on opposing oppression. That was precisely what appealed to him in Gorky, that was what inspired him in the rising liberation struggle in Russia. Gandhi rose to fight imperialism, which was a form of tyranny, for which he found inspiration in Gorky.'

In an eloquent speech, Iraq's Minister for Culture and Information, Syed Abdulla Salloum Al Sammarrae, spoke[5] of Gandhi's contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. This is how he discussed the character of British imperialism and Gandhi's role in its overthrow: 'A century ago the great Gandhi was born, and India at that time was one of the most precious pearls of the British crown. British imperialism in that region was old and was established before the arrival of Gandhi. Britain worked to continue her authority in the whole region, right from Britain to India. The result of this aggressive policy was that British imperialism got control of the Arab region in accordance with the imperialist plan to keep India under its control. British imperialism, as we know, worked to divide the colonial people completely

and created disputes on the pretext of differences in religion, sects and regions so that it may perpetuate itself; the policy of divide and rule was its chosen political method, especially in India. Gandhi came and by his native wisdom felt the pains of the people and came to know that the source of these calamities was nothing else but British imperialism and also came to know that the purpose of British imperialism was only to exploit the wealth of these countries. He knew that eradication of British imperialism meant finishing Britain's control and handing all authority over to the people.'

At the same function, Elias Farah took his audience over further dimensions of the anti-imperialism of Gandhi, pointing out that Gandhi did not mean mere 'transfer of power', by the overthrow of imperialism. To him it meant a great moral self-regeneration. 'Gandhi represented the aspiration of the Asian and African countries in liberation, renovation and resuscitation, and through India, he was able to reveal the ailments of the modern age and the spiritual and moral impotences with which Europe is afflicted.' This point was also made by J. B. Kripalani[6]. He said that Gandhi's notion of independence from colonial rule was a comprehensive notion. Far from being only 'transfer of political power' it was a 'movement of national self-purification'. Kripalani regretted that the world's attention had been directed so much towards Gandhi's means that the goals of the gandhian struggle were often missed. Independence meant to him a host of moral, political and cultural experiences.

The chief editor of the Arab daily *Al Amal*, Salaheddine Benttamida, writing on 2 October 1968 in his paper, highlighted Gandhi's fight against the injustice of colonialism. He also pointed out that colonialism had created racial prejudices. The colonial powers came from white countries and exploited the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa. Colonial-

ism identified itself with racism and both continue to be burning problems even today. Gandhi therefore had a special message for people struggling against these evils, he said.

Appropriately, the first aim of the Gandhi centenary celebrations in the U.A.R. was to emphasize the many facets of his anti-imperialism. A U.A.R. Ministry of Education circular described the aims of the celebrations thus: 'To indicate Gandhi's role for the liberation of his country from colonialism on the one hand, and his efforts for freedom and humanity on the other.' The circular referred to the problems created by the imperialists for the Arabs and said: 'All these facts should be correlated with our principles of adherence to Arab unity, co-existence and opposition to racial discrimination and to our present campaign against colonialism, World Zionism and the Israeli aggression on our territories and sanctuaries.'

E. Chelishev referred[7] to an important aspect of Gandhi's anti-imperialist struggle. Like Lenin, Gandhi was convinced, according to Chelishev, that people's united struggle alone could give a strong enough battle to colonialism. Gandhi wanted to achieve this unity of the people on all fronts. He wanted to unite the rich and the poor, Hindus and Muslims, and peasants, workers and the intelligentsia. Much later the communists were to develop this into their policy of forming united fronts of diverse elements in society on the basis of an agreement on the main national objective. The Chinese communists in particular united all anti-imperialist classes irrespective of religion, race and language in a rewarding battle against Japan. There is, however, an important difference between the united front approach of the communists and Gandhi. The communists, especially in China, looked upon united fronts as part of a strategy to fight the main enemy with the help of the smaller enemies. The smaller enemies were later treated, one by one, as the main enemy

in subsequent phases of the revolution. But with Gandhi there were no such classifications as bigger or smaller enemies, because he did not think in terms of enemies. He saw everyone either as a friend already or as someone who could be won over and made an ally by reforming him through moral persuasion.

Another important aspect of Gandhi's anti-imperialist struggle was singled out by Erland Dahm.[8] He said that Gandhi's strategy was to launch a multi-front attack on British imperialism. While fighting against British exploitation Gandhi wanted to build a social foundation for freedom through his campaigns for Harijan well-being, the upliftment of women, religious harmony and the revival of the economy of the village. He wanted Indians to cultivate an inner strength and to build up enormous moral pressure for pursuing their cause. That is why he introduced a new system of education to inculcate this spirit.

Gandhi's message, thus, was that imperialism was a many-sided institution and called for many-sided efforts for its total replacement. At the level of strategy it necessarily called for a multi-front attack for the achievement of real freedom. He was among the first to say that an anti-imperialist struggle could be successful only if it was mass-based. These elements of Gandhi's anti-imperialism were not questioned very much. But his strategy of nonviolent mass struggle was believed by some to be unrealistic. This is, perhaps, because the logic and limitations of nonviolence, which have been discussed in an earlier chapter, were perceived by Gandhi in terms of the world conditions prevailing in his own lifetime. Since then, two things have happened, and perhaps there is a cause and effect connection between them. First, the coercive power of the state apparatus has grown enormously. It penetrates every sphere of the life of the individual and of society as a whole with the tentacles of its

organization. Secondly, no mass movement for national freedom has remained wholly nonviolent after Gandhi. Some begin nonviolently but turn to violence later on, when they find that the coercive power of state, especially an alien state, cannot be broken otherwise. Others are violent from the very beginning. But perhaps it would be more true to say that the full potential of the gandhian means of overthrowing an alien state power has not been tested, than to say that it has been tested and found wanting. As pointed out earlier, it seems to have been a singular misfortune, or failure, of Gandhi that he was not succeeded by a band of apostles, or failed to build them up in his lifetime, who could bring his gospel to fruition in the changing circumstances which arose in the world after his death. To the detriment of the reappraisal of Gandhi by his own countrymen today, the biggest failure of nonviolence as a weapon in the struggle against a hostile and distant, though not technically alien, power has occurred next door to India, in Bangla Desh.

Alongside the heightened awareness of Gandhi as a fighter against imperialism — this aspect of his life, if narrowly interpreted, can be confused with a parochial nationalism— the centenary celebrations also helped to underscore the universalism of Gandhi's concern with humanity. In fact, even his anti-imperialism was correctly interpreted by many participants in the celebrations as part of the peaceful world order which he aimed at, realizing that peace cannot be universal so long as some countries are groaning under the imperialist weight of other countries. Several participants underscored the need for drawing afresh upon Gandhism for building the structure of world peace and the means for attaining it. Some participants tried to spell out concrete institutional measures for attaining peace, while others thought more in terms of a non-institutionalized approach through the message of love and universal humanism in

order 'to fight war in the minds of men' as the UNESCO Charter puts it. This second approach aims at creating a moral atmosphere of love and brotherhood so that peace among nations may follow.

Professor Bognar explained the difference between the gandhian approach and the institutional approach thus: 'On the international scale also Gandhi specified only moral rules of conduct because he assumed that rules which governed the activities of men, individuals and small communities, would apply to society as a whole or even to international relations. We on the other hand are of the opinion that morals and the norms of morality are moulded by the existing conditions, in other words the attainment of a more moral conduct is not feasible unless international interests, relationships, institutions and mechanisms are transformed.'[9]

The first approach — the institutional approach to world peace — dominates world politics today through security systems, defence arrangements and networks of alliances. Peace, in other words, is equated with prevention of war by means of deterrence. These alliances revolve round super powers, which possess superior military power, notably nuclear weapons with which they can destroy enemy states. The multiple balances of power created through alliances have prevented a world war for the last twenty-six years. But mankind has always been on the brink of a world war which may be nuclear. Besides, all over the world there have been local wars, some involving the big powers. This is the achievement of the institutional approach to peace. The contrast between this state of peace and what Gandhi aimed at was pointed out by Apa B. Pant, India's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom. He said:[10] 'In this troubled, tortured world of ours, when the mind of men is so full of anxiety, fear and anger, this faith and this affirmation in the possibility of creating a new world of harmony, of happiness, of

peace, through nonviolent means, is an inspiring phenomenon. Mahatma Gandhi believed in and worked for such a new world.' Pant further said that big armies and sophisticated armaments added not security but insecurity and insanity to life today and peace remained elusive as ever. On the other hand, Gandhi wanted to create moral norms for human conduct.

Some participants in the centenary celebrations tried to bridge the gap between Gandhi's approach to peace through a change in the minds of the people and the dominant institutional approach. They tried to suggest concrete ways for creating an atmosphere of peace.

K. Santhanam, for example, said that in the entire period of its existence the United Nations had not been able to solve a single international dispute by the use of force.[11] It had to rely on the moral effect of its resolutions and exhortations. Members generally ignored punitive sanctions, Santhanam said, and matters would have been better if the U.N. had formally given up violent sanctions and concentrated on perfecting nonviolent sanctions.

Arthur Lall described the gandhian approach to arrangements for international security. Gandhi argued that mass nonviolent non-cooperation could be a disciplined and successful way of dealing with international aggression. According to Lall, Gandhi held that the aggressor would not be able to continue his aggression in the face of thousands of unarmed men and women — trained satyagrahis — who would confront his armies. If the aggressor mowed them down, his conscience and the conscience of his soldiers would soon revolt against his action. No man was so evil as to slaughter unarmed men and women who refused to fight back and refused to become his enemies. Lall covered himself promptly against the charge that this was a very naive approach. He said it needed a lot of preparatory work for

influencing the minds of men and training large numbers of men and women in nonviolent techniques. But Gandhi, he said, had the requisite organizing ability. He described Gandhi as a great organizer who saw the need for wider international forms of administration to deal with issues of common concern to large communities. Lall said: 'Though Gandhi died when the U.N. was barely three years old, he frequently referred to this world organization with confident expectation of a great role for it in settling disputes among states and peoples.'

What Santhanam said about the United Nations' performance over the years indicates weaknesses in it which would have frustrated Gandhi had he been alive today; it might have thrown him back on the resources of his non-institutional techniques for changing the minds of men. But Lall did not think so. In his view Gandhi would still have tried organization, but organization of a very different nature. 'Security is proved by a shield. Let us try a shield — of unarmed persons. I propose (would say Gandhi) that all countries agree to substitute for one division of their armies, say 20,000 men, an equal number, a division, of volunteers trained in nonviolence and truth, trained to love mankind, trained for service, trained to try to arrive at peaceful settlements. Further, all countries should agree to place this division on their frontiers, particularly where attack is most apprehended. Since two neighbours generally apprehend attack or counter-attack at the same place, we will get these unarmed divisions facing one another. Let us, in the next year, extend this arrangement to another division, and soon, in a few years, we will be able to accelerate the rate of conversion, on a reciprocal basis, all over the world. In not many years, then, each country's defensive shield, its security arrangement, will consist entirely of unarmed brigades of persons. Just think of what these new groups will be —

women and men, young and old, of varied backgrounds, their common resolve and training being in nonviolence and truth. They will be drawn from among teachers, diplomats, labourers, managers, doctors, lawyers, housewives, dress makers, retired generals and sea captains. Will not the populace be reassured by such a diversified shield, representing all the people — especially when they know that the countries around them have the same kind of representative, humanity-loving shields? Surely it will conduce to a world-wide sense of security.' Lall described this arrangement as Gandhi's shield of mutual love that would guarantee security. Then he went on to say that on the basis of the gandhian concept of nonviolent satyagraha, the truth-force, love-force arrangement on the frontiers of states, a new international security system could be built. He also thought that the United Nations machinery could be improved on these lines.

Lall begins with gandhian premises but ends with the United Nations. His attempts to build a peaceful system conform neither to the demands of the institutional approach nor with the requirements of self-regeneration. In fact, both Santhanam and Lall, being identified, each in his own way with the nation-state apparatus with which Gandhi did not like to associate himself, have entered pleas for a nonviolent system which boils down to giving another set of options to the ruling elites of different countries to safeguard their interests. At best it may prevent the use of force, which is less than peace.

Would the gandhian alternative have been more effective? Possibly; but only if the totality of Gandhism were accepted. As in other aspects, such as the place of religion in society, piecemeal Gandhism cannot succeed. Gandhi presented a total frame, which has to be accepted in toto or not at all. Torn from its context, any of Gandhi's thoughts becomes a high-sounding phrase signifying only an unbridgeable gap

between reality and hope.

The gandhian approach to world peace, which aims at creating peace by changing the attitudes of people to violence and war, goes to the root of the brutal instincts of men. By creating social conditions of brotherhood, it would attempt to inculcate the feeling of love and service in the minds of men so that countries may see no clash of interest with each other and mankind may become one universal community of men. Gandhi was opposed to the very concept of the nation-state, which he regarded as an institution of force defended by force. Gandhi urged people to acquire an attitude of love towards all people; thus, he thought world peace would be ensured.

Many pacifist associations were very active during the celebrations in stressing this approach of Gandhi. The Quaker organizations in Britain and the United States convened conferences on peace. Christian Action and the National Peace Council in London opened a School of Nonviolence. The War Resisters International organized, along with the World Peace Council, a seminar on Gandhi in Budapest and participated in many other European celebrations. Many young people in the United States chose the occasion to oppose the draft and condemn the war in Vietnam. The theme in all this was the contradiction between militarism and love.

More concrete steps were suggested by some pacifists. Mr Adriano Bonelli, of the Movimento Non-violento per la Pace, submitted three proposals on peace to the Consulta Italiana per la Pace: 1. appeal of goodwill and peace to Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, 2. a campaign of peace in all secondary schools, 3. a study commission to serve the cause of peace, justice and economic balance. He also appealed to the Austrians and Italians to launch a joint 'work-study-action' program for solving their dispute over South

Tyrol. Others, confining themselves to a bilateral approach, took the occasion to speak about peaceful relations between their own countries and India. The central theme of the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's message for the centenary was Indo-British friendship. In a message to Mrs Gandhi he said: 'The world is richer for the life of Mahatma Gandhi. In particular we cherish his love of peace and detestation of violence. The friendly relations that exist today between Britain and India draw inspiration from his teachings and his example.'

Some leaders went a step further and sought legitimacy for their foreign policy in Gandhi. President Nixon's tribute to Gandhi was a good example of this. He was on a tour of Asia and Europe at that time to propagate his so-called 'Vietnamization' plan for the war in Vietnam. In his stop over in Delhi on 31 July 1969, he spoke of Gandhi at the state dinner in Rashtrapati Bhavan and said, 'Gandhi was above all a man of peace. Love was at the centre of his greatness, a love of India, a love of mankind, a love of peace; and he forged it into a power that moved nations and transformed the world.' He then went on to relate peace to the need for change: 'In today's rapidly changing world, there is no such thing as a static peace or a stagnant order. To stand still is to build pressures that are bound to explode the peace; and more fundamentally, to stand still is to deny the universal aspirations of mankind. Peace today must be a creative force, a dynamic process that embraces both the satisfaction of man's material needs and the fulfilment of his spiritual needs. The pursuit of peace means building a structure of stability within which the rights of each nation are respected: the rights of national independence, within its own borders, to be free from intimidation....The structure of stability can take many forms. Some may choose to join in formal alliances; some may choose to go their own

independent way....'

There were people who thought that peace as visualized by Gandhi could be achieved through the existing institutions for establishing a world order instead of aiming at a change in the attitudes of people. The United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, for example, spoke of what the United Nations could do. He said[12], 'Many of the ideas (of Gandhi) are in line with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. For the Charter calls upon us to "promote social progress and better standards of life and larger freedom". The Charter also reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".'

Yet the failure of the institutional approach to peace is writ large in the failure of the United Nations to influence the course of world politics and in the continued inability of the nation-state system to stabilize peace either through bilateral or multilateral arrangements. The experience of nations in world politics evidently indicates that norms of peace have not been institutionalized because state policies are not based upon a commitment to peace and that, in turn, because peoples' attitudes remain unaffected by love of peace. To some extent this fact limited Gandhi's own actions as well. While Gandhi pleaded for his ideal approach he had to operate in a world full of tensions, war and destruction. He himself campaigned for recruitment to the British army during World War I. He supported the war against fascist countries in the forties of this century though he withheld Indian participation in it on the ground that transfer of power to India had been delayed; that reasoning was more tactical than philosophical. He consented to the Indian army's action in Kashmir. The gap between Gandhi's own ideal and what the environment imposed upon him

clearly showed the dilemma of world peace. It proved that while the institutional approach was inadequate, the gandhian approach could be unrealistic in present conditions.

Participants in the centenary celebrations clearly expressed awareness of this dilemma. But there was widespread recognition of the need to create conditions in which people could develop an attitude of peace, though here also much was associated with the name of Gandhi which does not belong to Gandhism. The Information Minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Khac Tinh, for example, said[13] that his government was fighting a war and victory in that war would enable his countrymen to pursue gandhian ideals. Gandhi's concept of peace was better appreciated by pacifists and religious leaders and the young protesters against war. Most political leaders attributed their own notion of peace to Gandhi's approach by generalizing both their own notion and Gandhi's. But the young in America boldly took the occasion of the centenary celebrations to condemn the war in Vietnam. A good example was Thomas Clarke's prize-winning essay cited earlier which condemned the conscription of young Americans to fight in Vietnam.

Gandhi saw no clash between his universalism and his struggle for India's freedom because he saw no clash between nationalism and internationalism. He believed that there were common problems for all of mankind which all countries should strive to solve. As Iraq's Minister for Culture and Information, Syed Abdulla Salloum Al Sammarrae, suggested, Gandhi's nationalism encompassed the whole of humanity.[14] His universalism did not envisage the submerging of the nation into the universe, but the establishment of an identity between the interests of the nation and of humanity. Gandhi supported the maintenance and growth of the individuality of men, groups, countries and cultures. This individuality, of course, he defined in terms of his ethical

values, according to which only the good in the individual, group, country and culture should be asserted. The common good would then be necessarily in harmony with the individual good. That was the gandhian logic. Therefore Gandhi once said, and this was quoted in a brochure issued in Washington during the centenary, 'India must learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity'. Also: 'I would like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world'. Hence he attached singular importance to the achievement of India's freedom. He hoped that India would propagate his approach to peace. Therefore he said, and this was also quoted in the Washington brochure: 'India's freedom must revolutionize the world's outlook upon peace and war....An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.' The question whether India has lived up to this expectation of Gandhi came up in the discussions in several countries. At the seminar in Budapest several participants said that India's policy of non-alignment was in the gandhian tradition. In the centenary functions of several African countries, it was recognized that the coming of Indian independence gave a lot of inspiration to the freedom movements in Africa. However, there was perceptible caution in the remarks abroad on the extent to which India had fulfilled Gandhi's dreams.

But Gandhi was not prepared to allow his acceptance of the separate identity of nations to degenerate into acceptance of any superior rights of one nation over another. Any claim to such rights went against what was an established principle with him — that there must be equality between men, groups, nations and cultures. He had seen the beginning of the conversion of colonialism, against which he had worked all his life, into the domination of the world by the super powers. He was, therefore, opposed to the super

power concept as well, Arthur Lall, formerly India's representative at the United Nations, pointed out at a symposium in New York. Lall ridiculed the special status accorded to five countries of the world as permanent members of the Security Council under the U.N. Charter, although much more important countries than some of these had no such claims. This was an anomaly, Lall said, to which an answer lay only in a nonviolent system of peace. 'Gandhi taught us the doctrine of nonviolence', he said, 'as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences'. But here again opinions may differ as to how far India has lived up to Gandhi's opposition to the super power system.

1. At the Budapest seminar.
2. William A. Eteki-Mboumoua.
3. At the inaugural function, 2 October 1968.
4. In an article, 'Mahatma Gandhi on the Russian Revolution and Maxim Gorky'.
5. At the inaugural function of the Gandhi Week at the College of Education, Baghdad.
6. In an article in the 'Standard', 2 October 1969.
7. Op. cit.
8. In his review of Edmund Privat's book, 'Gandhi's Life', published in the Swedish paper, 'Freden', No. 2, 1970.
9. Op. cit.
10. In a speech at the Royal Albert Hall, London, 21 October 1969.
11. Op. cit.
12. In his message, 'Nonviolence and world peace', in the Malaysian Souvenir.
13. At the Vietnam-Indian Association meeting on 2 October 1969.
14. Op. cit.

A RADICAL TOTALITY

All approaches to social transformation grow to their fulness and discover the answers to their problems only in the unfolding of action programs which are based upon them. This is even more so in the case of an approach which, even in the mind of the originator, is more oriented towards total action than towards theoretical completeness. Gandhi's approach certainly was such. It could only grow as it was acted upon, and grew only so far as it was acted upon — that is, partially. But this is more a commentary upon those who followed Gandhi than upon the first and, so far, the last satyagrahi.

—AUTHOR

Posthumous remembrance, especially on an occasion so soaked in sentiment as a centenary celebration, can convert a real man of action into the rarefied, insubstantial image of a prophet — an embodiment of a set of ideals. His precepts overshadow the examples he set. Some remember the ideals in order genuinely to see an inspiration in them, invoke them for the light they shed on the shortfalls in the

performance of the supplicant, with their aid summon the courage for self-criticism. Some invoke the ideals only to guild their own baser thoughts and actions.

Some manage to keep their recollection of the man clear of centennial idealism, see him as the real man of action that he was and seek inspiration only in those particular acts which most closely relate to their own situation. The inspiration they distill in this way is deeper, but narrower, more real and effective being more concrete, but it misses the totality of the person and his message. A few, however, are able to see the total man, remembering both his actions and thoughts and the interaction between them. In their eyes the real is not without the wider inspiration of the ideal, and the ideal is not insubstantial but three-dimensional.

All the three types of remembrance were noticed during the centenary: the one in which the Mahatma predominated, the one in which the principal homage was to Gandhi's actions in the cause of India's political freedom and social transformation, and the one in which the two aspects interacted to the enhancement of each. The most acute appreciation of the relevance of Gandhi to the contemporary world came from those who saw in him a rare combination of idealism and insight. But many missed the point that the real and the ideal could not be separated in him.

A rough classification, and at the margins inaccurate, would be that the pacifists and churchmen of various descriptions tended to see in Gandhi an ideal which had been set before men both to inspire them and to mock at their shortcomings so that they may do better. Among state leaders, there were some like Humphrey, Kissinger and Wilson in whose tributes Gandhi emerged as a prophet — an inspirer of ideals which are worth striving for but hard to emulate. There were others, however, like Nixon who tried to invoke the ideals of Gandhi for the incongruous pur-

pose of seeking a justification or rationale for American policies in Vietnam. At a slightly higher level, Wilson invoked them to plead for stronger ties between Britain and India. But leaders like Kenneth Kaunda, Habib Bourguiba and Prince Norodom Sihanouk remembered Gandhi mainly as the leader of the freedom struggle in India and an inspiration for the struggle in other countries for independence against imperialism. It was left to participants like Jayaprakash Narayan to see the ideal in the real Gandhi and vice versa, to see the real man whose life was an experiment in his ideals. Jayaprakash Narayan emphasized this at the Kabul seminar and in the course of his tour of Australia. Other intellectuals sought sociological explanations for Gandhi's actions and ideas, subjecting both to vigorous analysis, although this happened more abroad than in India where the 'Father of the Nation' image placed the recollected Gandhi at the superhuman level, thus inhibiting the freedom of intellectual analysis.

The greater part of the more intense remembrance was not about the totality of Gandhism but fragments of gandhian ideas. With the exception of a few scholars, all participants picked up certain aspects of Gandhism which had particular relevance to them. In the American celebrations, Gandhi's opposition to militarism was highlighted, for the concern of the American people was with the U.S. participation in the brutalities of the Vietnam war. Gandhi's pacifist outlook was invoked more than his socio-economic thought. This was also true of the British and European celebrations. In West Asia the theme was anti-imperialism. Arab leaders recalled Gandhi's opposition to the creation of a Jewish state and reaffirmed their commitment to fight against imperialism. In the functions held in some of the Asian and African countries some of Gandhi's social and economic ideas were discussed. In Ceylon, the orientation of the celebrations to-

wards community development programs was conspicuous because of contemporary efforts in Ceylon in this direction. In Tanzania and Mauritius, gandhian modes of economic change were discussed in detail. Thus almost everywhere people got that view of Gandhi which most concerned their most intimate contemporary concern. Partial views in other words, and though between them they testified to the many-sided relevance of Gandhi and Gandhism to the world today, they were exposed to the danger, discussed in preceding chapters, to which any view of Gandhi is exposed which is incomplete in any essential respect.

In its logic and efficacy, Gandhism stands or falls by its totality. Its parts are so interdependent that they can neither be conceived nor implemented in isolation. Gandhi's politics of the good can only materialize in the sarvodaya samaj. Only the decentralized social structures which he advocated can make participatory management of the economy possible. Small scale industries and rural craft-oriented programs can succeed only if such structures are built. The religion of brotherhood can be practised only in the sarvodaya samaj because otherwise the divisive effects of other types of political economy would prove very strong. A nonviolent world order can only be built when individuals, groups and countries practise the norms of humanist universalism. Conversely, nation-states operating on the sanctions of coercion cannot build a gandhian system. Similarly economic redistribution by moral persuasion is not feasible in a society which does not live by humanist political values.

It is very tempting, however, to seize a philosopher and draw that inspiration from him which is suited to one's own purpose. Even scholars do not escape the temptation though they may be aware of the hazards of the partial view. This is because they too have preferences to plead for and therefore need support from people who have propounded first

principles. Hence it happened that the interpretations of Gandhi by different researchers were very dissimilar; to some Gandhi looked like a radical liberal, to some a religious prophet and to some a revolutionary. At the UNESCO symposium in Paris, many scholars referred mostly to those aspects of Gandhi which most responded to their own views. Miloslav Krasa from Czechoslovakia, for example, saw in Gandhi a great politician ... in organizing the strategy of a mass struggle of immense dimensions' and 'a great trade union leader'. While Drobyshev (U.S.S.R.), Paul Power (U.S.A.) and Ramachandran (India) spoke in terms of the total gandhian outlook, they gave different interpretations of it, as explained in earlier chapters, in accordance with their own national experiences and personal outlook. In the seminar at the New Paltz campus of the State University College, New York, speakers chose one aspect each of Gandhi, like education or religious harmony, without really taking a comprehensive view. The Honolulu seminar was quite an exception in this respect; it did look at Gandhi in the wholeness of his thinking. This was mainly because there were participants there who had done competent research on Gandhi. Professors Nirmal Kumar Bose and Balram Nanda presented papers entitled 'Gandhi and the Sarvodaya ideal' and 'Gandhi and Nehru' respectively. Others included Dr William Stuart Nelson, Vice-President of Howard University, Professor Stephen N. Hay, Karl H. Potter, Paul F. Power, Susanne H. Rudolph and Donald E. Smith. All are well-known names in the field of Indian studies.

Despite the variety of views expressed about Gandhi, it would be safe to hazard the generalization that the celebrations largely projected a radical image of Gandhi. The centenary came at a time when there was a worldwide challenge to the establishment both in the socialist and non-socialist countries. Socialist analysts started reinterpreting Gandhi

earlier. But they articulated their radical image of Gandhi during the centenary. In the western countries, youth revolts were leading the movement challenging basic values underlying capitalist societies. In Gandhi they found some inspiring ideas and an example of human nobility. It was widely recognized that Gandhi represented basic departures from the prevailing standards in the world and there was general appreciation of the fact that the values of Gandhi were universally laudable, his goals unconventional, his means novel.

Gandhi's values of humanism, equality and freedom were reasserted by leaders and scholars from different countries, irrespective of their ideological differences. The centenary provided an occasion for people to reflect upon the basic values of their own systems while they discussed the values of Gandhi, because Gandhi's values are the same as all modern ideologies *profess* to champion. All western ideologies since the renaissance have been humanist in their professions. Liberalism, socialism and communism and all their variants claim to work ultimately for the dignity of the individual. All ideologies aim at establishing conditions of freedom and equality for all at some stage, though each ideology defines freedom and equality in its own way. There are wide discrepancies between them in their respective concrete programs for realizing these values. Gandhi had his own definition of each of his values and also a strategy of action for achieving them. He did not identify himself with any one of the existing ideologies. Nor can he really be categorized under any established school of thought, eastern or western. But all schools have a few things in common with each other and with what Gandhi stood for, high on the list being faith in the basic values of humanism, equality and freedom. The centenary provided the occasion for people from different persuasions to reaffirm this faith.

But Gandhi's goals were unconventional and in sharp

contrast with the goals that western society has set for itself. His distinctive advocacy of the goals made them look even more unconventional in retrospect and what sharpened image was the environment in which the celebrations took place. The centenary year coincided with the high pitch of radical youth movements in western countries, with the young challenging the goals of industrialized capitalist society, and remembrance of Gandhi reinforced the inspiration behind the challenge. During the centenary year the philosopher of the American new left, Herbert Marcuse, attacked the materialist orientation of advanced technological societies like America in his *One Dimensional Man,* which was published shortly before the centenary and which was increasingly becoming the philosophical treatise of the new radicals. And China was still experiencing the convulsions of the great proletarian cultural revolution, an attack on the materialist profit motive which Mao wanted replaced by revolutionary commitment. An ideal society according to Mao, Marcuse and Gandhi should not merely be an affluent society but a humane society, with bonds of love and brotherhood among men. Each in his own way questioned the concept of development which the western countries had so recently accepted with a fervour more often reserved for a new religious dogma; the centenary celebrations helped to swell the volume of doubt poured upon the concept, with remembered Gandhism joining the more recent streams represented by Mao and the New Left. Urbanization and industrialization for their own sake and in the name of progress were re-examined, with Gandhism pointing towards an alternative goal. At the UNESCO symposium, Eteki-Mboumoua emphasized this 'harmonized and humanized approach of Gandhi to a strategy of economic, social and cultural development'.

The goals that Gandhi set for his ideal community invol-

ved a search for new standards for measuring progress, and new yardsticks for status and welfare. They acquired new meaning for the western countries in the course of the centenary celebrations because these countries, or large sections of sensitive public opinion prevailing in them, were advocating a withdrawal from affluence and a life of simplicity. It is true that the youth in the West came to realize the exploitative character of their commercial culture not through Gandhi but through their own experience. But the centenary had an added meaning for them because Gandhi had diagnosed the capitalist society much earlier and noticed the very features which became the target of protest for some and aversion for others towards the close of the 'sixties. Marx had observed them even before Gandhi did. But Gandhi, as a functioning leader of a people about to win their freedom, wanted policies to be geared to the alternative directions which he suggested; also, the first among flower people, he demonstrated his ideals in the idiom of his own life. The centenary provided an occasion to reappraise the nature of the industrial culture in the light of a fresh understanding of Gandhi.

The developed countries of the West are at present confronted with a crisis point where they have to decide the direction of their future development. During the past century, they were preoccupied with rapid industrialization and colonial exploitation. These preoccupations began to decline as one colony after another became independent in Asia and Africa. But the struggle of the former colonies was mostly for political freedom. They did not throw up any effective challenge to western values. On the other hand, the legacy of colonial rule, old colonial norms and western values continued to sweep into the social fabric of these countries. However, it was leaders like Gandhi who pointed out the hazards of colonial culture; he did it from the

very beginning of his involvement in the nationalist struggle. This became the example for other leaders, like Mao, who urged Asians to uphold their own culture and evolve an ideal system of values of their own. This was vividly recollected during the centenary celebrations in Afro-Asian countries. In the celebrations in the West, the crisis in their culture was the dominant theme, enriching the philosophic content of the protest of the radical youth of America and Europe; in Afro-Asian celebrations, forestalling the crisis was a prominent theme.

Besides gandhian values and goals, Gandhi's mode of action was analyzed in depth during the centenary, as we saw in the chapter on nonviolence. The question which attracted the greatest attention was whether in certain situations the nonviolent alternative would not be only morally more advisable but also more effective. Rev. Jesse Jackson pointed out that violent methods would not achieve the desired result of racial integration in America.[1] The nonviolent method which the civil rights movement had adopted was, according to him, moving in the right direction. But, referring to the same situation, Arne Naess said that the movement had failed to provide self-respect to the black people of America.[2] On the other hand, the militant Black Power movement, which is wedded to armed struggle, was increasing its appeal. Participants in this movement were asking the black people to assert their dignity and self-respect. Naess sought to justify the militancy in Gandhi's name and said Gandhi wanted people to maintain self-respect throughout their struggle. This is a clear illustration of the possibility that gandhian morality may not maintain its original qualities in all circumstances of its implementation by others.

The American civil rights movement and its leader, Martin Luther King, were described to be the carriers of

the gandhian tradition outside India. During the centenary celebrations their agitations were constantly referred to as Gandhism in action. But, apart from the fact that other examples of such carriers are hard to find, the significance of these two examples in the American experience is also not very clear. On the one hand, most Americans believe that the racial problem should be solved without resort to violence. Almost all white people in the United States also believe that there has been a gradual progress towards integration through legislative measures because the civil rights movement has created public opinion in favour of racial integration. On the other hand, the Black Panther movement, which was born only four years ago with a handful of gun-carrying black militants in Oakland, California, and other militant groups today carry the confidence of almost the entire black youth of America. The Panthers have some following among the young white radicals also, while the civil rights movement has lost its original appeal. Although important rights have now been guaranteed to the black people by law, racism persists. In fact, large sections among the conservative whites and large numbers among the black population are more conscious of their colour than before and more determined to defend their rights, as confirmed by the Kerner Commission. The periodic outbursts of racial violence are reminders of the limitations of the nonviolent civil rights approach though it tried to emulate gandhian methods. Many who began the struggle for civil rights nonviolently drifted to the violent alternative. The Students Nonviolent Coordination Committee, originally committed to nonviolence as its name suggests, has turned to be just the opposite. Rap Brown and Stokeley Carmichael are among the most militant of the young black leaders advocating violence.

During the celebrations, many people asked themselves

what was lacking in the black American experiment with satyagraha which limited its success. It is not clear whether Gandhi would have raised this question at all, believing as he did that a true satyagrahi should go on with his work and leave results and goals to take care of themselves. But that apart, Gandhi would have said, if he entertained the question at all, that nonviolent struggle, like 'protracted war', has to be a long-drawn-out process, and it should have been given sufficient trial in the United States. Further, civil rights leaders did not launch a full-scale strategy to eliminate racism; they organized only marches urging legislation. They achieved a great deal in this respect. But a full scale program for the well-being and self-assertion of the black was lacking in the civil rights movement of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties. That is why their satyagraha neither produced all the desired 'results' nor did for the satyagrahi what, according to Galtung, Gandhi believed it should, that is purify his soul. Not many claim to have experienced this self-purification.

It has been argued that racism and colonialism are two different kinds of evil, the former existing in the hearts of people, the latter an external enemy whom it is easier to fight with nonviolent mass action. Racism, some argue, does not involve 'transfer of power', nor can it be identified in terms of structures. But Gandhi would not have accepted this line of argument. First of all, he said that nonviolent struggle could be waged against all evil forces. Racism was no exception to him. In fact, religious disharmony, against which Gandhi fought valiantly, is akin to racial disharmony in that it also has its roots in the mind. Moreover, today the radical black in America consider themselves to be a colonized people, colonized by the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) of America. Therefore, the main slogan of the Black Panthers is 'self-determination'.

They want the black people to manage their own affairs. So the racial problem is today understood as a colonial problem by the black people themselves. Then why is it that the gandhian way has not been able to sustain its attraction for them?

There is no easy answer to this question. It would be hard to admit that the gandhian approach is applicable only in the set of circumstances which surrounded Gandhi during the freedom movement in India. At the same time the absolute relevance of the gandhian approach in all circumstances cannot be proved either. Should one conclude from experience in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies that a heartless enemy cannot be overthrown by nonviolent resistance? More immediately relevant to Indians is the anguish in the example of Bangla Desh in which, as discussed in an earlier chapter, neither the people of East Bengal nor the Indian Gandhians have been able to prove the efficacy of nonviolence.

Gandhi's outlook, like many other thinkers', suggests an approach which can be applied in certain circumstances in various countries, but not in all circumstances in every country. At the level of strategy, certain aspects of the mechanics of the gandhian approach may be selectively used in many situations. But as seen in earlier chapters, Gandhism cannot be applied piecemeal. This is the dilemma of the partial acceptance of Gandhi. Certain modalities of mass action which Gandhi developed have been used all over the world, but their application by themselves does not put Gandhism to the test, and the results of this partial application are not a valid comment on the efficacy of the whole. Yet where does one see the whole in practice or a fully valid test? Certainly not in India.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said at the seminar in Kabul that Indians had forgotten Gandhi and were only indulging

in hero-worship without practising his ideas, Arthur Koestler went a step further and said: 'When all is said, the Mahatma, in his humble and heroic ways, was the greatest anachronism of the twentieth century; and one cannot help feeling, blasphemous though it may sound, that India would be better off today and healthier in mind without the gandhian heritage.'[3] Few participants in the centenary celebrations directly probed the reasons for this kind of feeling. But at the back of some of the comments on Gandhism, a question lurked regarding the social realism of Gandhi. At one level there was no doubt that Gandhi had a realistic understanding of the character of social forces. He identified the most dehumanizing social evils which everyone regarded as evil. He mobilized the energy of the masses for social and political action. The very fact that his campaigns acquired tremendous mass support is testimony to his clear and realistic understanding of Indian society. At another level, however, some participants were not sure of Gandhi's social realism. As Drobyshev and Krasa pointed out at the symposium in Paris, Gandhi analyzed social phenomena in ethical terms and not in terms of basic environmental forces or, more concretely, forces of production. As a result, Gandhi did not keep in view the relative power of different forces. In his logic of moral persuasion, all individuals and groups had equal place, irrespective of their association with evil systems. Extending this line of argument it was said by some participants that, in reality, Gandhi put too much emphasis on the adversary's goodness, overlooking the danger that any absolute description of someone as good may be open to challenge. A person may be good on one account towards one person but not on the same or another account towards another person. Concieving a person or a group as good may not be congruent with reality.

But a greater doubt regarding Gandhi's social realism can be traced to his inability to leave behind him a band of able and dedicated followers who would carry forward his task and his message after his death, developing it to meet new situations and thereby giving a more massive proof of its validity and efficacy. The Congress did not fully accept his model of social reconstruction during his lifetime, and those on whom the mantle for governing India fell after independence consistently ignored the gandhian approach to the country's social and economic problems. During the freedom struggle, the Congress organization selected gandhian technique only for carrying on the anti-imperialist struggle against the British, carefully avoiding any deep commitment to his answers to socio-economic problems; those who had such commitment soon found themselves reduced in position in the Congress organization. Even as regards techniques, leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru openly declared that the party had adopted gandhian methods like nonviolence only as a 'policy' and not as an end in themselves. It is true that hundreds of swaraj ashrams came up throughout the country and gandhian idioms of life like wearing khadi were adopted by a few million people as a sign of their acceptance of his leadership. Yet little was done to institutionalize Gandhi's methods of mass-based action. The Congress party developed a well-knit and formalized party structure but more on the lines of parliamentary parties in other countries than as a party which had learnt its political alphabet at Gandhi's feet should have done. When India became independent, khadi continued to be the official robe of a Congressman, the famous Gandhi cap his symbol. The charkha remained on the Congress flag. Election posters continued to carry pictures of Gandhi, and still do. But Gandhism has directed very little of India's state policy. Certain programs

begun or conceived by Gandhi were indeed introduced with state support. But no effect was made to work them out fully, much less develop them beyond the point where he had left them. Basic education programs were introduced in several states, but from the very beginning the effort was half-hearted in most places. In the employment market, the students produced by the basic education method were treated as second rate candidates because the economy, its needs and ways of meeting them, were in no way gandhian. A program of village industries was launched with the creation of khadi and handicraft commissions. But that did not indicate state commitment to gandhian rural economics. No full scale experiment in any program on the gandhian model was carried out in free India by the state. A few gandhian institutions were set up, but were not held together by any unified framework of gandhian purposes.

Had Gandhi lived for some more years in the Republic of India and watched the direction and performance of the centenary, and more particularly of the government, he might have chalked out a concrete program of action with or without the support of those who had taken over the reins of power. But Gandhi entered the political scene in India when he was over fifty — a unique example of the late start of leadership which was to win the country's freedom. Had he been younger in 1920, and lived at least a decade in independent India, we would have known what his role would have been after 1947 vis-a-vis a non-gandhian government. It is doubtful that he would have acquiesced in all the policies of the government. He would probably not have agreed to go into the government to remedy these policies; his reasons for not joining the government would have been the same as he gave for not accepting presidentship of the Congress in 1946, that 'my yoke will be too heavy for it'. But it is quite possible that he would have waged yet

another mass struggle against the ruling elite. Gandhi had stayed away from office both in the government and in the party organization precisely in order to keep his options open, and one of these may well have been to continue his independent mass struggle for the causes he held dear. His continued commitment to work outside the frame of official authority was borne out by his advice to Nehru to dissolve the Congress as a formal party and convert it into a Lok Sevak Dal of mass fronts. R. R. Diwakar disclosed on the eve of the centenary that Gandhi had already framed a new constitution for the Congress, reconstituted as Lok Sevak Dal, which Diwakar was asked to put before other leaders. But Gandhi's assassination extinguished this plan.

It may be argued that Gandhi's socio-political program came to a stop in 1945 when transfer of power was announced, or that in the last three years of his life he was in any case too busy in quenching the fires of communal discord to have any time for schemes of social regeneration. On partition and other important political issues other leaders, notably Nehru, Patel and Azad, had been carrying on negotiations and taking decisions. Gandhi was only on the periphery of these far reaching developments; in the closing months of his life they made him almost irrelevant to his own country. He had said that India would be divided only over his dead body and he would not mind independence delayed if partition was the price for early freedom. Yet the partition of India was accepted by other leaders of the Congress and no option was left to him but to go along with it. This, however, does not mean that Gandhi had lost his command over the people. He found the Congress bypassing him from the mid-forties onwards. But it was he who had directly spoken to the masses in the 'twenties and built the Congress as a mass organization; there is no reason to believe that he had lost the ability to do that again.

Someone during the centenary said, 'When Gandhi fasted the world stopped breathing'. This was still true in 1938. It would have perhaps been truer later.

A doubt may be cast on this expectation by the fact that his insistence upon fair treatment to the Muslims and Pakistan made him very unpopular with millions of Hindus in northern India who had suffered as a result of the communal riots in Pakistan; they were so incensed by Gandhi's insistence that India must hand over to Pakistan the latter's share of the currency reserves of undivided India that they forgot how hard Gandhi had tried, and he alone among the top leaders of the party, to avert the partition. But this unpopularity was probably only a passing phenomenon. With the return of even moderate normality, and as soon as questions regarding the future of Indian society came up, Gandhi probably would have succeeded in exerting the old magic of his leadership once more and won over the allegiance of the masses to his vision of the future. If he had done so, few leaders of the Congress would have tried to stand in his way and fewer still would have succeeded.

However, even if this had come to pass at the practical, operational level of his leadership role in national affairs, does it follow that the totality of gandhian philosophy would have been accepted by India as a complete guide to total national action? Or, as in the centenary, does it mean that full acceptance of his values and goals, especially nonviolence, would have remained confined to the level of philosophic idealism, not as a guide to the achievement of national goals? Gandhi believed that his ends and means had an integral relationship. As Jayaprakash Narayan pointed out in his address in Kabul, Gandhi believed that a human society could not be built except through nonviolence. But this total acceptance of Gandhi — his values, goals and means — was rare to see during the centenary and might

have remained rare even if he had lived a little longer. The centenary served a useful function in this respect in the developed as well as the developing countries; it showed the limits of the accepted relevance of Gandhi, which turned out to be total only at the level of eulogy. (Arthur Koestler has said that Gandhi's philosophy was 'easy to eulogize and impossible to realize'[4].) This may mean one of two things. First, that perhaps the world needs to attain a much higher level of moral capability before it can employ and stick to gandhian methods of moral persuasion, forswearing other methods. Second, that perhaps there are deeper sociological reasons which make nonviolence an ineffective strategy in certain circumstances. Depending upon one's value preference, one can accept the first or the second explanation. But neither is free of difficulties. How can the world be brought to the requisite level of moral capability so that it may adopt the totality of Gandhism? On gandhian premises this can be done only by gandhian methods; yet their adoption presupposes the existence of the necessary moral capability.

Similarly, how to remedy the specific circumstances which inhibit the efficacy of gandhian methods? The answer may seem to be: by the adoption of particular gandhian methods until society becomes capable of responding to all of them. But as we have seen in earlier chapters, specific items of the gandhian program are at best ineffective and at worst have a distorting effect unless they are adopted along with all the rest.

The reason for these dilemmas of Gandhism in all likelihood is that while Gandhi himself did not have time enough to develop his philosophy of action in all its fulness — a total active political life-span in India of less than 25 years — those who followed in his path afterwards, or professed to do so, either did not adopt his strategies whole-

heartedly or did not have the power to do so. Therefore, Gandhism could not discover the answer to the conundrums which were to obstruct its path during his lifetime as well as afterwards. All approaches to social transformation grow to their fulness and discover the answer to their problems only in the unfolding of action programs which are based upon them. This is even more so in the case of an approach which, even in the mind of the originator, is more oriented towards total action than towards theoretical completeness. Gandhi's approach certainly was such. It could only grow as it was acted upon, and grew only so far as it was acted upon — that is, partially. But this is more a commentary upon those who followed Gandhi than upon the first and, so far, the last satyagrahi.

1. In his speech at a Chicago rally.
2. In a paper, 'Gandhi today', presented at a centenary meeting in Oslo.
3. In his article in the 'New York Times Magazine', 5 October 1969.
4. Ibid.

CENTENNIAL HOMAGE

I must reduce myself to zero.

— GANDHI

The birth centenary of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was celebrated in ninety-two countries of the world, including South Vietnam and Taiwan. These countries included all types of political systems, cultures and conditions of growth — socialist and non-socialist as well as capitalist; democratic and authoritarian; western and oriental; the affluent and the poor; the developed and developing. The appeal of the occasion was not inhibited by any classification; except in China and Pakistan, where the absence of any centennial homage might have been the result of a positive decision; elsewhere the omission, if any, signified no dissociation with Gandhi. The ceremonial remembrance of no other man in history has been observed in so many countries. The birth centenary of Lenin, which almost coincided with Gandhi's, was observed on a very wide scale in the socialist countries, with substantial involvement both of the governments and the people. In the majority of other countries only small interested groups of the ideologically sympathetic took part. But in the case of Gandhi, there was an unprecedented degree of participation of ideologically diverse governments and peoples. It was demonstrated during the centenary that Gandhi and what he stood for was supported

by a large number of governments and different nations, or at least appealed to them. This impression of the nearly universal response to Gandhi is corroborated by the more detailed appraisal of the celebrations which has been set out in the earlier chapters, though they also bring out a fascinating variation in the nature of response in different societies and at different levels of the same society.

In some countries the celebrations were of a routine character, while in others an enormous amount of thoughtful preparation and sincerity went into them. Private organizations, groups and individuals were very active in nearly all countries, but in many of them the governments also played a very keen part. In some countries the celebration was a brief affair, in others it extended over the whole of the centenary year, from 1 October 1968 to 1 October 1969. In about a dozen countries Gandhi weeks were observed. A typical weeklong program, like the one in Kenya, included exhibition of books, photographs and paintings, and public meetings where national leaders spoke; special supplements appeared in newspapers and special radio programs and seminars were organized. Large numbers of people attended the public functions, because in most countries they were held in the capital and main cities. But the urban orientation of the centenary celebrations was discordant with the fact that the whole preoccupation of Gandhi was with the rural spread of society. It would have been more befitting if the villages had also been involved to some extent.

The resources for the centenary celebrations were generally raised by private contributions. The governments of the countries concerned generally provided only a small part of the expenses though the Government of India, through its missions abroad, provided books, photographs and, in many cases, finances. Generally, the people responded more to the celebrations than their governments did, which is

again some indication of the nature of his appeal today. Indians abroad, as may be expected, contributed a great deal to the raising of public funds. In Singapore, for example, they were able to allocate $ 68,900 for creating a Gandhi Centenary Fund at the University of Singapore. In Trinidad, $ 3,400 was used for organizing an annual prize essay and painting competition. In Ethiopia $ 25,000 was spent for setting up a Gandhi Memorial Hospital.

It is very appropriate that the initiative for organizing the centenary celebrations was taken by an international body, not by India, and that it was a body like UNESCO, which by a unanimous resolution appealed to member countries to join. The humanist and universalist dimensions of Gandhi's thought and action more closely correspond to UNESCO's purposes than to any other international organization's. As a result of UNESCO's appeal, the initiative at the national level in most countries was in the hands of the respective National Commissions for UNESCO. A perceptible difficulty arising out of this, however, was that in those countries where a national commission for UNESCO has not been set up or is not active, the initiative faltered, and where no alternative organization was available or was created, the celebrations floundered though the Indian diplomatic missions stepped in in many cases. In other countries also Indian diplomats were active in organizing centenary committees and providing program support; in many cases they were among the more prominent speakers on Gandhism. For at least two years before the hundredth birthday of Gandhi, the major preoccupation of Indian missions abroad appears to have been the Gandhi centenary celebration; diplomatic bags were full of the 'Gandhi kits' containing aids for organizing exhibitions and bringing out special publications, and communications between the missions and New Delhi were dominated by centenary arrangements.

Next to the Indian missions and National Commissions for UNESCO where they were active, associations for friendship with India in different countries were most conspicuous in organizing the celebrations. The celebrations which were on a large scale in West Germany were initiated by the Indo-German Society. The Chairman of the Society, Dr Adalbert Seifriz, was the Managing Chairman of the German committee for the centenary celebrations. Similarly in Thailand, the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge took the initiative in organizing most of the functions. In Malaysia, the government was preoccupied with controlling racial riots which had broken out and the celebrations were organized almost entirely by the Indian community. In Fiji and Mauritius, where Indians form a substantial part of the population, celebrations were held on a very extensive scale. In Ceylon also they were in the organizational forefront and the centenary was celebrated almost as extensively as in India. President V. V. Giri, Jayaprakash Narayan and Vijayalakshmi Pandit participated in the ceremonies in Ceylon. The Indian Students Association was very active in the U.S.A., and part of the celebrations in Chicago and Southern Illinois can be attributed to the initiative and hard work of Theodore Mazarello and C. Kumararatnam, two Indian graduate students.

The celebrations brought to public notice the interesting fact that a number of Gandhians and gandhian institutions have been functioning in several countries for some time. The Mahatma Gandhi Foundation in Tanzania and the Gandhi Foundation in Uganda had been doing useful work in the field; an organization in Dundee, England, and, in London, the Ramdhun organized by Rosalind Schama have been holding inter-religious congregations for a long time. There is a Nonviolent Action Research Project at Haveford College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Although the respective governments took the initiative in most countries, in the United States, the Federal Government's reluctance to give a lead was clearly noticed although several state governments including the governments of New York, Illinois and Hawaii officially joined the celebrations. Most of the celebrations were organized by private bodies, universities and individuals: the government's involvement was limited to two exhibitions, one at the State Department and another at the Library of Congress. But as the Indian Ambassador commented in a communication to New Delhi, one good effect of this was that the celebrations were less officious. Dr Haridas T. Mazumdar also commented on this; he said the US celebrations had a sense of spontaneity. In Britain also the leadership of the centenary celebrations remained in the hands of non-governmental persons. But the highest leadership of the country was associated with them in a major way. Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Prince Charles addressed the special function at the Royal Albert Hall; Lord Mountbatten was chairman of the main organizing committee. In West Germany, there was equal amount of governmental and private involvement, both of a very high degree. Chancellor Kiesinger took close personal interest in the celebrations.

National Committees for Gandhi Centenary Celebrations were formally set up in forty countries, most with representatives from all major sections of the country's national life. In ten of these countries, the Head of State or government chaired the committee. Chancellor Kiesinger of West Germany, Governors-General Ronald Michener of Canada and Gopallawa of Ceylon, the Chogyal of Sikkim, Premier Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Queen Fabiola of Belgium, Crown Princess Margrethe of Denmark and President Ismail El Azhar of Sudan were among them. The Prime Minister of the Netherlands was a member of the National Committee

of his country. The King of Norway was quite active in the Norwegian celebrations. In more than half of the countries, national ministers, either of Education or Information, presided over the National Committees; in some, the members included ministers, sometimes more than one. The Chairman of the National Committee in the U.S.A. was Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. In some other countries, like the Soviet Union, academic experts headed the National Committee. The chairman of the Organizing Committee in the U.S.S.R. was Academician Babajan Gafurov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, and the famous Soviet Indologist, V. Balabnshevich, was one of its members.

A conspicuous fact about the celebrations in many countries was the active participation of artistes, musicians, men of letters and painters. The British Centenary Committee had in it actress Vanessa Redgrave who helped in organizing radio and television programs. Yehudi Menuhin and Ravi Shankar participated in both the premier functions in London and Washington. They made special compositions in honour of Gandhi, which they presented at these functions. The American singer Joan Baez, who conducts a School of Non-violence in California, participated in the centenary functions. Paintings on Gandhi were exhibited throughout the world. Sculptors made statues of Gandhi and gave shape to their own images of the man. Painting competitions were organized in many countries in schools, colleges and also among the people at large. The first prize in a painting contest in a school in Sierra Leone was won by a boy named John Metzger who gave an interesting caption to his painting: 'Gandhi on a platform searching his mind for a plan of action at a Muslim conference in Delhi in November 1919.' Some artists set out to depict subtle moods and events from Gandhi's life. In fact, the artists' fascination

for Gandhi was conspicuous.

The celebrations involved a number of intellectuals throughout the world. As the discussion of the celebrations in the rest of the book shows, the level of intellectual discourse on Gandhi's ideas and their relevance to some of the urgent issues of our time was very high, especially in the U.S.A., where university teachers and students took the initiative in organizing the celebrations. The symposium at the Southern Illinois University, the State University College of New York at New Paltz and the University of Hawaii were marked for their high degree of serious interest in Gandhi. The Southern Illinois University brought out a volume of articles on Gandhi entitled *Gandhi and America's Future,* which was jointly edited by Dr Wayne Leys and Dr Rama Rao, Indian expert in America who presented first rate research papers on various aspects of Gandhi. The Association for Asian Studies of the United States organized a panel discussion on Gandhi in its annual session in March 1969, in Boston. The Honolulu Seminar was jointly sponsored by the A.A.S. and the University of Hawaii.

A week-long colloquium was held at Haverford College, which was inaugurated by Mr C. V. Narasimhan, Chef de Cabinet to the U.N. Secretary-General. Among those who took part in it were Milton Mayer, author and lecturer, Carlton Mabee, Pulitzer Prize winning historian and author of *Black Freedom,* Charles Chatfield, President, Peace Research in History, Martin Oppenheimer, Professor of Sociology and author of *The Urban Guerrilla,* Gene Sharp of the Harvard University Centre for International Affairs. At the end of the colloquium, Bayard Rustin, joint organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, and the President of Haverford College, John Coleman, led a march to a neighbouring draft board in which two thousand people, mostly college and university students, took part, all of them carrying

torches.

A representative group of top intellectuals in the Lebanon brought out a collection of good articles on Gandhi in Arabic entitled, *Gandhi: A Lebanese Tribute*. In Syria, prominent intellectuals including Dr Adel Awa, Dean of the Faculty of Arab Literature, Dr Mohammed Altounji, Professor of Persian, Damascus University, Mr Sidqi Ismail, Director of the High Council of Arts and Literature and Mr Ali Mohsen Zifa, Director in the Ministry of Culture, delivered special lectures at the Arab Culture Centre in Damascus. Intellectuals found place in and in many countries dominated the National Committees. The U.A.R. Supreme Committee for the celebration of Gandhi's birthday centenary had the country's famous writers among its members including Mr Tewfik Al Hakeem, Dr Hussein Fawzy, Dr (Mrs) Sohair Al Qalamawi, Chairman, Book Writing and Publishing Establishment, Mr Youssef Al Sibaie, Secretary General, Supreme Council for the Promotion of Arts and Literature, Mr Salah Abdul Sabone, poet and playwright, Dr Abdul Aziz Al Ahwani, Chairman, Stage and Music Organization, Dr Ahmed Ezzat Abdul Nareem, Rector, Ein Shams University and Dr Mohamed Abdul Aadar Al Rott, Head of the Arabic Department of Ein Shams University.

The involvement of the churches in the celebrations in western countries was more than conspicuous. The service at New York's Community Church, conducted by Dr Donald Harrington and addressed by Dr Haridas Mazumdar, was marked by an intimate association with Gandhi and Gandhi's ideas. The services at St Paul's Cathedral, London, and the Washington Cathedral, besides being dignified, were marked by genuine remembrance of Gandhi. Small inter-denominational services in Chicago and London touched upon the theme of Gandhi's relevance to people of all religions.

The spectrum of the people who were involved significantly in the centenary celebrations included politicians, diplomats, intellectuals, artists, religious people and overseas Indians. Gandhi had different attractions for them. Politicians and diplomats were drawn by the opportunity for examining the problems of peace and Gandhi's views about them. They also tried in the process to strengthen bilateral relations between their countries and India, or, as in some cases, to present rationalization of their policies by placing suitable interpretations upon Gandhi. President Nixon offers a conspicuous example of this. Chancellor Kiesinger offered to improve Germany's relations with Eastern Europe during a speech on a centenary occasion. Arab leaders sought inspiration in Gandhi for their war against Israel. However, there were also leaders who genuinely reflected upon their own actions, making Gandhi the point of reference.

The intellectuals found a challenge in many of Gandhi's ideas. Gandhi wrote on so many diverse subjects and participated in so many different campaigns that any discussion on social, political or economic issues brings him to mind. The fact that he represented a unique model in all these situations is a special reason for the attraction he has for intellectuals. That he was a challenge to most of the established schools of thought came out clearly in many intellectual discussions during the centenary. Besides, some intellectuals and all artists are men of vision and Gandhi was full of visionary goals. They can see the fulfilment of a vision at some future date while others may reject the visionary goal as unattainable. Hence the keenness to understand Gandhi on the part of artists and intellectuals.

In comparison, it is more easy to understand why men of religion were drawn to the celebrations: they take Gandhi as a holy man, in the tradition of saints and prophets. The

very fact that Gandhi used religious symbols and lived a life in which religion played a part made him dear to religious people. The universalism in Gandhi's religion and the tolerance he practised brought him the earnest attention of religious people everywhere. There is yet another reason for the special interest of the churchmen in Gandhi. In recent years some church groups have been active in organizing social protest against colonialism, war and racism; they found support and inspiration in Gandhi in their struggle against these evils. This is more true of the church in America than in England, but generally all churches have espoused pacifist causes; therefore Gandhi has a special meaning for them.

Differences were noticeable between the character of the celebrations in different countries. In Germany and Britain, an enormous amount of protocol and ceremonial accompanied the celebrations. Royal appearance, chancellorial participation along with sermonizing by Archbishops formed part of the celebrations. However, in some of the other western countries like the Soviet Union, France, Italy, Belgium and Canada, there was little glamour of state ceremonial. There was protocol in many of the smaller countries of Asia and Africa because of governmental involvement, but the ceremonies were more simple.

A more subtle difference was added by the difference between the nature of the issues confronting different countries. The developed countries, at least their governments, have tended to take social and economic issues, for example of inequality, less seriously than those developing countries which face the enormous tensions of discontent. In fact most of the developing countries are still involved in choosing between various alternatives for solving burning social and economic problems. They were drawn to Gandhi by the search for answers and they were more concerned with

the socio-economic content of his message. On the other hand, during the centenary year the issues which dominated the political scene in the developed countries of the West were opposition to militarism, attacks on the obsession with technology and material advancement, the demand for humanistic restriction, in other words a challenge to the whole basis of the affluent society. The youth movements in the United States, Germany, France, Italy and Britain precisely had these aims before them, and the Gandhi centenary year coincided with the outbursts on these issues.

In West Germany there is an explosive concern with peace and that gave an extraordinary magnitude to the centenary celebrations. This was acknowledged by R. R. Diwakar, Secretary of the Indian National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary, who visited West Germany during the year. The German people have experienced more destruction during the twentieth century than any other country. Therefore, soon after the Second World War, peace became the greatest value in Germany. After going through the difficult days of the cold war, the German people realized the need for co-existence with the East European countries. Thus peace and co-existence became two predominating values and no other figure of the twentieth century exemplifies these ideals more than Gandhi. On the other hand in countries like Zambia, Tanzania, Malaysia or Ceylon, basic assumptions did not come up for discussion. Participants still talked in terms of generalities while accepting the existing political, economic and social situation.

The smaller scale of celebrations in some of the developing countries may be due to the fact, apart from shortage of resources, that knowledge of Gandhi in those countries is scarce and does not go very far back in time. During India's freedom struggle, the British and other colonial powers of Europe discouraged information about Gandhi and indepen-

dence movement in India from reaching their other colonies. Obviously they did not wish to see the movement proliferate. Causative conditions in many of the colonies of western imperialism were very similar to those prevailing in India. Therefore the example of India's freedom movement would have spread very quickly among them if it had been allowed to become known sufficiently widely. The example of gandhian techniques would have proved especially infectious because of their simplicity and direct appeal. These countries developed contacts with and knowledge about India only after they became free; thereafter knowledge of India and Gandhi spread very rapidly, for example, in Mauritius, Tanzania and Nigeria. However, in some, the celebrations remained in a low key even then. This was either on account of the nature of their relations with India or their preoccupation with internal and external conflicts.

Governments which were liberally resorting to the use of force in conflict situations did not find it easy to pay tribute to Gandhi and his ideas. But there were other ironies too; the Spanish dictatorship, which denies many freedoms to its citizens, encouraged the centenary celebrations; this may have been because in many countries, not excluding India, Gandhi's image as the man who resisted injustice and fought for the rights of people is thickly overlaid by the image of the man who urged patience and peace upon people. Gandhi's commitment to justice and freedom and the struggle to achieve these ends were so uncompromising that tyrants who understood him could have taken little comfort in the centenary. But sometimes a man's significance is perceived according to one's convenience, not the reality. On the other hand, the participation of the dissenting elements in society was in many cases the more vigorous because of their disagreement with the policies of the established authority. The United States is the best example of this;

the intellectual quality of the celebration there was unique.

An interesting feature of the celebrations in socialist countries was their academic orientation. Academicians with some expertise on India formed the committees on celebrations, read articles and wrote books on Gandhi and held discussions and seminars. Politics and policy discussions generally remained the main part of the celebrations. However, as in the case of many western countries, the occasion was utilized in eastern Europe also to reaffirm friendship with India and to justify their particular policies. In the case of the Soviet Union one broad policy was especially restated during the centenary: the policy of peaceful coexistence between different countries, which the Soviet Union had been advocating for fifteen years. The abundance of tributes to Gandhi was unprecedented. In the 'twenties and 'thirties of this century, Gandhi was occasionally denounced by Soviet leaders, despite Lenin's praise for him as a leader of the bourgeois who was misleading the Indian masses and betraying the anti-imperialist struggle. But once India attained independence, there was a great deal of re-appraisal of Gandhi. Like many past policies and ideological lines, the denunciation of Gandhi was also reversed and replaced by total admiration for Gandhi as an anti-imperialist mass leader. The original appraisal of Gandhi by Lenin re-appeared in the centenary and became the accepted Soviet view. As Drobyshev at the Paris symposium and Komarov and Mironov in their special articles analyzed Gandhi's role and ideas, he emerged on the Soviet horizon also as a mass leader who pursued a useful strategy for conducting the anti-imperialist struggle, although they also made a critical assessment of some of his ethical assumptions and sociological analyses.

By and large the celebrations took the form of communication programs, like speeches, discussions, seminars,

exhibitions, films, etc. These are, of course, of enormous values, because they have some impact on the thought process of the people. But one gets the impression that the celebrations abroad were not action-oriented. A contrast can be seen in this respect between the celebrations abroad and those in India. In spite of the fact that Gandhism forms a very small part of official Indian ideology, in several states of India, targets were fixed on the occasion of the centenary for rural electrification or literacy and land distribution among Harijans. District authorities were directed to fulfil the targets in time for the centenary. All this action was so insignificant that public awareness of it remained very meagre. But even this small amount of action orientation was missing in celebrations in other countries, and not only in those where there is no urgent need for them or where there are no specially deprived sections as in India.

There were a few small exceptions. The Hundred Villages Development scheme in Ceylon was launched by the Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya on this occasion. In Colombo, a gandhian centre was established to train gandhian workers for rural development service. In some countries academic centres for gandhian studies were set up. In Berlin, an Institute for the Study of Peace and Conflict was founded to carry out research work on conflict areas. But these remained exceptions to the rule, and the rule was that the celebrations took the form of public meetings, seminars, and exhibitions, church services, installation of Gandhi statues, release of special postage stamps and coins, naming roads, the publication of souvenirs and special supplements in newspapers, essay and painting competitions and radio and television programs. Aden, Iraq, Kenya, Ethiopia and Spain designed extensive programs of lectures and exhibitions of photographs and films on Gandhi.

Naming roads after great men has been a traditional way of honouring them. This was done in about a dozen countries. In New York the rechristening of a place was made effective for a week. Beginning on 11 October 1969, New York's Times Square became Gandhi Square.

Many important Indians visited foreign countries to take part in the celebrations. Some were well-known Gandhians like Jayaprakash Narayan, R. R. Diwakar, Shankar Rao Deo and G. Ramachandran. They recounted their personal experiences of working with Gandhi and explained their interpretation of his ideas. Others were ministers or other eminent Indians. President V. V. Giri went to Ceylon; Jayaprakash Narayan to Afghanistan, Australia, Ceylon and United States; R. R. Diwakar to Belgium, West Germany, Sweden, U.S.S.R., South Korea; Shankar Rao Deo to Nepal; Morarji Desai to West Germany; Dada Dharmadhikary to Nepal; G. Ramachandran to Poland; Dr V. K. R. V. Rao to Britain; Dr K. G. Saiyidain to the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia; N. G. Ranga to Sudan; K. Santhanam to Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya and Hungary; Dr V. G. Patel to Uganda, Tanzania and Dr Sushila Nayar to Italy.

Twenty-one countries issued special postage stamps during the centenary period; in some the post was specially franked on 2 October 1969, with Gandhi centenary markings. In Britain such a thing was done for the first time. The Britain Post Office had never till then issued a stamp bearing the picture of a foreign dignity. The stamp was designed by an Indian artist, Biman Malik. Some countries also issued Gandhi coins, badges and plaques. The souvenirs published during the centenary were of varied excellence. Some, like the one issued in Lebanon, contained articles of a high analytical standard; the souvenirs issued in Malaysia and Tanganyika carried important articles from *Mahatma Gandhi Hundred Years,* edited by S. Radhakrishnan, besides

messages from the national leaders of the respective countries. Some other souvenirs published important sayings of Gandhi.

Special supplements published by various newspapers on the occasion of the Gandhi centenary contained contributions ranging from tributes to analytical essays. Kenya's *Sunday Post* invited the country's important political leaders to write on different aspects of Gandhi. The leaders reflected on their own problems in the light of the gandhian approach and gandhian solutions. Tanzania's *Standard* carried articles by Haile Selassie on Gandhi entitled 'Name Synonymous with Right and Justice'. The *Manila Times* wrote thoughtful editorials on the opening and closing days of the centenary besides publishing special articles on Gandhi. Both in its editorials and in the special articles, interesting comparative studies were made between Gandhi and Rizal. The *Hong Kong Standard* supplement on the Gandhi centenary invited Buddhists and Christian leaders of Hong Kong to participate. Mr R. Ramani, a leading advocate of Kuala Lampur, gave interesting reminiscences of Gandhi and Nehru in the Kuala Lampur *Sunday Mail* supplement. In Mauritius, all the national papers carried special articles on Gandhi, some of which vividly recollected Gandhi's stopover in the island on his way from South Africa to India. It is notable that while in the Afro-Asian countries the press took serious note of the Gandhi centenary, in the western countries it generally did not, though the *Sunday Times* of London and the *New York Times* published a couple of articles on Gandhi, including an extremely critical piece by Arthur Koestler. However, some leading academic magazines carried special articles on Gandhi. *Asia,* the magazine of the Asia Society, New York, the *Journal of Asian Studies,* organ of the Association of Asian Studies, Belgium's *Kultuurleevan,* and Rome's *Filii*

Tui carried important articles. Almost all over the world exhibitions of books, pictures and paintings on Gandhi were organized. These were mostly supplied by the Indian Gandhi Centenary Committee, but in some places local artists submitted paintings on Gandhi for exhibition. Exhibitions organized by the British Museum and the India Office Library in London were of special importance. They exhibited rare documents like court proceedings on Gandhi's trials, correspondence between Secretaries of State and Governors-General of India pertaining to Gandhi, and some confidential reports. The exhibits in the British Museum also included a table cloth made by Gandhi out of hand spun yarn and presented to Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her wedding. The impact of the visual presentation of Gandhi through these exhibitions was significant in some places, as in Czechoslovakia; many young people visited the exhibition and showed keen interest in it.

A unique kind of celebration took place in Chicago. The Directorate of Education oriented its Cultural Enrichment Project to the Gandhi centenary celebrations. The organizers tried to involve school children both from lower and high schools. High school students were given literature on Gandhi, and special programs, including exhibition of films, small plays on Gandhi and musical performances, were organized for them. The organizers prepared a set of questions and distributed them among the teachers to find out their students' reactions to specific celebrations organized in Chicago. In addition, they asked the students questions on the relevance of Gandhi to the problems their society was facing. The responses from the students and also from the instructors were very interesting. The questionnaire shows the kind of keen interest in Gandhi which the organizers of the Cultural Enrichment Project tried to communicate to the young.

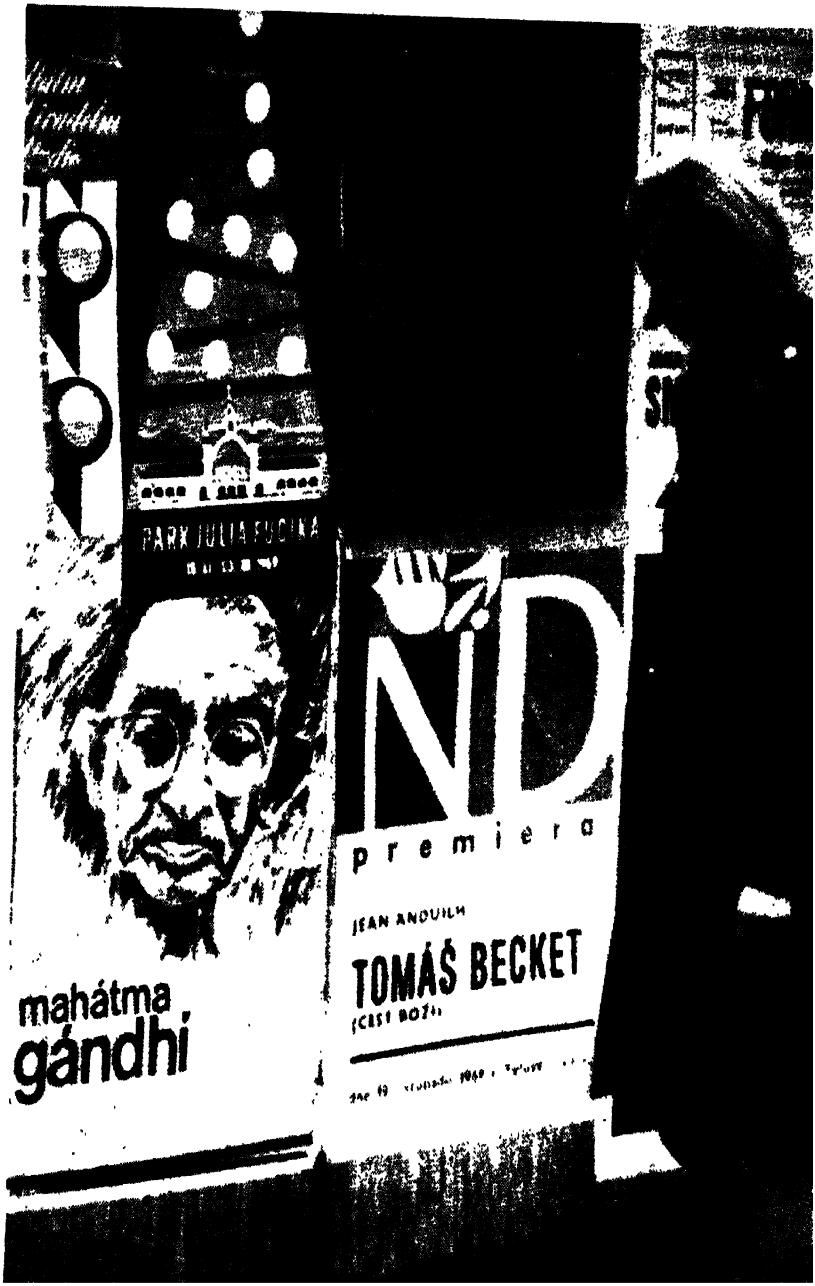
Gandhi will continue to fascinate future generations because his life and ideas comprise an age in themselves which will stand out with greater distinctiveness as the perspective increases. The world was still full of cocksureness when Gandhi's public career began. It was firmly set on the path of material progress; its guidelines were the infallibility of science as spelt out in the simple alphabet of rationalism. Doubts had not yet assailed the Age of Reason which had carried over from the previous century.

But by the time Gandhi began his experiments with truth, the mood had begun to change already; in fact his book of this title should be regarded as part of the early literature which heralded the change. The hundred little anecdotes narrated in it are the alphabet of the new thinking which was to sweep through the philosophic scene between the two World Wars and after the second. The greatest achievements of science were as yet in the future; so was the almost limitless material prosperity which science conferred upon the West as it recovered from the ravages of war. But doubts had begun to be expressed already about the infallibility of science and the ultimate value of material progress. The doubts had not developed into a philosophy yet, but they were groping towards a non-assertive and non-self intellectuality to which Gandhi gave a more spiritual preface when, on the last page of his Autobiography, he said, 'I must reduce myself to zero'.

But by the time the centenary came to be celebrated, the mood had gone past the stage of an incipient philosophy. With large numbers of people, it had become a novel way of life which they held close to their hearts; especially the younger generation did, and most so in the fortress of material progress, America. What had begun as a disturbance in the souls of a few sensitive people had become a prominent warning beacon in the national conscience of

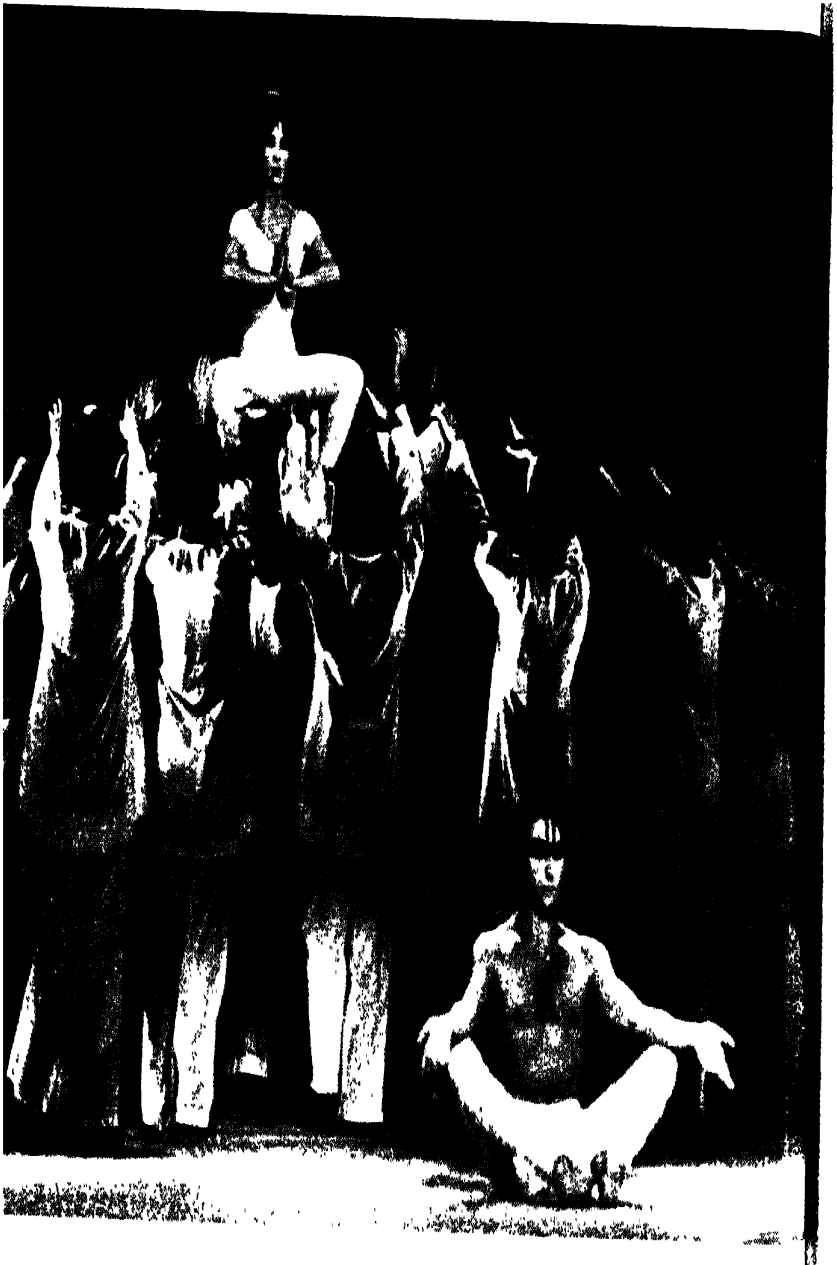
a number of countries. This transition was spread over a time span of roughly half a century, from the beginnings to the climax of the influence of Gandhi on the thoughts of his age — a period long enough in itself and different enough from what preceded and followed it to go down in history as the age of Gandhi.

Prague: Gandhi centenary poster



russels: Belgian sculptor working
ı statue of Gandhi during centenary

Mexico: At unveiling of bronze statue of Gandhi during centenary function



: from *Bhakti*, a Gandhi centenary ballet

Damascus: Syrian poet reciting poem on Gandhi at centenary function

ıa: Governor General going
Gandhi centenary exhibition

GANDHI TODAY

ARNE NAESS

Gandhi's life and work are so many-sided and of such a format that he keeps appearing in ever new associations. In the Norway of the 1920s and 1930s, one saw him in a nationalistic perspective. He fought nonviolently for the political independence of India. But there are a number of other aspects to his work. What I want to draw attention to today is, first of all, neither nonviolence nor national liberation, but certain internal and external pre-conditions for introducing active nonviolence in group conflicts. Gandhi has things of highly current interest to teach us about this. It goes without saying that Gandhi is also of current interest in many other respects.

When Gandhi left South Africa and started his work in India, he soon realized that the great majority of Indians could not at once be mobilized in a political work of liberalization. 'A starving human being', says Gandhi, 'thinks only of food. He will sell his freedom and everything for a piece of food. Such is the situation for millions of people in India. To them, freedom, God and all such words are mere words put together, without the slightest meaning. They are jarring notes in their ears.' (*Young India,* 18.3.1926) From protracted hunger follows apathy. The apathy was so deep-rooted that it impeded every constructive measure for improving

the living conditions. The situation might seem quite hopeless. Apathy and passivity breed self-contempt, a feeling of being totally useless and unwanted, a feeling of utter helplessness, and thus of lack of personal identity.

It was impossible for Gandhi to improve the food situation at a single stroke. That is why he sought in other ways to increase the individual self-respect, the belief that 'I am somebody worth worrying about'. One of the ingenious efforts was the weaving and spinning program, the khadi movement. Of this movement, Gandhi said: 'If we want to give these people a feeling of freedom, we must provide them with employment of a kind which they can easily carry out in their dreary homes, and which will, at any rate, give them the barest means of existence. This can only be done by the spinning-wheel. And when they begin to trust themselves and to be able to stand on their own, then it will be possible for us to speak to them about freedom, about Congress, etc. And so, those who provide them with work and a means of existence will be their deliverers, and also those who will make them hunger for freedom. This is the political value of the spinning-wheel, quite apart from the fact that it can replace foreign fabrics and material. . . .' (*Young India*, 18.3.1926)

The intention was that each family in India's 700,000 villages should take part in the khadi program by spinning or weaving. Most of them were unemployed for most of the year, just hanging about without aim or purpose and, as often as not, suffering from diseases to boot. The fact that Indians were able to meet their own demands was in itself a challenge to the ruling powers, self-assertion on the part of each poor Indian in the face of the apparently all-powerful rulers.

The khadi movement, then, served to unite the Indian people. And Gandhi proposed that the membership fee to

the Congress Party should be 2,000 yards homespun yarn, and his proposal was approved. The fact that everybody participated on an equal footing had a stimulating effect on the self-esteem of the poor.

Through the khadi movement and other ingeniously made measures Gandhi managed to awaken in millions of Indians an elementary minimum of self-respect and a feeling of dignity. In this, more than in anything else, lay his ethical and political feat. This minimum, then, Gandhi sought to exploit in order to rally people to constructive efforts on a large scale. As a result of participation in such efforts, one's self-respect increased until the mind became clearly conscious of not only the individual's right to survive, but to live a worthy life, and thus to take part in the political work of liberalization.

The essential point is that Gandhi recognized self-respect as an absolutely necessary pre-condition for nonviolent fighting in group conflicts. When self-respect fails in a conflict situation, the work of liberalization must be replaced by measures aiming at increased self-respect. Anger is a sign of insecurity, lacking self-esteem, an expression of power, of lacking faith in being able to *persuade* the opponent. I shall give an example of how Gandhi reacted to an expression of impotent rage.

In 1921, Gandhi organized the greatest nonviolent measures ever made. According to the plan, a continuous escalation took place, month after month. On I February 1922, according to the program, the decisive phase should have been introduced by mass violations of the law. But in Chauri Chaura, the enraged crowds killed 22 British policemen, cut them up in pieces and burned them. Gandhi immediately called off the campaign, despite the fact that hundreds of millions of people were now involved. Only the constructive program continued, that is, the spinning, the religious toler-

ance movement and the aid to the casteless. The politicians were furious and the masses desperate.

Gandhi's motives were clear. The main thing for him was that the pre-conditions for widespread nonviolence with participation by the masses were not, as yet, present. The precondition for self-respect and the worth of man had not been fulfilled. Thus, a regression from the political to the ethical and humanitarian level was required. The Chauri Chaura incident illustrated the importance which Gandhi attached to the preparations for nonviolent struggle, and how clearly he realized that, if the events revealed decisive shortcomings in the preparations, the fight must be called off indefinitely, or a considerable de-escalation must take place.

We find the same pattern in his reaction to violence and counter-violence in Amritsar in 1919. Here too he finds that the self-respect failed, in that the participants both fled and used violence. Gandhi called off the operation. He confessed his great mistake. The masses had not been sufficiently ripe for civil disobedience. In other incidents, such as that in Peshawar in 1930, the crowds remained standing when the soldiers were shooting at them, with the result that two companies of soldiers refused to continue the shooting. Here was present the kind of self-respect and self-control on the part of the demonstrators which, according to Gandhi, is necessary to carry on an efficient nonviolent fight for liberty.

I shall now try to show the important aspects of Gandhi's attitude towards self-respect, a feeling of personal identity and worth.

In the course of the last ten years, one has, within a number of liberation movements, lost confidence in nonviolent measures. Violence, both in mind and deed, has become the fashion. Today, recognition of violence is the result of the conviction that only a minority of people are capable of refraining from nonviolence in fighting, and that brutal

opponents are not impressed.

Considering the examples of well-known Negro authors, however, it seems clear to me that Martin Luther King and other prominent champions of nonviolence did not completely manage to solve the problem of self-respect. A man who has no faith in himself cannot refrain from counter-violence, except through cowardice. His reflections will tell him to give violence for violence. The only question for him is: 'Do I dare?' There are several factors involved when one is to explain this failure, both of the social and mental or religious kind.

The religious traditions in Indian society made it easier for Gandhi to appeal to religious and cultural norms than it was for Martin Luther King to appeal to the Christian norms of the Negro population in the secularized American society. They had no collective, positive and concrete program in the U.S., such as the khadi movement in India. This may be one of the reasons why the problem of self-respect has not been satisfactorily solved in the U.S., and why the conditions for active and positive nonviolence on a mass scale have rarely been present.

It is natural to interpret today's appeals for counter-violence as an attempt to give the apathetic, self-despising human being a chance to feel that he *is* somebody, somebody with whom the opponent has to reckon. This is probably what Franz Fanon thinks of, when he asserts 'the liberalizing effect of violence' on the oppressed and under-privileged. He says: 'As far as the individual human being is concerned, the exercise of violence has a cleansing effect. It drives the poisons out of the slave's mind, removes inferiority complexes and tendencies to passive contemplation and hopelessness.'

In the U.S., there are actually reports which suggest that violence on the part of the Negroes towards the police has

had an intensely stimulating effect on the Negro population. Everybody has felt a bit bigger, a bit braver. A more natural and open speech has become the fashion in the face of the whites. A new phenomenon on the university campus in Berkeley (1968) is that of Negroes bawling out at the whites who are standing in a circle about them, respectfully listening and obviously on the defensive. Such things 'help' but, of course, only 'in the short run'.

When it is argued for the use of counter-violence, the typical situation is that a coloured person is assaulted by whites. Carmichael often speaks of assaults made by white hooligans and of nocturnal terrorists (Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power,* p. 64) — that is, comparatively uninteresting situations from the point of view of group conflict. Carmichael and others who criticize Martin Luther King seem to realize, however, that civil rights and a widespread share in the processes of settlement cannot be achieved by fist-fights or the individual use of arms. It is just as clear also, that it cannot be achieved by passivity in the face of bodily assaults.

Carmichael and Hamilton, in their book *Black Power,* say: 'Each time the blacks in these towns saw that Dr Martin Luther King got a rap, they became angry. When they saw young black girls killed by a bomb in a church, they grew even more angry. And when no precautions were taken, they virtually boiled over with rage. We had nothing concrete to offer them, other than to walk out into the street and be hit again. We contributed towards increasing the frustration.' (p. 62) The frustration is a result of the feeling of helplessness and the lack of a constructive program. That is, the absence of nonviolent struggle in the spirit of Gandhi.

From the points of view which I have presented, it would be misleading to say here that the methods of nonviolence have been abandoned for the benefit of violent methods.

What has happened in the last few years can be interpreted as attempts to create the necessary conditions for nonviolent and constructive struggle in the future. The work in which Gandhi in India succeeded without violence, that is, creating pre-conditions for a nonviolent revolution, seemed, in other places, unattainable except partially through violent methods or incidents. But it is also quite clear, as extremists such as Black Panther leader Hue Newton assert, that counter-violence is *not* to be considered a method of solving the great problems of liberalization. Violence is thought of exclusively as a defensive measure, and a means of countering fear, panic, and the inferiority complex which has an entirely destructive effect on any efficient organization of campaigns for liberty.

The latest reports from the U.S. indicate that the Negroes are turning their backs on the spontaneous riots and devastation, and that they are increasingly taking up the fight by effecting constructive measures. Riots and counter-violence have outlived their mission, their sad function, in an environment where self-respect and use of violence are closely bound up with each other. These phenomena have contributed towards clearing the ground for the use of efficient means.

Carmichael and other ideologists within the Negroes' fight for liberty today find the situation of the Negroes comparable to that of the Indians, in so far as it is, in both cases, a struggle against colonialism, and in so far as it is a question of revolution. Carmichael and Hamilton conclude their book *Black Power* with the following statement: 'Regardless of consequences, there is an increasing — and rapidly increasing — number of black people who are firmly determined on "T.C.B." — Take Care of Business (manage their own affairs). They will not be stopped in their energetic efforts to achieve dignity, to achieve their share of power, to decide their own future — in this hour and in this country — re-

gardless of which means are required.' (p. 187)

What I am here trying to draw attention to is that the use of violence, which, it seems, is recommended by the 'opinion-makers', is primarily a means to gain self-respect and thus a basis for dignity. Of course, to take care of business is not achieved by rioting and use of violence. Gandhi saw the most far-going means in the creation of institutions parallel to those of the oppressors, that is, to manage one's affairs as much as possible. But in order to create such institutions, e.g. their own schools, courts and cooperative societies, positive, and not negative, measures are required.

Back to Gandhi: His campaigns possessed a characteristic different from what nowadays goes by the name of nonviolence. In short, one may say that his demonstrations were, as a rule, for something, not *against*. His agitation was *for* something, not *against;* his strikes were equally constructive; even his boycott and civil disobedience measures, his violations of the law were *for,* not against. This means that, as a rule, Gandhi's campaigns and operations were in favour of something concrete and well-defined which was a small part of the great general goal.

During the campaigns, one anticipated and realized a bit of the future. One gave the opponent instruction in points of view as to how one wanted the future society to be. Negative campaigns — in so far as they occurred — were secondary and often had an obvious and understandable relationship with the constructive goals. They were often the result of the authorities' reaction to the constructive campaigns, protests and alternatives to blocked constructive actions. The fact that the main stress was laid on constructive and concrete campaigns implied that when the nonviolent fighter came face to face with his opponent, the former was about to *do something,* carry out something, or express something which he felt he had a clear right to.

If the opponent takes counter-measures, violent or nonviolent, he must do it quite contrary to the constructive thing which the nonviolent fighter stands for. For example: the casteless enter the temples for prayer (1924-25 Vykom satyagraha), the poor extract salt on the coast. The casteless did not demonstrate outside the residences of the priesthood, nor did they take part in the protest marches against the Salt Tax.

The current interpretation of the commandment of turning the other cheek illustrates the difference between constructive and destructive nonviolence. It is not very difficult to instruct the police to knock down peaceful but negative demonstrators. Passivity in the face of bodily assault makes it difficult for fairly decent people to hit and maltreat; but if the police, through the holding of courses etc., can be convinced that the demonstrators are not favouring any good cause, decency may be rooted out. '. . .the constructive program is the true and nonviolent way to win poorna swaraj; its grand fulfilment of complete independence.' (M.K. Gandhi, *Constructive Program,* p. 5, Ahmedabad: 1941)

'I have said, and I repeat, that there is no swaraj for the masses except through khadi and village handicraft, for there is no nonviolent disobedience without a persistent constructive effort. A living, continuous contact with the masses is impossible without a constructive program, which requires almost daily contact between the (nonviolent) workers and the masses.' (*Harijan,* 23.3.40)

The constructive program had to be concrete and well-defined so that everybody within the society in which the satyagraha adherents worked would know that it was for the common good. Furthermore, the goals of campaigns were given a positive form so that one who used violence had to do it *while* the demonstrators knew what they would gain, for example, when they were about to enter the temples

along with the casteless, when they extracted salt, when they were collecting information among the peasants in the Champaran district.

In the course of widespread constructive campaigns, e.g. the establishment of their own schools, universities, courts of justice, etc., the attackers must tear down something which obviously has a meaning and which clearly shows the intentions of the nonviolent fighters. This is much more difficult than in a negative (destructive) campaign in which one shows only what one is *against,* most often something which is well-established and which most people take to be unchangeable, or one does not show anything at all by passivity.

The diminishing faith in the so-called nonviolent methods cannot be said to rest on disappointment in constructive nonviolent measures based on a constructive program. Where it has been attempted, the effect has been enormous in comparison with the effort. Summing up, then, we may say that the reaction to so-called nonviolence is a healthy reaction against *passive* resistance and the *destructive* campaigns, i.e. a reaction which, in the long run, may be suited to smoothing the way for increased approval and realization of Gandhi's ideas. May the centenary celebrations have such an effect in all parts of the world!

GANDHI'S VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL AND ETHICAL PRECONDITIONS OF A NONVIOLENT FIGHTER

JOHAN GALTUNG

India was brought into a difficult situation in regard to England because of competition from other textile-producing big powers, and Gandhi was asked whether the time had now come for extensively sharpening the boycott. The kind of action recommended by Gandhi in this connection is in a certain sense characteristic, namely, that the purpose of this boycott was not first of all to weaken the British. Actually it was, above all, the very opposite, namely, to strengthen the economy and integrity of the underdog in Indian society. In this connection, Gandhi has said things about imperialism and colonialism which are almost surprisingly modern. He says the following: 'Colonialism passes through three phases of which the first two are less essential; it is the third phase which is dangerous. The first phase is the military and political establishment in an area where there has not as yet taken place any considerable form of economic penetration. In the second phase takes place the economic penetration, which consists in stealing materials. Either the materials are stolen or they are compensated for at a ridiculously low price. Even this is not in itself a dangerous or essential phase. The dangerous phase, however, is the third phase, in which

the finished products are distributed on the Indian market, outclassing the already established local industry and thus destroying the very basis on which the village societies have been built.' As is known, these village societies were usually built on an alternate basis of agriculture and a form of handicraft. Not very different from the rural districts of Norway and of many other countries. The imperialistic competition of finished products exported from England destroyed the basis of this system.

The reason why Gandhi wanted to boycott these finished products was to re-establish a system of handicraft which in his opinion was the ideal. What is essential here is perhaps Gandhi's fundamental conception that a revolution does not mean to weaken or hurt the dominating party. It does not mean to do it directly, but it means to reform society by strengthening the autonomy, dignity, integrity and productivity of the underdog. This is first of all a question of a pure power relations which aims at reforming the structure of society by strengthening it at the bottom so that it will thus indirectly be weakened at the top, and then there will be a question of ingenuity. I think that many people would perhaps find a contrast here between Gandhi and many other thinkers. With Gandhi this assumed various forms of local industry which had for its purpose not first of all to weaken the British, but first of all to strengthen the Indians.

I mention this because here one is standing on a ground which is very much like that on which the new Liberal Movement is standing throughout the world today. And a number of other ideas of Gandhi are also very similar to those held by the new Liberal Movement. As Arne Naess has pointed out, there is a norm shared by both the Liberal Movement and Gandhi, namely, a norm of 'urgency' that the matter requires immediate attention and that this urgency can only be expressed in the form of action, not words. In other words,

one cannot afford to wait, but must get started at once. In particular, one must not wait for the politically opportune moment. If an action is justified, one must immediately start carrying it out without waiting for what in the tactical sense is considered to be opportune. To Gandhi, then, this appears as a strategy. The strategy of beginning at once is a strategy which involves human responsibility right from the start, and in regard to which responsibility must not be subordinated to purely short-term tactical considerations. But Gandhi also has another norm of nearness, not only nearness in time, but also in space. It is a norm which is not very widespread outside of Gandhi's way of thinking. It is the conception that you must begin the work at the place where you live. You should not be in some other place, helping others; you should fight for the community of which you are a part. A sympathy strike was inconceivable to Gandhi because it does not concern one directly, and a sympathy strike will affect people who are even less interested. It does not mean that one should not help other people, but the precondition for helping others must be that you yourself are in close contact with them and are actually a part of their group or community.

There is a third connecting point with the new Liberal Movement. The idea of students taking employment in industry — not in order to become a kind of appendix to the working class, but in order to become a part of the working class — is an idea which has been clearly expressed in Gandhi's thoughts also.

To Gandhi it was important that one should not be dependent upon a third party. It was to be a struggle between the one party and the other, but this struggle was to be fought out within the system itself, with the system's own means, and, as has been mentioned, first of all by strengthening one's own party and not by direct attacks on the opposite party.

This is where the fundamental gandhian idea enters the picture, the idea that one should be aggressive — not against another human being, but against conditions. The aggression should be directed against the antagonism, not against the antagonist. This, then, implies quite a number of implications. One of them has already been mentioned, namely, that one must try to change the structure by beginning *now* and *here,* by developing meaningful forms of joint action between the underprivileged. One should reduce the dependency upon the dominating party and increase the dependency upon those with whom one has made common cause.

Permit me to give a few examples: How can students reduce the dependency upon a professor? It is very simple; it is to boycott his lectures. This, in itself, would not, according to gandhian ethics, be sufficient. This would only be a part of the solution, one might say: one side of the coin. The other side of the same coin would be for the students to form a free and independent university — typical example of a gandhian form of action, in which the main stress is laid on this horizontal joint action.

There exist a number of American educationalists who claim — without quite being able to prove — that students acquire 75 per cent of their knowledge by conversing together, 25 per cent from one form of authority or another. This is very much in line with my own experience. When I was in prison as an objector to military service, I read profusely and constantly; in other words, contact with figures of authority. On being released I realized that I had forgotten practically everything, and this for a very simple reason: there was no one with whom you could make that little try-out of acquired knowledge which is so essential in learning. You send out a signal about something you have read, you receive a signal in return and it is probably in this preferably horizontal process that the learning really takes place.

In psychiatric hospitals one has the same type of problems. There is the therapeutist and the mentally ill patients. Only 15-20 years ago there was no one who had really practised the idea of a therapeutic society. This invention had yet to be made.

I mention this because one of the dominating features of Gandhi's nature is the ingenuity. In other words, to find new social forms and to consider society as something which is created by creating new forms. So when Gandhi fought against antagonism, he fought against a form of social structure, an exploiting, pyramidal, hierarchic, feudal form of structure, and he fought it by developing it at the bottom, thus weakening the dependence upon the upper layers. This is what Gandhi called revolution.

There are also other ways of interpreting the word revolution. One is to kill or in one way or another eliminate the people at the top and replace them with other people at the top. That is the Brazilian system of revolution. The word 'revolution' is so current and popular today that very few regimes are willing to institute themselves without associating themselves with the word 'revolution'. Another interpretation is to eliminate, kill, banish, imprison those at the top and replacing them with people from the bottom, but retaining a certain amount of the older ways and system, a tiered structure, a class society, a bureaucracy, etc. It is a form well known in Eastern Europe. Gandhi, in his writings, emphatically dissociates himself from both forms. He has an exceedingly clear understanding of the fact that a social reform is something different from this.

Permit me to point out an essential difference between Gandhism and the predominating tendencies in the new Liberal Movement today. I am thinking of the norm which holds that one should not fight the antagonists! What does Gandhi mean by this? Do not fight the antagonists. By this

Gandhi means something similar to what the Quakers mean when they say that there is something of God in every human being. Every human being is holy, or, in Gandhi's words: 'Every human being is a bearer of ideas and conceptions of the good and just society. The good and just society is created anew every day. It is not in the power of a human being to comprehend it completely.' Gandhi has a conception that it is possible fully to comprehend; a human being would comprehend it if he is sufficiently far-seeing.

Gandhi strongly distinguished between what a human being *does* by virtue of the position he holds in society and what a human being *can* do by virtue of being human, because he possesses a potential. Here he made a distinction which is completely in accordance with sociology, at least a form of sociology which distinguishes between a person who acts and the role he plays, saying that they are two different things. You can take a human being away from his role, but if another human being adopts the same role, the system will remain the same. When Gandhi distinguishes between antagonists and antagonism, he distinguishes between a human being and a system, and when he wishes to change the system, he carries, in a certain sense, an optimistic message of joy, almost in a Christian sense.

Gandhi thinks it possible to change the system without eliminating the people on top, but it is possible only if you strengthen the bottom and weaken the contract with the top, a two-sided program. This implies a deep respect for other people, and it also implies a number of various consequences.

One consequence is that it is the task of the nonviolent fighter to find a form which changes the social structure without eliminating the people. Gandhi considered it a ques-

tion of ingenuity, of steadily experimenting. So far as I am concerned, I wish to say that there is one trait of this man's character to which I have been attracted to a fantastic degree — that is, in addition to his ethical message — and that is his sparkling ingenuity, a trait which precious few politicians possess. An inventiveness which is actually of the same type as that of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara, although, from an ethical point of view, they acted on a different basis. For both in Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara's campaign was to be found this doubleness; on the one side to weaken the opponent, and, on the other, to develop at once the desirable horizontal system. Consequently, Gandhi's nonviolent campaign did not differ essentially from guerrilla warfare, but it differed widely from the military.

The mentioned respect for other people, then, does not only manifest itself in the will not to eliminate an opponent, but it also manifests itself, to an equal degree, in a sincere wish to learn from the opponent. Learning is impossible without communication. Communication is impossible without contact and this, then, presupposes that there was a certain form of doubleness in Gandhi's relations with other people. On the one side, a person who stands up for his own views and, on the other, one who possesses a kind of superview, a metaphysical view, to the effect that here I stand and there you stand and let us now work together in such a way as to achieve greater results than if we had worked separately. From this develops a discussion, and this discussion is subjected to certain rules which differ widely from what is being practised by the new Liberal Movement.

Gandhi had a strong and sincere wish to understand his opponent instead of systematically to distort his viewpoints, misquote them, quote them selectively, etc. Very important to Gandhi was the idea that one should understand what

is best in his opponent, best in the sense of what is the most important counter-argument to one's own points of view. One should not imitate the usual debating technique in which one picks out his opponent's weakest point and then proceeds to harp on this. The opponent, then, was not considered an opponent, but a co-actor in a dramatic play. As for Gandhi's doctrines of conflict, the conflict was not regarded as an antagonistic relation between two human beings of two classes in which the important thing is to weaken the opposite party, but rather it was regarded as a situation in which the system binds the parties together, that a conflict is actually an invitation to social and constructive intercourse rather than an invitation to mutual elimination. Naturally, this invitation to intercourse is at the same time an invitation to change the system. This understanding, this doubleness, makes great demands. One may say that it is connected with the fact that Gandhi was of opinion that a conflict should not be a signal for rage and anger, for aggressive words and aggressive actions. To him, a conflict was a challenge, the challenge that here was something to be done, while at the same time it offered possibilities of contact with a human being with whom you stand in an interesting and significant relation. One should therefore, more than ever, increase the personal contact with the opposite party.

This, then, is quite contrary to all the rules we know from sociological theories of conflicts. These rules lay it down that the frequency of contacts be reduced. One may interpret Gandhi to the effect that he represents an attempt to fight this form of determinalistic sociology. It would appear that it is not possible to practise this without a fundamental view of other people which strongly accentuates the traits of character common to all human beings, and which lays less stress on contradistinctions. And with Gandhi, it is precisely

a question of a position in a conflict, and not of any permanent trait of another human being's character.

In this respect Gandhi is in no way unique; we find the same views in Christianity, the distinction between the sin and the sinner; that one can forgive the sinner while dissociating oneself from the sin. Gandhi reconciles himself to his opponent, but he dissociates himself from the system. The ways in which he chose to do this are quite well known. It should not be necessary to enumerate them, but I should like to discuss some of their features which deserve mentioning.

I think that, in a sense, Gandhi made a disastrous error in his ideas which has been repeated over again in many later nonviolent actions. It is that he did not attach sufficient importance to, or understand, the factor of surprise in the execution of his actions. When they did, in the beginning, achieve a certain effect, it was because the Britishers were almost paralyzed by suddenly being brought face to face with something which they did not really know how to handle. In such a situation it was natural for the opposite party to regroup its forces and work out a strategy against the non-military or nonviolent forms of action. This is something which I, personally, have been most concerned with. I shall not touch upon this here, I only wish to say that when Gandhi was disappointed and pessimistic in his old age and positive and optimistic in his younger days, it was because in his younger days he had the advantage of being on the right side of a factor of surprise which, thirty years later, was lost when the British had finally formed a clear conception of how nonviolence is to be tackled.

Gandhi underestimated a very essential thing. His personal life was marked by a strong form of contempt for material things — as is known, when he died, he left behind five things — in other words, he lived in such a way that,

if he were to be punished, it was difficult to find an effective way of doing it; he could not be fined, to deprive him of property was impossible. They could put him in prison. He had already demonstrated that he was happier in prison than in any other place, since in confinement he was not disturbed by all the tourists who came to see him. So there was practically no alternative left, except to eliminate him completely. That was finally done, but by different hands. Now, it is clear that if you take Gandhi as your starting-point and add a couple of kilos to the person's weight while increasing the number of his personal chattels from five to fifty, it will finally become possible to punish him. In other words, one may say that there is an increasing number of ways in which it is possible to inflict damage; Gandhi's answer was basically this: If my way of life was strategically and tactically favourable to a nonviolent struggle, it proves that my way of life was the right one. And the opposite idea: If a different way of life necessitates other forms of defence which are in themselves contrary to the fundamental norm of nonviolence, it proves that these other forms of defence are wrong. But there is something more than this in Gandhi's mind, for there was also a doubleness in his views on what victory really means. I have already mentioned this by way of introduction; here I merely wish to put it in a different way. To Gandhi, victory in a nonviolent struggle meant two things: a strengthening of one's self which he sometimes called purification — purification of one's self — on the one hand, and, on the other, to win the opponent over to one's own point of view. That is, it was never Gandhi's aim merely to create a new structure, he also wanted his opponent to be a part of this structure, and that he should take part in creating it.

In many ways Gandhi was placed in a favourable situation, namely, if his political opponents said: What on earth

do you want to achieve by this, Gandhi could always say: We have strengthened and purified ourselves. This idea is far from being the western idea of defence, and it is also, I think, widely different from the new Liberal Movement's conception of victory. But it is not very different from, for instance, certain tendencies in the American Negro's struggle for freedom today. Namely that, in your relations with the white man, the pig, you should act in such a way as to create a liberating effect on yourself. One way of doing it is to walk up to him and hit him since you become a human being, a man, the moment you do it. It does not matter whether the white person is relevant to you or not; the fact that he is white is what matters.

In this there is a strongly fascist element. By fascism I mean two things: first, the use of other people as an instrument, and second, this undifferentiated categorization of other people as whites. As seen from this point of view, all whites are alike, what matters is the colour of the skin. One may call it a process of learning in which the whites' attitude towards the coloured has become effectively internalized. There is one similarity, however, namely, that the struggle is meaningful to the extent it is liberating.

Gandhi did, however, have an idea which is distinctly eastern and which could be followed in the West only with difficulty: the idea that one has won a victory even though only *one* person has been purified, since his purification — if he has sacrificed himself and is capable of reaching the great heights — is something which concerns not only himself, since by so doing he has enriched the whole of mankind, and not only those who belong to his party, but the opponent has also been enriched. This is what Arne Naess calls man's common ethical budget.

One may say about Gandhi that he was better as a psychologist than as a sociologist. He had very little sense of

the more refined features of social structures. He had an understanding that liberation from the colonial power consisted in developing an independent, autonomous India, but he had no sense of further deep analyses. What was of the greatest interest to him was whether a certain form of struggle would have a positive effect on the opponent by reason of showing him sincere respect, and this combined with a refusal to perform acts in a system which you denounced by way of non-cooperation, civil disobedience. Some of the psychological mechanisms of which he claimed support were the following: If you maintain contact with your opponent while at the same time refusing to buy what he has to offer or refusing to do something which he wants done, you would be showing your opponent that you did not want to do him any personal harm. You wish to keep him. Thus, you reduce your opponent's sense of threat, and by so doing you place your opponent in a situation in which he is willing to communicate.

This is also something which is different from the new Liberal Movement, with its flat rejection of the opponent, the insults, the ridicule, the distortions, and above all the estrangement of the opponent, the tendency socially to categorize the opponent as capitalist, etc. This has a strongly unifying effect on the opponent, anti-communicating and threatening, and it launches processes which, within the dialectics of society, do not have a liberating effect, but the effect of maintaining the status quo instead.

Gandhi is also of the opinion that by maintaining contact with your opponent, you show your own people that this is possible, and thus probably starting a chain reaction which produces more contact, more debate, more forum. This forum is also a characteristic idea of the new Liberal Movement, the idea of bringing about a meeting. But what takes place when this meeting is established is often a form

of conversation which is not gandhian, to put it mildly. The Britishers should realize that respect was shown for their lives — that was really the whole idea.

Gandhi also had another thesis of his theory — a political prerequisite — which I think is regrettably untrue. It would have been wonderful if it were true, but there is every indication that it is not. It is the so-called catalysator thesis. Namely, that if you have a system which is unjust and exploiting, then this system need not be challenged or changed in all respects at the same time. It is sufficient to consider one main point, one central point, and introduce a substantial change on this one point. Since this change is right, it will have an effect similar to that of crystal when introduced into a liquid, it will have a crystallizing effect on the liquid. That is, a catalytical effect.

This is a conception which has layed an essential part in all revolutions and social reforms, but instead of using examples from Russia, from France in 1870 or other places, I shall merely mention one example from the southern states of the U.S. The de-segregation campaign was conducted in altogether 2,500 counties, but specially in the southern states. On its program it had about 25 items: the local swimming-pool, the schools, the buses, the cinemas, restaurants, etc. In the beginning the idea was that if you could win the struggle on one single point, it will imply a diffusion. There are two ways of doing this. One way is to take one county and carry out everything there. The other way is to take one item, for example, the segregation of restaurants, and carry it into effect in all places. The most optimistic thesis is to the effect that it would be sufficient to take one county and one item, but experience shows that the diffusive effect was inconsiderable. Gandhi's idea, then, was that inherent in nonviolent struggles were methods of such a kind as to cause this diffusive effect. For his part,

this was strongly bound up with the idea of man's common ethical budget. Mankind was an organized whole, so that a benefit for mankind on one point was a benefit on other points also.

Gandhi described himself as a karma-yogi, a yogi who, through action, should show the way, and a karma-yogi of exceptional possibilities at that. What has actually amounted to a powerful hero-worship of Gandhi, he himself has often interpreted as an example of the fact that the thesis of diffusion was correct. Much of his disappointment in later years should be viewed in this light.

In concluding this essay, I wish to say that, to Gandhi, it was not a question of destroying the opponent, but of destroying the function of the opponent. He would reject any revolution which could offer nothing but the destruction of the opponent. He was strongly optimistic as regards the possibility of finding new forms of action. He believed that, through experiments, we would find many new forms.

The history after Gandhi does not in itself seem to prove this. On the contrary, one might say; an imitation of things already made, instead of the inventiveness which derives from the fact that you consider yourself in a concrete social situation with concrete tasks. True, this inventiveness may, to a certain extent, be improved by research, seminars, discussions, etc., but above all by action. And in this respect Gandhi appears to be standing — to a greater extent than many other thinkers — on the same ground as that of the young revolutionaries of our times: namely, that it is action and not words which provides the answer; that the words live in their own world and are important, but that it is action that reforms the world. Gandhi himself says somewhere: 'I should be happy to exchange all the things I have written for one successful action.'

GANDHI, RIZAL AND THE PHILIPPINE CONDITION

JOSE W. DIOKNO

In recent years, our foreign policy has undergone a significant transformation. Less and less blindly do we now follow the lead of the United States. More and more intensively we search for our rightful place in the Asian world.

It is a world where two giants loom above all others by sheer size: the People's Republic of China, the largest communist country in the world; and India, the largest democracy in the world. Three months ago, the President said that if the United States withdraws from Asia, we must learn to co-exist with Communist China. I submit that whether the United States withdraws or remains in Asia, the Philippines should strengthen its ties with India. To do so, we must seek to understand the contemporary Indian mind; for this, we must turn to the man who, more than any other, shaped the India of today: Mohandas K. Gandhi, whom the world knows as Mahatma, the 'Great Soul'.

It is fitting that we do so now. This year marks the hundredth anniversary of his birth. And the week just ended was, by Proclamation No. 511 of the President dated 19 January 1969, set aside as Mahatma Gandhi Week, because the people of the Philippines ... share the world's need to translate Mahatma Gandhi's ideals and aspirations in terms of everyday life', and 'there is need to set aside a

period within which the ideals, aspirations and teachings of the illustrious world leader may be fittingly brought to the attention of the public'. It is, in truth, not only to the attention of the people, but of all who would lead us, that the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi must be brought. He has lessons for us all.

The British novelist and historian, Austin Coates, has said that, of the four men who stand as pillars of contemporary Asian thought, two are Mahatma Gandhi and Jose Rizal. There are striking parallels in their life. Both were born in nations groaning under the heel of colonial oppression. Born eight years apart, both belonged to families that we would today describe as in the higher middle-income group. After completing their basic studies in their native land, both journeyed to Europe to learn their careers: Rizal to the Central University of Madrid to become a doctor; Gandhi to Cambridge University to take up law. Both were early consumed by the burning desire to free their people from oppression and to cure the ills of their society. Both had superior minds and strong wills; both were great men and even greater patriots.

It is not surprising that there should also be remarkable parallels in their thoughts. As Simoun lies dying in the final chapter of *El Filibusterismo,* Rizal puts these words in Fr Florentino's mouth: 'I do not mean to say that our freedom must be won at the point of the sword; the sword now counts for very little in the destinies of our times; but I do say that we must win our freedom by deserving it, by improving the mind and enhancing the dignity of the individual, loving what is just, what is good, what is great, to the point of dying for it. When a people reach these heights, God provides the weapon, and the idols and the tyrants fall like a house of cards, and freedom shines in the first dawn.' These same ideals — truth, equality, freedom, self-reliance

and self-sacrifice, and nonviolence — are the threads with which Gandhi wove his thoughts.

Both men lived by these ideals; both were jailed because of their beliefs. But where Rizal was forced by circumstances to live apart from his people, Gandhi was able to toil with them; and where Rizal declined the offer to lead the revolution, Gandhi conceived a technique of nonviolent mass movement — the technique of satyagraha — and used it to lead his people in a successful struggle for revolutionary changes in his society and his government.

It is Gandhi's example and concept of leadership, his unrelenting struggle against inequality, and his technique of nonviolent conflict that have special relevance to the world, to Asia and to the Philippines today.

At no other time in the post-war era has our country been torn by so much violence, nor cursed by so much inequality, as it is today. The records of our Police Commission show that, throughout the country, a total of 117,423 crimes were reported in 1961. In 1965, the total had risen by 30 per cent to 131,677. In 1967, crime doubled to reach 270,070 reported cases. The violent destruction of life by murder, homicide and parricide rose from 8,750 in 1965 to 16,489 in 1967; physical injuries from 23,474 in 1965 to 49,012 in 1967; robberies from 6,519 in 1961 to 20,293 in 1967. Murders for hire have become common; those who are required to keep the law are among the first to break it.

In 1957, a survey of households conducted by the Bureau of Census and Statistics showed that our country was made up of 3.9 million families, and that 86.5 per cent of these families were able to live within their income and even to have some savings. A similar survey in 1961 showed that our families had increased to 4.4 million; but only 48.1 per cent of these managed to live within their income. And in 1965, with our nation now having 5.1 million families, only

33.7 per cent could make both ends meet. Fully two-thirds of all our families — more than 3.4 million families — could keep going only by dipping into savings accumulated in past years or by borrowing money.

The next survey of households will be made this year, 1969; but even without a survey, economic indicators show that the situation today has not improved. On the contrary, it appears to have worsened.

The Central Bank reports that in 1965, our unemployed totalled 663,000, representing 6.2 per cent of our labour force; in 1967, our unemployed increased to 909,000, representing 7.7 per cent of the labour force. The National Economic Council reports that prices as a whole were 9 per cent higher in 1967 than 1965, and 13 per cent higher in 1968 than in 1965. Food cost 18.5 per cent more in greater Manila and 17.2 per cent outside Manila in 1968 than it did in 1965. Clothing had gone up 8.4 per cent in Manila and 17.5 per cent outside Manila. The cost of rent and repairs, light and water and other essentials has also risen. While money wages have increased, they have not kept pace with prices. The Central Bank reports that real wages for skilled and unskilled labour in Manila and suburbs in 1967 were 78.8 per cent and 86.2 per cent of real wages in 1955, and were lower than in 1965.

This decline in real family income is not due to any stagnation in our economy, for our economy has grown at a faster pace than our population. From 7.687 billion pesos in 1955, our national income increased, at the same 1955 prices, to 14.923 billion pesos in 1968, an increase of almost 94 per cent. On the other hand, our population grew from 23.6 million in 1955 to 35.9 million in 1968, an increase of 52 per cent.

The sad truth is that the benefits of our economic growth have not spread among all our people. Average family in-

comes have increased; but average family expenses have increased even more; so that, in 1965, average family expenditures which amounted to 2,877 pesos, exceeded the average family income of 2,541 pesos. This was true in all areas of our country — Greater Manila, other urban areas and rural areas. In 1965 — as in 1961 and 1957 — the 10 per cent of our families who received the highest incomes received 40 per cent of the total income earned by all families; so that only 60 per cent of the total family income was left to be divided among 90 per cent of our families. Indeed, only 2.6 per cent or 130,000 out of our 5 million families earned 10,000 pesos a year or more in 1965; and these 2.6 per cent took in 20.8 per cent of the total family income. We are becoming, if we have not already become, what Rizal described as 'a republic of the greedy and the needy'.

Under these circumstances, when they see the contemptuous and callous display of wealth and profligacy by the elite that is flaunted in the society pages of our newspapers and weekly magazines, our people cannot but sympathize with our doctors, teachers, students, jeepney and taxi drivers and our market vendors giving vent to their dissatisfaction and frustration in demonstrations and strikes, even though, from time to time, these demonstrations are marred by violence. Nor can we take offence when our youth feels it necessary to warn us, their elders, that unless changes are made, a violent revolt is not far off: they but echo the young student Isagani, telling the liberal Father Fernandez, in Rizal's *El Filibusterismo,* that the youth are 'only asking you to give us the right of way that you may not be run over and crushed'.

This demand for change — peaceful, if possible; violent, if not; but change at any rate — is not peculiar to our society. The United States, France, West Germany — to

name but a few — all experience the same travail. Nor is the demand peculiar to our day. On the contrary, it reaches us down the corridors of time: for as the historians Will and Ariel Durant say in *The Lessons of History,* when the concentration of wealth reaches 'a point where the strength of number in the many poor rivals the strength of ability in the few rich, then the unstable equilibrium generates a critical situation, which history has diversely met by legislation redistributing wealth or by revolution distributing poverty'.

Today, this choice between redistribution and revolution has been made more urgent and agonizing by the rivalry between democracy and communism. When our forefathers demanded change from Spain and from the United States, as when Gandhi and his people demanded change from Britain, there was no doubt that they intended to establish, as they did, a democratic government. Today, the demand for change is profoundly influenced by the tenets that view a democracy that respects individual freedom as incompatible with the economic well being of the many.

If then voluntary change is resisted, is violent revolution the only answer? If the free society fails to raise the quality of life of the many who are poor, must we turn to communism?

Gandhi's life and teachings give us an answer that may help to free us from the shackles of the past and to escape from the dilemma of the present.

'No society', Gandhi said, 'can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own.'

For Gandhi, freedom is essential. But it is a freedom

built upon equality. 'We are all absolutely equal', Gandhi said, 'but equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state. We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realize equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality.'

How are we to assert this equality, to realize it in the midst of the inequality of our time?

First, by Gandhi's concept and example of leadership. For Gandhi, leadership can come only through service; indeed, it is only a by-product of service. Criteria for leaders are not to be found in the circumstances of their birth or social station, but in the qualities of their mind and soul. 'Courage, endurance, fearlessness and, above all, self-sacrifice are the qualities required of our leaders', Gandhi wrote. A person belonging to the suppressed classes exhibiting these qualities in their fulness would certainly be able to lead the nation; whereas the most finished orator, if he has not these qualities, must fail. Leadership, moreover, must be based on faith — 'boundless faith' — in the people. The people, he believed, know what they want; but 'do not know how to express their wants, and less often how to get what they want'. Here lies the need for and the function of leadership: to express the people's wants and to show the way to get them. 'Let not leaders distrust the people', Gandhi said, 'theirs is an amazingly responsive nature'. Nor should they underestimate them; for, as he said: 'The masses are by no means so foolish, or unintelligent as we sometimes imagine.... Disastrous results can easily follow a bad, hasty, or what is worse, selfish lead.'

Gandhi did not pay mere lip service to these ideals. He dignified them by his own example of complete and total disregard for material comfort. He identified himself with the masses in his mind: he decided to do so also in his body.

He chose to live simply, with the lowest of the castes in India; to wear the loin cloth of the peasant, instead of the saffron robe of the ascetic. Clad in his loin cloth, he went from city to village, from the mansions of Indian princes to the hovels of the poorest, to preach his creed. During Gandhi's leadership, no breath of scandal touched his party and organization. There could be none with the example that he gave.

This total dedication to service in disregard of self is an example not only to the leadership of this country but of all democracies in Asia. Here, as elsewhere, we struggle to win the heart and mind of our people for a way of life that recognizes, as Gandhi did, the value of individual freedom, as against a way that would deny the freedom of most for the alleged good of all. Yet, here as elsewhere, in what is called free Asia, the leadership is characterized by all the pageantry of power and the trapping of great wealth. Where communism has succeeded, it has been under the leadership of men who like Gandhi gave up comfort for cause. Who among the leaders of Asia today more resembles Gandhi than Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam and Mao Tse-tung of China? Is it not necessary then that those of us who believe in democracy should, like Gandhi, identify with the masses and forsake the sybaritic benefits and rewards of wealth and live with the simplicity of our people? Only when a leader conquers one of man's most ancient enemies — greed — can he hope that his leadership will succeed.

There are some who may believe that Gandhi's precepts of leadership are not relevant to our present condition. These principles were directed against the Hindu institution of caste and against the British rule in India; and we have neither caste nor foreign rule in our country. Granted. But these distinctions make no difference.

We do not have caste; but we have social classes; and the chasm between our elite and our masses is as deep and as wide as between the zamindars and the untouchables of Gandhi's day. We too have our princes of privilege and our paupers of despair; the landless peasant whose only legacy to his children is debt; the labour seeking hire, who in one year earns less than a socialite pays for her *terno*.[1]

And are we really free of foreign rule? I doubt it. Can we be free when so much of our trade and industry is in foreign hands, when the largest incomes are reported by alien capitalists, when we rely on foreign bases to defend our shores and continuously seek foreign aid to bolster our economy? But this is another subject; and even if we were no longer a colony of a foreign power, as Madariaga has said, 'a people can be a colony of its own leaders'. The power and influence of foreign rule may have gone or may have declined; if so, the vacuum has been filled, not by the power of the people, but by the power of the elite — the lords of wealth and influence who shape our country's economic and political destiny according to their whims and fancies. They were as much the enemy to Gandhi as the British raj. 'Every ruler is alien', Gandhi said, 'who does not listen to the voice of the people'.

'My patriotism', Gandhi added, 'does not teach me that I will allow the people to be crushed under Indian princes if at all the British retire. If I have the power, I should resist the tyranny of the Indian princes just as much as that of the English. By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people and if I can secure it at the hands of the English I should bow down my head to them.' Rizal said much the same thing: 'What is the use of independence if the slaves of today will be the tyrants of tomorrow?'

Thus, Gandhi's concept of leadership is as valid after independence as before; and the example he gave of leader-

ship is even more necessary today than yesterday.

But leadership may not be enough. Gandhi realized that to be effective, leadership and technique must combine. For technique without ideals is a menace; and ideals without technique are a mess.

If the privileged few refuse to share their wealth and their power with the under-privileged many, if they refuse with unyielding obstinacy to effect voluntarily the changes that are needed in our social, economic and governmental institutions to bring about greater equality and more effective justice, what technique is there by which the masses of our people can persuade the elite that their stubbornness is wrong and immoral, and shame them into taking the steps that must be taken to provide a just society where the old can hope without illusions, and the young can lead a meaningful and creative life?

In 1893, while in South Africa for some legal work, Gandhi conceived such a technique. One winter night, as he travelled across South Africa by train, he was thrown out of his coach, though he had a first-class ticket, for no reason other than that he was a dark-skinned Hindu. Without an overcoat, without other luggage than a brief case, his body numbed with cold, Gandhi spent the night alone in the darkened railroad station, mulling over what course of action to take. As he debated with himself, he realized that the Indians and the Africans were poor. But they were many, and the whole establishment was dependent on them. This is one of the basic truths about the oppressed — they have strength in their numbers; they are the base of the pyramid that supports the few who are on top. Without them, there would be no system, no establishment. Thus was born the technique that Gandhi first called 'passive resistance' and later 'satyagraha', an amalgam of the Hindu words 'satya' (truth) and 'agraha' (love and firmness):

the technique of a mass force based on truth and moved by love or nonviolence.

The technique was not born full-grown; it was developed and refined with each application, first in South Africa and later in India; until in the end, it conquered violence and spread around the world. It was the technique that impelled Britain to free India. It was the technique that inspired the professors and students of the United States when they joined hands to force President Johnson into meaningful negotiations for peace in South Vietnam. It led to the technique that Martin Luther King used to shame the white people of the United States into acknowledging and doing something about the immorality of their discrimination against the Negro.

On the surface, the gandhian technique seems similar to traditional methods of strike, fasting, demonstration, non-cooperation, civil disobedience to unjust laws. Indeed, satyagraha uses all of these techniques, but it transforms them. Like these, it too seeks to effect change, often revolutionary change; but it is basically a different technique: for it is based upon truth as one sees it, not upon advantage; it refuses to inflict violence, but accepts violence done to its adherents; and its ultimate objective is not to achieve victory, but to convince its opponents of the morality and validity of its ends, and to shame them into effecting the change it seeks.

It may seem strange that Gandhi, a lawyer, should advocate disobedience to law. Some have even denounced his technique as an immoral use of force, nonviolent though it is. I do not propose to become embroiled in that argument. Whether the movement is moral or immoral, there can be no doubt that it demanded a high degree of morality of its adherents. Here is the Code of Conduct that Gandhi laid down:

(1) Harbour no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent.

(2) Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.

(3) Refrain from insults and swearing.

(4) Protect opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.

(5) Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.

(6) Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.

(7) If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.

(8) As a member of a satyagraha unit, obey the orders of satyagraha leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.

(9) Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

Joan V. Bondurant of the University of California at Berkeley, whose book *The Conquest of Violence* is perhaps the best analysis of the gandhian technique, has said that its fundamental rules and tactical steps are the following:

FUNDAMENTAL RULES

(1) *Self-reliance at all times*: Outside aid may, in the proper circumstances, be accepted, but should never be counted upon.

(2) *Initiative in the hands of the satyagrahis*: Through continuous assessment of the conflict situation, satyagrahis should, by means of constructive efforts where possible, by positive resistance where indicated, or by the tactics of persuasion and adjustment, press the movement ever forward.

(3) *Propagation of the objectives, strategy and tactics of the campaign*: Propaganda must be made an integral part of the movement. Education of the opponent, the public and participants must continue apace.

(4) *Reduction of demands to a minimum consistent with truth*: Continuing reassessment of the situation and the objectives with a view to possible adjustment of demands is essential.

(5) *Progressive advancement of the movement* through steps and stages determined to be appropriate within the given situation. Decision as to when to proceed to a further phase of the satyagraha must be carefully weighed in the light of the ever-changing circumstance, but a static condition must be avoided. However, direct action is to be launched only after all other efforts to achieve an honourable settlement have been exhausted.

(6) *Examination of weaknesses* within the satyagraha group. The morale and discipline of the satyagrahis must be maintained through active awareness (by members and leaders alike) of any development of impatience, discouragement, or breakdown of nonviolent attitude.

(7) *Persistent search for avenues of cooperation* with the adversary on honourable terms: Every effort should be made to win over the opponent by helping him (where this is consistent with the satyagrahi's true objectives) thereby demonstrating sincerity to achieve an agreement with, rather than a triumph over, the adversary.

(8) *Refusal to surrender essentials in negotiation*: Satyagraha excludes all compromise which affects basic principles or essential portions of valid objectives. Care must be exercised not to engage in bargaining

or barter.

(9) *Insistence upon full agreement* on fundamentals before accepting a settlement.

STEPS IN A SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN

The outline below is applicable to a movement growing out of grievances against an established political order. These steps could be adapted to other conflict situations.

(1) *Negotiation and arbitration*: Every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through established channels must be exhausted before the further steps are undertaken.

(2) *Preparation of the group for direct action*: Immediately upon recognizing the existence of a conflict situation which might lead to direct action, motives are to be carefully examined, exercises in self-discipline initiated, and the fullest discussion launched within the group regarding issues at stake, appropriate procedures to be undertaken, the circumstances of the opponents, the climate of public opinion, etc. This step often included, for Indian satyagrahis, purificatory fasting.

(3) *Agitation*: This step includes an active propaganda campaign together with such demonstrations as mass-meetings, parades, slogan-shouting.

(4) *Issuing of an ultimatum*: A final strong appeal to the opponent should be made explaining what further steps will be taken if no agreement can be reached. The wording and manner of presentation of the ultimatum should offer the widest scope for agreement, allowing for face-saving on the part of the opponent, and should present a constructive solution to the problem.

(5) *Economic boycott and forms of strike*: Picket-

ing may be widely employed, together with continued demonstration and education of the public. Sitting dharna (a form of sit-down strike) may be employed, as well as nonviolent labour strike, and attempts to organize a general strike.

(6) *Non-cooperation*: Depending upon the nature of the issues at stake, such action as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile may be initiated.

(7) *Civil disobedience*: Great care should be exercised in the selection of laws to be contravened. Such laws should be either central to the grievance, or symbolic.

(8) *Usurping of the functions of government*: Shridharani calls this 'assertive satyagraha'. Fullest preparations are necessary to make this step effective.

(9) *Parallel government*: The establishment of parallel functions should grow out of step (8), and these should be strengthened in such a way that the greatest possible cooperation from the public can be obtained.

This summary of the rules and steps of the gandhian technique should disabuse us of any thought that it is a technique of cowardly resignation in the face of superior force. Nonviolence is force, not retreat; it is a weapon, not a shield. It will not shed the blood of others; but it is prepared to suffer its blood to be shed. 'I believe', Gandhi said, 'that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence'. But, he added, 'nonviolence cannot be taught to a person who is afraid to die and has no power of resistance. Self-suffering means courage.' It means the kind of courage exemplified by an incident in the salt march of 1930-31 that Joan Bondurant recounts. A Sikh, bloodstained from the assault of a police

sergeant, fell under a heavy blow. First aid volunteers rushed forward to rub his face with ice. He stood up with a bloody grin to face the sergeant once more. The police sergeant raised his arm for a final blow and then dropped his hand. 'It's no use', he muttered; and he gave the Sikh a mock salute and walked off.

It may be that this technique — though it has worked with both Hindus and Muslims in India, and is working in student and youth movements in other countries of the world — is not for us Filipinos. There is much in it that is derived from the Hindu view of life; and our view is different. It is not that we Filipinos are not men of peace nor do we lack the courage of self-sacrifice. But our blood is too hot, our reflexes too quick, our training too worldly to permit us to turn the other cheek. That is a method for saints; and we Filipinos are quick to say *'sapagka't tayo'y tao lamang'*.[2]

But if the technique is not for us in its entirety, there are aspects that we can learn from it; the refusal to adopt violence as the major weapon for change; the careful planning of a mass movement; the painstaking training of the leadership, so that when one falls, ten are ready to take his place; the resort to negotiation before putting the movement in gear; and once started, the continuous reassessment of the situation, the methods and the objectives sought; and above all, the dedication, the fortitude, the steadfastness of purpose — the fanaticism, if you like — that enables the movement to go on, not for a day or a week, but for as many days, as many weeks, as many years as the objective is not obtained. If the gandhian technique does no more than inspire us to a planned, concerted, self-disciplined mass movement for social change that forswears the attitude of *ningas kugon*,[3] it will have done enough.

It was the tragedy of Gandhi that he who had preached

nonviolence died by violence at the hands of a Hindu fanatic who opposed his attempts to reconcile the two great communities in India — the Hindus and the Muslims. But no assassin could kill Gandhi's vision, just as no firing squad could destroy the vision of Rizal. Rather, I think, it was ordained that both, who were apostles of peace, should die by the bullet. By this death, they stressed that they were of us and yet above us; and that they would find their resurrection in the heart of each of us.

1. Philippine national dress worn by women.
2. 'It is because we are only human.'
3. Literally means 'burning of grass'. Here this term stands for the attitude of jumping from one project to another without completing either.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF GANDHI'S BIRTH

JOZSEF BOGNAR

Mahatma Gandhi is one of the most striking and attractive personalities of the twentieth century, who coupled in a particular way the requirements of the age with the traditional system of values of Indian society and mankind. We are living in an age of computers, of gigantic institutions and the scientific revolution, but still we cannot renounce great personalities who have created an intellectual high voltage through their example, teachings and endeavours in neutral and passive media.

Mahatma Gandhi, the man free of bondages and one who scorned fear, is a thoroughly Asian personality, 'the venerated symbol of the spirit of the East' as called so fittingly by Rabindranath Tagore; a humanist who professed the equality of nations, races and religions; an internationalist who wished to serve through his ideas not only the liberty and independence of India but also the fraternity of mankind. Gandhi has played a revolutionary part in the history of mankind and Asia because he shaped a nation out of the shapeless, demoralized, despairing, oppressed masses of India who were incapable of resistance. It goes without saying that this was done not alone by him but in cooperation with the radical leaders of the Congress; but it was he who made a mass movement out of the Congress.

There was in this small and constitutionally weak man something that was hard as steel; something similar to a rock which does not bend to any physical power. His example encouraged others to resist tyranny, to take united actions and to make sacrifices. To be the Father of the Indian people and the maker of national independence is an immense merit in itself. India is, as regards its population, the second country in the world and at the turn of the millennium every sixth man on earth will be an Indian; but the activity and example of Gandhi is not confined to that. The forms and methods adopted in the fight for national independence have had a substantial impact on several Asian and numerous African political movements and their leaders. Gandhi had an impact on Martin Luther King also. His image has continued to serve as an inspiration for the dramatic struggle waged against hunger, because it is not only a more developed technology, larger material resources and a higher level of organization which are needed but also remoulding the conduct and arousing the independent action and ingenuity of hundreds of millions of simple villagers. We have much to learn from him in the course of our fight for the maintenance of peace, disarmament and the evolving of new international relationships, for this struggle has to be waged with means which do not involve a devaluation of moral values.

The ideas and the concrete political activities of Gandhi and the effect exerted by these activities were exalted by many and strongly criticized by others. Between those who were his unconditional adherents and those who were his severe critics, a third category had of necessity to emerge, the representatives of which respected and even admired him. His influence on the masses was considered by the latter to have been one of the driving forces of the movement. They, however, rejected some of his teachings and

manifestations which they thought of as being outright retarding or of a wrong orientation.

When ideas, concepts and rules of conduct which have an impact on mass behaviour are assessed, these cannot be torn apart from their actual historical background. When speaking of Gandhi, this is very important to keep in mind because he was not a leading political personality in the conventional — particularly European — sense; he was a prophet, the teacher of his people in whose activity politics was not yet separated from moral precepts. He was aware of it himself, for — apart from the initial period of his activity — he never accepted a leading political role (e.g. the post of the President of the Congress). There were epochs also, in the course of the evolution in Europe, when politics and economy were regarded as constituents of morals. On the other hand, not everybody in India professed views similar to those of Gandhi on this issue. For example, Tilak, the very gifted mathematician and a man of wide intellectual outlook, who died in August 1920, did not regard politics as a field where ethics are asserted. (I would like to remark in passing that the reflections made on the relationship between politics and ethics as well as between political economy and ethics are intended merely to indicate that each sphere of social activity has categories and laws of movement of its own and when it comes to action these have to be taken into account in the first place.)

Gandhi defined on the one hand general moral rules of conduct in respect of issues like the individual and justice, self-control, man and machine as well as problems like peace, democracy and people, poverty and riches, education, etc; on the other hand he organized simple political actions easy to understand by all (attack against the salt monopoly, the khadi movement, movements in the interests of the Harijans, etc.) through the intermediary of which indivi-

duals of the smallest and most simple social standing became components of large-scale movements of the community. He was endeavouring thereby to educate the masses to engage in certain activities and to refrain voluntarily from others. However, he was never seeking to fill the gap between the general rules of conduct and the actual actions with medium or longterm political programs. Moral precepts have an impact on human conduct, but do not constitute a firm coherent system of political objectives in which forces and power relationships, interests, and laws of evolution or historical trends would be carefully taken into account. When the concepts and ideas of Gandhi are assessed, this consideration has to be invariably kept in mind because in the opposite case not only will the words of eulogy or criticism become one-sided but the essence of this activity and the particular nature of the situation in India will not be understood either.

In outlining the concrete historical background I would like to point out the following:

1. In the decade preceding Gandhi's birth, great uprisings broke out in the northern part of India. The mass force of these uprisings was constituted of the millions of poverty-stricken peasants and the sepoys (soldiers of Indian extraction in the service of the East India company); but a major part was played by the heads of the small feudal states. These uprisings were ruthlessly suppressed by the British. Isolated peasant revolts and various forms of individual terroristic acts were, however, quite widespread also in subsequent periods.

2. It is obvious that for a country with a large population, for a people with a glorious historical past and an extremely rich culture like the people of India, foreign invasion and colonization are apt to set off a grave national crisis. The essence of this crisis is — as borne out by the

example of the Sino-Indian war — that the people are incapable of understanding, and are therefore seeking the reasons in an agonized way for, the 'secret' of its humiliating defeat as well as the triumph of the other side. (This statement holds true particularly in an instance where it is about two such greatly diverging civilizations as the Indian and the British, neither of these is able to follow automatically the system of thought, values and rules of the other.) In the event this 'secret' is revealed, it would be difficult nevertheless for the vanquished to lay aside the system of values and the heritage of national culture and civilization and to accept the conqueror's on questions which constitute the foundations of the latter's mastery. Japan was to an extent capable of doing so but she was not colonized, only once gravely humiliated. On the other hand, Japan went so far in building up a 'counter-system' as to launch four wars within eighty years; in other words she became an aggressive (imperialist) power herself. Should, however, a colonized country prove unable to discover the 'secret', the leading strata of landowners and a section of the middle classes of society would become denationalized and would be tied up with the habits and interests of the conqueror to an increasing degree.

That is the reason why Gandhi's ideas and methods of fight, which demonstrated the moral superiority of the tormented and humiliated people of India over the conquerors, are of utmost importance. This problem will be analyzed in a wider context subsequently.

3. A very large population living in extreme poverty had to be set into motion in the course of the fight in a country of vast dimensions (having 700,000 villages with a minimum of communication facilities, very large numbers of illiterates, travel controls, etc.).

4. The fight was launched at a time when *all* political

activities — both conservative and radical — were started by the middle classes and when the industrial working class had but few organizations and its influence was limited. The peasantry, constituting more than 80 per cent of the population living in 700,000 villages, was a shapeless mass afflicted with misery, sufferings and famines and exploited by the government, landowners, money-lenders, petty civil servants, police, advocates and priests.

5. India was divided at that time by a great number of conflicts — exploited, of course, by the colonizers to the utmost; conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, between various nationalities, castes and classes which rendered united action difficult from the outset.

6. Lastly, the situation which was evolving in the world simultaneously with the independence movement under the leadership of the Congress should also be taken into account. In Europe — particularly beginning with the 'thirties — the Fascist powers were gaining ground to an increasing extent. In Asia, Japan made an alliance with the Fascist states of Europe. It should be emphasized that Fascism did not dismay the peoples of Asia and Africa to the extent it did the peoples of Europe; racial discrimination, persecution of men on account of their origin, ruthless measures applied in suppressing opposition — these were after all no novel occurrences for coloured people. They had long been the suffering victims of similar orders and regulations. On the other hand, the Fascist powers — particularly Italy — did everything to win over Indian leaders. (Mussolini, for one, was striving in an aggressive way to bring about a meeting with Nehru who passed through Rome in 1936. The invitation was very energetically declined by the latter.)

The Soviet Union was grappling at that period with the fulfilment of the first five-year plans. Great Britain took a stand after all, in 1939, against the continued advance of

Fascism in Europe. In 1941, she became an ally of the Soviet Union in the anti-Hitler alliance of power. In my view, it was due to the political caution of the Congress and the stand of Gandhi rejecting violence that India was able to fight for her independence against British imperialism in a way that her anti-fascist attitude could never be doubted.

It is obvious that, under the prevailing conditions, the political fight waged and the system of actions adopted for winning independence had two aspects: one was the *modern* mass movement under the leadership of a political party comprising the best forces of the nation; the other was the *traditional* one which mobilized the people for various political actions by resorting to simple slogans familiar to the illiterate rural masses, who were deeply rooted in Hindu traditions. These two aspects were closely tied up; for the decision and the calling off of actions were governed by the Congress as well as by Gandhi.

The dispute about the claims of nonviolence and civil disobedience has been going on ever since they have been proclaimed. Gandhi kept on pointing out that he did not teach the world anything new for 'justice and lack of violence are as ancient as the mountains'. In fact this tenet has antecedents in the Hindu tradition. In the *Gita,* Krishna expounds the criteria of knowledge and among these is listed — besides the lack of haughtiness, perseverance, patience, justice and self-control — the *lack of violence* (ahimsa). There is no doubt, however, that Gandhi was the first to seek to transform the ethics of love, as the means of mediation between individuals and their relationships, into an effective social force applicable over a wide sphere. Nonviolence and civil disobedience were changed under the conditions of the fight for independence into a dynamic method — a means of resistance against the tyrant's will. This did not mean an escape, but opposition and the acceptance

of the fight. The method was on all accounts susceptible of bringing about a ferment in society. This conclusion is justified by the participation of tens of millions of peasants in the actions started by Gandhi and by their continuing this activity during periods when the leaders of the Congress were serving terms of imprisonment. Accordingly nonviolence (civil disobedience) stood the test as a political tactic under the given circumstances.

It follows from the idealist-moral-religious way of Gandhi's thinking that he did not regard this teaching simply as a method of political tactic, but he identified nonviolence with kindness and justice. In addition, he exaggerated the importance of means in relation to the objectives. It cannot be doubted that means have a major importance; wrong means depreciate or even render impossible the attainment of noble objectives. It must also be kept in mind that means are resorted to before the objectives become susceptible of being attained, and for that reason they not infrequently mislead the masses. Notwithstanding the awareness of these perils, views according to which means are more important than objectives or that means are like the kernel and the objective is like a tree cannot be accepted.

Gandhi felt and lived the sentiments and moods of the masses better than anybody else. As a master of directing concrete actions, he gave his agreement several times to the conducting of some kind of movement also amidst and despite sporadic acts of violence. But he also called off concrete actions several times for the reason that he felt that the masses had become tired or that certain results could not be achieved. However, he conceded in his writings that violence was not the principal evil after all, because cowardice, submission and servitude were worse. He wrote, 'I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner be-

come or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.' That the method which could be effectively made use of under the given conditions was over-estimated by Gandhi was clear. When he demanded that the future State of India be committed to nonviolent methods, his proposal was rejected by the Congress.

Although he started from the ground of traditions, Gandhi was also a radical social reformer. It is by this radicalism that he was bound to the progressive intellectuals of the Congress. His radicalism originated not in politics but in moral philosophy. It is a moral revolution that he wanted to accomplish. As a 'moralist revolutionary' he was unsophisticated and utopian in many respects, but as the originator of mass actions he was successful also from that aspect. He condemned the exploitation of the masses and expressed the view that 'political liberty must include the economic liberty of the starving millions'. He achieved substantial results with several concrete actions launched in the interests of the equality of women, against child marriage and for the right of widows to remarry. The action which was started in the interests of the Harijans, simultaneously against the British government and within the Indian society, waged in several stages and which finally made it possible for the Harijans to have access to all public institutions, must be deemed particularly successful. By this achievement, he prevented the British government from dividing India later into three (instead of two) parts. He was a liberal in the religious sense; he professed the kinship of all religions and was seeking their common constituents.

Gandhi's efforts to bring about reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims are immeasurable. He did not want to bargain but to come to terms with the Muslims. As he pointed out, this depended on the good will and magnanimity of the majority. He recognized that the Muslim question was

also a social issue, for in some states the tenants were Muslims but the zamindars (landowners) and bankers were Hindus, while in other states a reversed situation prevailed. When religious strifes burst out during the War (1943-44) Gandhi was seeking to come to an agreement with Jinnah the Muslim leader. He consistently rejected the partition of the country — accepted by Nehru and other leaders of the Congress — and he devoted his last fast to the cause of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation. This decided his fate and an extremist Hindu religious follower killed him with three shots.

Among Gandhi's reform conceptions, his idea favouring local self-government (decentralization), his views on the overhauling of the educational system and his ideas on the relations between individual and community should be pointed out. As a moralist revolutionary he believed that the sentiments of the rich could be changed, that capital and labour could peacefully cooperate and that social problems could be quickly solved in an independent India exclusively on the basis of popular understanding.

I think that it would not be necessary to argue about these views on a theoretical basis, because government activity and social life in independent India provide convincing proof of the illusory nature of these assumptions and expectations. The Government took action in almost all questions, by means of statutes or decrees, which — in Gandhi's view — ought to have been solved by a moral revolution and through an understanding with the rich. But social inequalities are more extensive than assumed by Gandhi. No equality has been attained in the economic sphere; inequalities have even increased in numerous walks of life. The Constitution provides for the abolition of the caste system but this has not been done away with in practice; equality of women has been accepted only by the

middle classes; no radical solutions have so far resulted from land and tenure reforms.

I would wish to point out that I highly esteem the heroic efforts made by the Indian leaders in the interest of economic development in the past and present. The above reflections were merely intended to bring Gandhi's expectations face to face with reality and with possibilities characteristic of life in contemporary India.

Some ideas professed by Gandhi in the socio-economic field, are, taken by themselves, mistaken, but they still draw the attention of the people of India and of the world to certain basic correlations. I have in mind his dislike of modern technology and industry and his bias against towns.

It was obviously a mistake of considerable magnitude to think that a country, particularly one with such a high level of birth-rate, could, without modern industry and techniques, successfully cope with poverty and the need to increase, first tenfold, then twentyfold, the per capita national income. It follows therefore that industry is indispensable for India and every other developing country. Industry, in turn, is not only a productive activity but also one of the regulators of the way of life. Wherever there is industry, urbanization will be inevitable even if it is conceded that big cities do not present an attractive way of life for the population. This is but one side of the matter; the other side shows that the application of traditional technology — particularly in a country like India with enormous open and latent surplus manpower — will be needed for a long time to come, for generations. In countries which lack capital it cannot be attained at a quick enough pace for every working individual to be employed in jobs at the highest level of technological development. On the other hand, as a result of the quick increase in population and expansion of industry, small-scale industry included, a rapid

increase in agricultural output is made inevitable. In the contrary event India and other developing countries must face famine. Consequently the weight of agriculture is substantially larger than was assumed in the traditional 'pro-industry' economic theories. Thus Gandhi, while starting from mistaken conceptions, came to discover instinctively those veritable facts and correlations which must never be lost sight of when national, political and economic actions are taken. Of course, he made mistakes in regard to the substance, but then we are not immune from committing mistakes of a contrary purport either.

As one who replaced economic laws with moral postulates Gandhi conceived that the ever recurrent gaps in the economic development of society could be bridged not by the constant expansion of production and consumption but by reducing demand. This conception runs counter to the objective course of human society and economy; still it was not shaped without taking into account the conditions prevailing in India. No doubt, to start off economic growth in a poor, densely populated country with a high birth-rate will demand grave sacrifices. It is likewise obvious that these grave sacrifices would be gladly undertaken by the masses when the burden of economic development is shared by all in equal measure, i.e. when it is the rich who are bound to pay in the first place.

It has been pointed out that Gandhi, measured by European concepts, is a politician out of the ordinary. This means that, in him, the traits of the prophet, the preacher and the teacher of morals are dominant over the features related to the tactics of the internal operation and balancing of political machinery. This statement should be supplemented by adding that he was not attracted by the statesman's role. The statesman must be, in most instances, also an expert, because he is bound to cope not only with human

strivings and abilities but also with objective processes and their internal laws (laws of movement). But whereas the prophet and the teacher, thinking only in terms of moral postulates, can proclaim the principle of nonviolence and moral compulsion in the new state, the statesman cannot venture to accept it. Compulsion, i.e. the applying of some force, could be dissociated from the domestic policy aspect only if there were no need ever to act *contrary* to anybody's interests and, on the other hand, if everyone could appreciate the necessity of such actions, when these are undertaken by resorting to persuasion, the sound nature of which will be proved right by subsequent events. Both the courses are inconceivable in a society in which great social tensions have been accumulating and where modern and traditional elements have been existing side by side for generations. The conclusion should not be drawn from this statement that the warning of a prophet or teacher of morals is unnecessary. The fact that force or compulsion is necessary (I have in mind compulsion by means of power and not by means of morals, for the latter was accepted by Gandhi too) does in no way imply that the greater the force or compulsion, the better. In our age, when violence has been raging so often and in so many different forms, it is perhaps not necessary to adduce any lengthy evidence to prove that the application of force has its limitations not only in the moral but also in the rational field; for when excessive violence is resorted to, events will lead to a reverse result. This means that it is not the desired result that will be achieved. Alternatively in securing the result (i.e. the protection of prestige) such an amount of energy and resources will have been wasted that an unbalance will arise in other places.

For the statesman the question which arises is not couched in the same terms as it was in the dilemma facing Gandhi

namely, whether the application, under certain circumstances, of force or compulsion should be allowed and how a certain objective or set of objectives could be attained with the minimum of force. When the question is answered concretely, situations, times and alternatives have to be assessed.

It has already been mentioned that the interests and activities of Gandhi were not focussed on tactical issues connected with the internal operation and balancing of political machinery; nevertheless he was a master of tactical flexibility. His was really a personality which resolved extremes and opposite poles within himself, in his conduct and actions. His extraordinary tactical flexibility is demonstrated in two ways of action; he is always capable of forging ahead, if so required by the mental state (fighting state) of the masses; and as a distinguished heir of thousands of years of political and diplomatic traditions, he alternates or combines political actions with the method of negotiations. To complete the picture, it should be added that he made use of this extraordinary sense of diplomatic tactics against a world power which spread over three continents and which gave a series of diplomats and politicians of no uncommon talent to the world.

A teacher of morals, admirably versed in winning over and handling the masses; a tractable diplomat who was able to demonstrate his moral and, later, his positional advantage over his negotiating partners in a very ingenious way — these two gifts are but seldom found in a single individual!

Gandhi, while still living, set out on the road of fighting starvation in his country. Many concrete actions were organized by the Congress Party in the interests of the tenants against the zamindars and other feudal elements. The fight against starvation is carried on in our day with a grow-

ing impetus not only in India but all over Africa and Asia. It is waged now by independent nations, unhampered, apparently and legally, from achieving satisfactory results.

Reality, however, is different. In one part of the world large economic resources are concentrated and the increase of population is relatively slow; and in another part of the world — particularly in Asia — economic resources are extremely limited and the increase of population is rapid, almost explosion-like. It should also be taken into account that in these countries illiteracy is great and scientific capacity, which is one of the driving forces of economic expansion, relatively small. It is obvious that quick increase of food production is an elementary interest of these countries. A well-laid out program of water conservancy, production of high yielding grain crops, restoration of soil productive capacity (use of chemical fertilizers) and profit-yielding live-stock breeding are needed. These countries must solve these problems by mobilizing, in the first place, their own resources. In addition, a more equal and just distribution of commodities is required, which in turn demands strong, active and purposeful governments, because in the contrary event inequalities will not be reduced but increased under the impact of economic evolution. The law of economics which operates in a spontaneous way is that the rich become richer and the poor poorer. Only a redistribution of income based on the requirements of justice and equality and an economic policy aimed at reducing the sharp differences between various areas (states) may be susceptible of lending a veritable impetus to economic expansion and the increase of food production. In addition to strongly emphasizing these requirements, it should be made plain that the fight against hunger is the cause not only of the countries concerned but of mankind as a whole.

It should be understood by all that hunger and death

from starvation are no less dangers in the contemporary world than the presence of nuclear weapons. There are hundreds of millions of people living all over the world for whom death from starvation appears to be real, whereas the menace of nuclear bombs is a distant danger difficult to understand. For this reason progressive world public opinion must exert great moral and political pressure on the peoples concerned to bring them to cooperate and participate in the fight against starvation.

The principle of nonviolence has been subjected to criticism in the foregoing; it has also been pointed out that compulsion will always be needed in the lives of States although great care must be taken on how it is 'measured out'. Still we are bound to say that mobilization of countries and peoples for the fight against hunger should be carried out by methods like those conceived by Gandhi, i.e. by resorting to a specific amalgamation of persuasion and moral and political pressure. Undisguised force would mean war in this respect, and it could turn into a nuclear war which would bring about the destruction of the available material and intellectual resources and render living conditions extremely difficult for the surviving part of mankind. International organizations will have to be called upon to organize the fight against hunger, although there is no supreme power on an international scale which could bring about changes, without the States agreeing to them, in respect of the division of economic activity and the distribution of commodities. It also follows from this that compulsory regrouping of economic activities on the international plane is hardly conceivable, for it could be ultimately tantamount to war or the infringing of the independence of nations.

In this way we are led from the problem of the fight against hunger to the issues of international relations,

peace and disarmament. Gandhi specified only moral rules of conduct on the international scale because he assumed that the rules which govern the activities of men (individuals) and small communities would apply to society as a whole or even to international relations.

We on the other hand are of the opinion that morals and norms of morality are moulded by existing conditions; in other words, the attainment of a more moral conduct is not feasible unless international interests, relationships, institutions and mechanisms are transformed. It goes without saying that every simplification must be avoided in this respect. International norms exert their influence in very divergent ways on different States, according to their respective interests, differing value systems and norms of thinking which have been shaped by different historical antecedents, traditions and heritages of civilizations. Further, there are major differences in the internal positions and social backgrounds of governments as well. In spite of all this, renouncing the use of force in inter-governmental relations is an important requirement — particularly in the nuclear age. But Gandhi had a notion — and we have been following a similar train of thought — that imperialism would disintegrate upon the collapse of the colonial system. He did not perhaps expect that it would shift its centre and evolve new forms and methods of resistance. It follows logically that it has become the States' interest to join such a security system which will provide protection for them against a potential aggressor. It is thus also obvious that peace-loving countries must be strong and powerful, for weakness, cowardice and submission almost 'invite' the use of force. It may be assumed on such considerations that certain regional security systems (continental systems) will also have to be created which may comprise heterogeneous elements, e.g. several systems of

alliances.

In the event that institutional guarantees for peace and security are established, veritable opportunities will be afforded for reducing armament expenditure. At present the expenditure on armaments is higher than the aggregate annual national income of the developing countries of the world. Therefore a radical reduction of armament expenditure could bring about a change amounting almost to a turning point in the fight against hunger as well. The way of thinking current in wide circles, which claims that international tension is beneficial for the developing countries, since in its absence there would be no one to provide aid for them, is very superficial. It is borne out by facts that international tension contributes primarily to increasing armament expenditure which have reached such astronomical amounts in our days that they restrict from the outset the material and intellectual resources earmarked for aid, credit and technical cooperation.

When the institutional safeguards for peace and security are elaborated and laid down, it should not be forgotten, what was so attractively put into words by S. Radhakrishnan, that human genius produces not only a Buddha and a Gandhi but also a Nero and a Hitler. Let us add to this well-formulated statement that there are social, economic and power conditions which are especially favourable for the 'unfolding' of Neros and Hitlers.

Gandhi has by his life and work laid the foundations of a new epoch in the history of India. We who are friends of independent and peace-loving India sincerely hope that this epoch will far surpass, in its significance and achievements, the age of Asoka, which was based on Buddhism, and that of Akbar, which strengthened the Islamic resources. Gandhi has, in all respects, advanced and enriched the great Indian heritage found both in poetry and political

writings, the gist of which is the tolerant and understanding existence side by side of various peoples, cultures, languages and religions. His ideas, views and conceptions differ in many respects from our ideas and systems of actions. Nevertheless he proved by his example that politics without firm ideals, deep conviction and acceptance of sacrifices is but a tactic and a balancing trick devoid of any real significance. One who has such firm convictions and moral ground — as Gandhi had — can, depending on the changes in the situation, always come to terms or seek compromises to continue subsequently his journey safely and resolutely towards the same spirit and the same fixed stars. Such a fight will surely be rewarded in life with the satisfaction spoken of by Nehru: 'Sometimes the lot has fallen to us that we experience the fulness of life which is the outcome of concerting ideals and actions.'

We the fighters for peace today are attracted, inspired and carried forward by the life and example of Gandhi. His spirit is present with us in the peace movement of today which is fighting likewise for freedom from hunger and for disarmament. He is present with us through the intermediary of our Indian friends who are playing such a distinguished part in this movement and he is present here through the intermediary of the hundreds of fighters who participate in this great movement, for it is he who acquainted us with the problems and ways of thinking of poor people. The roots of his humanism may perhaps be different from ours, but the unprecedented glow of his humaneness, self-devotion and moral strength penetrates through the armour of ideological differences, and assists, strengthens and carries forward us as well.

The power and the attractive force of great personalities, who live, fight and sacrifice their lives for the community, lie in the very fact that by bridging the gap between ages,

continents, ideas and differing historical situations, they make us better and truer. Through their example we can tomorrow become better architects of our country and mankind; and also braver and more loyal fighters for the great cause which by creating a better, more cultured and a just world will end and will also begin.

APPENDIX

A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

ADEN

National Committee arranged a special function at the Bilquis Auditorium to mark the centenary. Abdul Bari Qassim, Minister for Culture and National Guidance, representing the Prime Minister, presided. The function started with prayers from the Holy Quran, the Bible and the *Bhagavad Gita.*

On 1 October 1969, the National Committee for Gandhi Centenary arranged a special lecture on Gandhi by Ali Bamatraf, a leading educationist of Aden.

On 3 October, a special football match was arranged to institute a permanent annual Mahatma Gandhi Tournament, and a memorial cup was presented to the winning team.

ALGERIA

An exhibition of photographs on Gandhi was held from 2 to 9 October 1968 at the Municipal Hall in Algiers. Pamphlets in Arabic language with Gandhi's important sayings were distributed.

ARGENTINA

A book, *Mi Vide es Mimensaje,* containing quotations from

Gandhi, selected and translated by Mme. Victoria Ocampo, was brought out in Buenos Aires during the centenary celebrations in 1968.

An exhibition at El Salvador University, Buenos Aires, entitled 'My Life is My Message' opened on 11 August 1969 and remained open up to 25 August 1969.

A seminar entitled 'Gandhi and the Prevalence of his Spirit' was held in the University of El Salvador from 29 September 1969 to 1 October 1969 in collaboration with the Indian Embassy.

On 2 October 1969, the Spanish version of the *Bhagavad Gita* was presented by Rev. Father Ismael Quiles at a function organized by the University of El Salvador to celebrate the birth centenary of Gandhi.

AUSTRALIA

There was a week-long exhibition of the Gandhi kit and photographs on Gandhi at the University of La Trobe, Melbourne, from 20 to 27 September 1969. At the same University, the visiting Indian leader Jayaprakash Narayan delivered a lecture on 'Gandhi and Modern India' on 18 September 1969.

The Victorian Gandhi Centenary Committee organized a seminar on 'Gandhi and the Politics of Nonviolence' on 20 September 1969 in Melbourne. The Indian High Commissioner delivered the inaugural speech.

An Australian school student, Miss Ruth Ingrid Sturmey, won the second prize in English in an international essay competition on 'Gandhi and the Emancipation of Man'.

All the leading newspapers published articles on Gandhi at various times during the Gandhi centenary year.

AUSTRIA

A public meeting was organized by the Indian Embassy at the University of Vienna on 1 October. It was a large gathering attended by representatives of all sectors of public life, including Cabinet Ministers, senior government officials, academicians, leaders of religious, cultural and social organizations as well as ambassadors of countries represented in Vienna. The President, the Chancellor and the Primate of Austria were present at the meeting.

The Afro-Asiatic Institute at Vienna, which has a large number of students from Asia, Africa and South America, organized a centennial function on 29 September 1969. It was attended by the Bishop of Vienna.

BELGIUM

On 23 September 1969, a film on Gandhi, 'Wisdom Unchained', was shown on television. A Gandhi memorial was inaugurated at Park Marie Jose in the Commune of Molenbeek on 18 October 1969.

BULGARIA

A commemorative meeting was held in Sofia on 2 October 1969 to celebrate the Gandhi centenary. Dimitar Bratanor, Chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee for European Security and Cooperation, Angel Todorov, President of the Indo-Bulgarian Friendship Society, and K. K. Bhargava, Indian Charge d' Affaires, addressed the gathering.

Among the articles published in Bulgarian newspapers, the more notable were: 'Great Son of the Indian People' by V. Aneva and 'Great Fighter for a New India' by F. Saber in *Otechestaven Front* (3 October 1969).

BURMA

Under the auspices of the University of Mandalay, Gandhi centenary celebrations were organized at the Municipal Hall at Mandalay on 2 October 1969.

CAMBODIA

A 35 mm documentary, 'Bapu Ki Amar Kahani', a story of Mahatma Gandhi in music by Mohammed Rafi, was shown in Phnom Penh's popular cinema hall, Soriya, at all the four shows on 2 October 1968.

On 1 October 1969, the Phnom Penh television system screened a film, 'Glimpses of Gandhiji'.

A French language daily newspaper, *Cambodge*, published an article in French, 'Heritage of Gandhiji', by Mrs Indira Gandhi.

A biography of Mahatma Gandhi, in the Khmer language, was re-issued by the Indian Embassy for free distribution to schools, colleges, Members of Parliament and intellectuals in Cambodia, through the courtesy of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

A seminar on Gandhi was organized by the Royal University in the auditorium of the Faculty of Letters, Phnom Penh, on 16 October 1969. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts presided over the seminar. Ly Kim Long and Un Sambet, Professors of the Faculty of Letters, and Ray Buk, author of the biography of Gandhi in the Khmer language addressed the seminar.

CANADA

A function was organized on 2 October 1968 by the Indian Students Association at Halifax. It included a seminar on Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence. The speakers included

Prof. H. Hicks, President of the Dalhousie University.

Another function was held in Hamilton on 10 October 1968, under the chairmanship of the Mayor, Victor Kopps, for twinning the city with Mangalore in India. Detailed references were made to Gandhi, his achievements and teachings, and the need for following them was emphasized.

A full day program was held on 29 March 1969 at Winnipeg under the auspices of the University of Winnipeg. The speakers included the High Commissioner, General J. N. Chaudhuri, the Lt Governor of Manitoba, Richard S. Bowles and W. C. Lockhart, President of the Winnipeg University. The Dalhousie University held four weekly 'Lady Killem Lectures' during October-November 1969, marking the centenary of Gandhi's birth.

A two-day seminar was organized in Vancouver from 11 to 13 October 1969 under the chairmanship of Francis Digman. The theme was 'Gandhiji and Nonviolence'. A centenary function on 4 October 1969 at Halifax, Nova Scotia, was inaugurated by R. A. Donahoe, Attorney-General and Minister of Public Health.

The University of Calgary Indian Students' Association and India-Canada Society of Calgary celebrated Gandhi centenary on 12 October at the MacEwan Hall on the university campus. Apart from an exhibition of photographs and documentaries, A. Parel, Associate Professor, Political Science Department of the University of Calgary, gave a talk on Gandhi's view of life.

High schools and elementary schools in Caledonia observed Gandhi centenary celebrations through display of photographs, books and posters and the screening of the film, 'Glimpses of Gandhiji'.

The Canadian Friends Service Committee sponsored a study group on 'Gandhian Nonviolence and Its Relevance to Today's World'.

Eight leading newspapers of Canada — the *Globe and Mail* of Toronto, *Toronto Daily Star, Toronto Telegram, Montreal Gazette, Montreal Star, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Journal* and *Le Droit* (French language daily of Ottawa) — among themselves gave over 900 column inches to Gandhi, his life and teachings, and to the various functions organized in these areas. Thirty-three leading newspapers in the provinces gave about 4,000 column inches of coverage to Gandhi centenary celebrations.

CYPRUS

President Archbishop Makarios attended a commemorative public meeting on 2 October 1969. On 28 January 1970, a centennial function was held at the Cyprus Hilton. The program included a public meeting, an exhibition and a film show.

The Government issued two Gandhi stamps.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On 2 October 1969, a public meeting was held at the Prague University to celebrate the Gandhi centenary. It was presided over by the National Front Chairman, Evzen Erban. Miloslav Krasa, Chairman of the Czechoslavak Indian Society, was one of the speakers.

DENMARK

A largely attended public meeting was held in Richmond Hotel in Copenhagen on 2 October 1969. Dr Wolmer Clemmensen, Vice-President of the Danish India Society, and the Indian Ambassador were the main speakers.

On 5 November 1968, under the auspices of the National Committee for Gandhi Centenary, a reception for 500 leading personalities of Danish society was jointly sponsored by the Danish India Society and the Indian Embassy in the reception hall of the Copenhagen Stock Exchange.

FIJI ISLANDS

All postal mail during the period from 2 September to 2 October 1969 was franked in Suva and Lautoka with a special postal slug reading 'Gandhi Centenary 1869-1969' and carrying a facsimile of Mahatma Gandhi in profile. The Education Committee organized two essay competitions — one for the secondary and the other for primary school students.

In Suva, a public meeting was held as a part of the centenary celebrations. The Mayor of Suva, L. G. Usher, presided and it was addressed by the Chief Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

A Gandhi Society was formed in Fiji. It consists of young people who aim to serve the people of Fiji and study the life and philosophy of Gandhi and its relevance to the people of Fiji.

FINLAND

On 2 October 1968, the Finnish National UNESCO Commission organized a centenary meeting at the University of Helsinki. The Finance Minister, Ele Alenium, inaugurated it. The meeting was addressed by Unto Tahtinen and Jussi Knokkanen, eminent scholars.

On 2 October 1969, the Friends of India in Finland Society arranged a talk by its president Yrjo Kallinen.

The *SOK* publications brought out a special supplement on

Gandhi in their issues of 24 and 25 September 1969, both in Finnish and Swedish languages.

FRANCE

A large scale exhibition was inaugurated in Paris, on 12 March 1970, by the French Minister of Cultural Affairs, Edmond Michelet and Dwarka Nath Chatterjee, India's Ambassador to France. This exhibition was organized by the French National Committee for the Celebration of Gandhi Centenary and was held on the premises of the Paris University.

On the occasion of the centenary, UNESCO organized a symposium on 'Truth and Nonviolence in Gandhi's Humanism' which was inaugurated on the evening of 14 October and ended on 17 October 1969.

The University of Paris paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi by arranging a series of six lectures on gandhian thought by Professor Olivier Lacombe. In a great number of schools, colleges and other educational establishments, special meetings were held to mark the centenary.

The French National Committee organized a public meeting in Paris under the chairmanship of Dwarka Nath Chatterjee. It consisted of talks by eminent specialists in gandhian thought, recitation of texts and bhajans and a film show.

Prominent French newspapers carried feature articles on Gandhi. *L'education,* monthly official journal of the French Ministry of Education, published Prem Kirpal's article on 'The Teachings of Gandhi'.

The following new books on Gandhi in French were published on the occasion of the centenary: *Tous les hommes sont preres* (*All Men Are Brothers*) by M. K. Gandhi;

Ce que Gandhi a vraiment dit (What Gandhi has really said) by J. Herbert; *Romain Rolland and Gandhi* (Correspondence); *Mahatma Gandhi* by Marivic Carpentier; *Gandhi* by B. R. Nanda.

A long-playing record containing a symphony especially composed by Mrs Majoie Hajary for the Gandhi centenary year was released by the French branch of Columbia firm. The symphony was played at public meetings and by the French National Radio and Television as well as by commercial radio stations.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

On 16 October 1968, the Deutsch-Indische Gesellachaft, Bremen, arranged a function to celebrate the Gandhi centenary. W. V. Pochhammer, former German Ambassador to India, spoke on this occasion.

On 10 July 1969, the Deutsch Committee for the Gandhi Year held a seminar on 'Gandhi's Political Humanism' at Loccum. It had a galaxy of important speakers from all over Germany and was attended by Minister Adalbert Seifrit. The Ambassador of India and the Consul General also attended.

In July 1969, R. R. Diwakar, Honorary Secretary, and Shri D. K. Gupta, Organizing Secretary, of the All India Gandhi Centenary Committee respectively were in Hamburg. A lunch in their honour was given by the Consul General of India at which important persons connected with Gandhi and the press were invited. In the evening Diwakar addressed a meeting arranged by the Deutsch-Indische Gesellachaft.

The main function in West Berlin consisted of a two-day program organized under the auspices of the Consulate

General of India, Berlin, with the cooperation of the Bharat Majlis, an association of Indians, as well as the city authorites on 2 October 1969.

GHANA

The Commissioner for Education, Medjaben Dewouna, broadcast to the nation on 2 October 1968 launching the centenary celebrations in Ghana.

The monthly magazine *New Era* published a special supplement on Gandhi in February 1969.

On 6 November 1969, Mahatma Gandhi Brotherhood Leagues were formed in the Bibiani and Ashanti regions.

GREECE

On 18 November 1969, a meeting was held at the 'Parnassus Club', the foremost literary club of Athens. It was addressed by Kournoutes, Director-General of the Ministry of the Presidency. The president of this meeting was the Chairman of the Gandhi Centenary Committee, General Botsaris.

On 21 November, the Mayor of Athens, Ritsos, and Mrs Ritsos held a reception at the Town Hall to mark the culmination of the Centenary Week.

At a centenary function at the Academy of Athens on 19 November 1969, Gr. Cassimatis, member of the Academy, spoke.

A special postage stamp was also issued by the Hellenic Ministry of Communications.

GUINEA

On 29 September 1969, Guinea's Minister of Finance,

Ismail Toure, presided over a public meeting in commemoration of Gandhi.

On 29 September 1969, the Voice of Revolution (Radio Guinea) broadcast a special program on Gandhi.

INDONESIA

On 28 September 1969, a visiting Indian educationist, K. G. Saiyidain, addressed a centenary meeting at the Bali Room of Hotel Indonesia.

On 1 October 1969, two films—'Glimpses of Mahatma Gandhi' and 'His Memory We Cherish'—were shown on the Indonesian TV.

The Indonesian newspapers, *Djakarta Times, Sinar Harapan* and *Angkatan Bersendajata,* published special articles on Gandhi.

IRAN

The first function was held on 2 October 1968 at the Ferdowsi Hall of the University of Tehran under the joint auspices of the Indo-Iranian Cultural Association, National Commission for UNESCO and the University of Tehran. Among the speakers on the occasion were Ra'adi, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the National University of Tehran, Masoud Ansari, President, Indo-Iran Association, and Ardelan, Secretary-General, National Commission for UNESCO. The local news media, including TV and radio, gave extensive publicity to Mahatma Gandhi. An influential English language daily newspaper, *Tehran Journal,* carried a full-page illustrated article under the heading 'Revolution of Love'. Another English daily, *Kahyan International,* featured a special article by its special commentor, Amir Taheri, under the heading 'Gandhi: Prophet of Love and Tolerance'. The French language daily *Journal de Tehran* pub-

lished a full-page article sub-titled 'Reflections on Non-violence'.

The National UNESCO Commission brought out a Persian translation of Mahatma Gandhi's book *All Men are Brothers.*

IRAQ

A Gandhi Week was organized in Iraq. It opened with a commemorative meeting at Baghdad's College of Education on 25 September 1969.

On 28 September 1969, *The Baghdad Observer* carried an article by the late Dr Zakir Husain, former President of India, on Gandhi entitled 'Moral Awareness'. It also extensively quoted Gandhi's views condemning the attempts of the Jews to make a home in Palestine by evicting its permanent Arab citizens.

ITALY

On 13 May 1969, a function was held in Rome at the Campidoglic, under the presidentship of Italy's Prime Minister, Mariano Rumor.

Earlier on 31 January, the I.F.R. (International Fellowship of Reconciliation), in collaboration with the Indian Embassy organized a symposium on Gandhi in Rome.

On 30 January 1969, the Vatican Propaganda College, in collaboration with the Indian Embassy, staged a drama entitled 'L'alba Dopo La Lunga Notte' (Sunrise After a Long Night).

On 31 January the International Fellowship of Reconciliation organized a symposium on Gandhi in Rome. Mrs Tara Bhattacharjee, Gandhi's grand daughter, was one of the speakers at the symposium.

KENYA

The Gandhi Birth Centenary Year was inaugurated in Kenya in October 1968, with a week-long exhibition at Nairobi by Kenya's Vice-President, Daniel Arap Moi. The exhibition was organized by Nairobi Sevadal.

The two English language dailies of Nairobi, the *East African Standard* and the *Daily Nation,* the Swahili language daily, *Taifaleo,* the English language weekly, *Sunday Post,* and the Swahili language weekly, *Baraza,* brought out special supplements on Gandhi during the centenary week. Two Gujarati language weeklies, the *Africa Samachar* and *Navyug,* also published special articles on Gandhi on this occasion. The *Africa Samachar* brought out on 2 October 1969 a special de luxe edition entitled 'Hundred Years of Gandhiji' to mark the centenary.

LAOS

On 2 October 1969, the main public function was held in Vientiane which was addressed by the Acting Prime Minister, Leuam Insisienmay.

Films on Gandhiji were shown on 3 October.

LEBANON

Centennial meetings were held at the American University of Beirut, the St Joseph University, the Beirut College for Women and the National Lebanese University.

An anthology entitled *Gandhi: A Lebanese Tribute,* edited by Nicola Ziadeh, the noted historian, was published by Al Nahar Publications. Almost all the top writers of Lebanon contributed to the book.

LIBERIA

A Gandhi exhibition was organized from 25 September

till 9 October 1969. It was inaugurated by Augustus F. Caine, Secretary of Education, Government of Liberia.

The *Daily Listener* of Monrovia carried a special supplement on Gandhi.

MADAGASCAR

On 2 October 1968, the Indian Embassy organized a public meeting in Tananarive. Paul Radaody Ralarosy, President of the Malagasy Academi, presided.

The National Committee for Gandhi centenary celebrations organized a seminar on 22 May 1969 at the University of Madagascar. The Malagasy Radio fully covered the proceedings.

The National Committee also organized an exhibition of photographs and books on Gandhi at the Hall of the Malagasy Ministry of Information. It was inaugurated by Joseph Ravohangy Andrianavalona, the Central Minister Without Portfolio.

MALAWI

On 2 October 1968, President H. Kamuzu Banda inaugurated the Gandhi centenary celebrations.

The Malawi News, the official organ of the Malawi Congress Party, paid an editorial tribute to Gandhi on that day.

At President Banda's initiative the City Council of Blantyre-Limbe named a road after Gandhi.

MAURITIUS

The celebrations were inaugurated by the Governor-General at a function on 2 October 1968.

On 18 June 1969, an exhibition was opened which toured

the country. The exhibits included a replica of Gandhi's room in the Sabarmati Ashram and books and photographs on Gandhi.

Commemorative stamps were issued.

The concluding function on 2 October 1969 was addressed by the Education Minister.

MEXICO

A bronze statue of Gandhi was unveiled by Mexico's President, Yustavo Diaz Ordaz, on 24 February 1970.

On 24 October 1969, a public homage was paid to Gandhi at the Palace of Fine Arts. The Education Minister, Augustin Yanez, presided. The Mexican Education Ministry brought out a sixteen-page life sketch of Gandhi and distributed it free of charge among all students of third grade and above in the country.

On 27 September 1969, the government issued a commemorative stamp.

NEPAL

On 2 October 1968, Surya Bahadur Thapa, then Prime Minister of Nepal, presided over a centennial meeting. This was attended among others by Nepal's Foreign and Education Ministers, Heads of foreign missions in Kathmandu and members of the diplomatic corps.

A 'Gandhiana' exhibition was held at the Nepal-Bharat Sanskriti Kendra, Kathmandu. Large numbers of people visited it.

V.K.R.V. Rao, then India's Education Minister, visited Nepal in September 1969 on a lecture tour. He inaugurated a three-day seminar organized by the Tribhuwan University in the hall of the College of Education.

During the centenary year three groups of peace-marchers from India visited Nepal, carrying Gandhi's message from village to village.

THE NETHERLANDS

The main function, which was attended by a large and distinguished gathering, including the Dutch Prime Minister, P.J.S. de Jong, was a public meeting held at the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, on 2 October 1969. The meeting was opened by Dr F. H. Tunnissen, President of the Netherlands Gandhi Committee. Prem Kirpal, Vice-President of the Executive Board of UNESCO and former Education Secretary, Government of India, was the principal speaker. The well-known Dutch recitalist, Nel Oosthout, gave a recitation of 'Requiem for Mahatma Gandhi' by Henriette Roland Holst.

Another function in connection with the celebrations was a public meeting held at Eindhoven on 13 October 1969. The meeting was held in the auditorium of the Technical University at Eindhoven. The commemorative address was delivered by Professor Jihr. F. Alting van Geusau.

The Noordhollandse Orchestra performed 'Cantique en cinq Versets', a symphony specially composed in honour of Gandhi by Hidayat Khan in Haarlem on 21 November. The Netherlands Gandhi Committee brought out a special photo album of 18 photographs and a booklet on Gandhi for educational purposes and the Dutch edition of the UNESCO publication, *All Men are Brothers.*

NEW ZEALAND

A symposium on Gandhi was held in Wellington under the auspices of the Asian Studies Centre and Victoria University.

NORWAY

The celebrations opened at Oslo University on 2 October 1968 under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Oslo, Brynjulf Bull. King Olav participated in the function.

In Trondheim a function was organized by the Indo-Norwegian Association where Ingrid Eide of Oslo University spoke.

A Gandhi exhibition was held in the Tromso Museum as a part of the 175th anniversary of Tromso City.

PANAMA

A Gandhi Week was celebrated from 27 September to 2 October 1969.

On 2 October 1969, a public meeting was organized to pay homage to Gandhi. Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Juan Antonio Tack, spoke.

The Municipal Council of the Capital District of Panama also held a public meeting. It was addressed by the Municipal President C. Juan Manuel Calallero and Prof. Otelia A. de Tejeira.

A photographic exhibition entitled 'My Life is My Message' was organized at the National Library. It was inaugurated by Prof. Raquel de Leon.

A newly-laid playground named after Gandhi was opened in the Republic of India School.

On 6 October 1969, Panama's Education Minister, Roger Decerega, unveiled a bronze statue of Gandhi. Depicting the characteristic pose of Gandhi on the Dandi March, it was made by the noted Mexican sculptor, Federico Canessi.

THE PHILIPPINES

February 3 to 9, 1969 was proclaimed by the President of the Philippines as Mahatma Gandhi Week.

In December 1968, a team of gandhian workers belonging to the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi visited the Philippines. They delivered lectures at the University of the Philippines, Philippines Women's University and the University of Santo Tomas. An exhibition was also held during their visit. General Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, performed the opening ceremony.

An essay contest on 'Gandhi's Message to Today's World' or 'Gandhi and World Peace' was launched on 1 September 1969.

The University of Santo Tomas held a symposium on Gandhi on 29 September 1969. Several Philippine professors spoke on gandhian philosophy and its relevance to modern times.

A photographic exhibition on Gandhi was organized in Manila on 2 October 1969.

POLAND

The main public functions during the centenary were organized by the Polish-India Friendship Societies at Warsaw, Lodz, Torun, Cracow, Zakopana and Poznan.

Important articles were published in the Polish press in connection with the centenary. Mention may be made of the articles by Ludwik Krasucki in the *Trybuna Ludu*, by Ryszard Smulozynski in *Zarsewia* and by Stanislaw Hadyna in *Dookola Swiata.*

A new school was named after Gandhi. A young sculptor,

Tadeusz Niewiadomski, prepared a bronze sculpture of Gandhi.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

A set of books was presented by R. R. Diwakar on 11 December 1969 to the Dong Kuk Buddhist University. He spoke on 'Life, Teachings and Thought of Mahatma Gandhi' at a gathering in the University.

RUMANIA

On 9 April 1969, the Rumanian National Commission for UNESCO, jointly with the Institute for Cultural Relations with foreign countries and the National Committee for Defence of Peace, organized a Gandhi centenary function. Academician Tudor Buganriu delivered an address. A film on Gandhi was also shown.

On 3 October 1969, the Commission organized another function in which George G. Potra spoke on Gandhi. An exhibition of photographs on Gandhi was also arranged.

On 11 November 1969, the Commission, jointly with the Bucharest University, organized a function where writers and journalists, including Ion Larian Postolache, spoke; the program included recital of Indian poetry.

SIERRA LEONE

Prime Minister Siaka Stevens broadcast to the nation on 2 October 1969 launching the Gandhi centenary celebration in the country.

The Indian community in Freetown held prayer meetings. *The Unity,* a national daily, published on 2 October 1969 an editorial entitled 'Without Violence'.

SIKKIM

A special seminar was held at the Denzong Hall under the chairmanship of Chogyal of Sikkim. N. K. Bose was the guest speaker. October 2, 1969 was declared a public holiday throughout Sikkim.

A collection of articles entitled *Sikkim Remembers Gandhi* was brought out during the centenary.

Celebrations also took place in Deorali, Tarku, Temi, Rangpur, Geyzing and Mangan.

SOMALIA

A public meeting on Gandhi centenary was addressed by the Acting Prime Minister, Yassin Nur Hassan, and also by a Member of Parliament. A set of books on and by Gandhi was presented to the Acting Prime Minister by the Indian Ambassador.

A set of three Somali postage stamps was issued. The three daily newspapers carried articles on various aspects of Gandhi's life throughout the week ending 2 October 1969.

A 'Gandhi Corner' was created at the National Museum.

SOUTH VIETNAM

A public meeting was held to celebrate the Gandhi centenary on 2 November 1969 at the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Saigon. Phan Khac Suu, former Chief of State of the Republic of Vietnam, presided.

On 2 October 1969, an exhibition on Gandhi was inaugurated in Saigon by the Minister of Information, Ngo Khac Tinh; the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Labour were also present.

The Theosophical Society in Saigon arranged public meetings on 5 and 12 October 1969.

SPAIN

Gandhi Week was celebrated at the Madrid University from 2 to 8 October 1969. The Spanish Education Minister inaugurated it. Indologist Roger Rivieve gave a talk on 'Gandhian Philosophy'. A film on Gandhi was also shown.

An exhibition of photographs and books was organized at the National Library in Madrid as a part of the Gandhi Week celebrations.

Visiting Indian leader N. G. Ranga addressed a centennial meeting at the Madrid University.

SUDAN

A three-day cultural exhibition was organized by the Indo-Sudanese Friendship Association in Khartoum from 11 January 1969.

The influential Arabic language dailies, *El Rai El Amm* dated 3 October 1968 and *El Ayyam* dated 7 October 1968, carried editorials on Gandhi.

The Sudanese Press, Radio and TV marked Martyrs Day on 30 January 1969, with special articles and programs making reference to the Gandhi centenary celebrations.

SWITZERLAND

From 6 till 16 July 1969, the International Students Movement for United Nations organized a Gandhi exhibition to coincide with the twenty-third Annual World Federation of United Nations Association Summer School program.

The inaugural function was held in Berne on 6 September. It was presided over by the President of the National Committee for Gandhi centenary celebrations, the Swiss Foreign Minister, Willy Spuhler. Two eminent Swiss personalities,

J. R. Belmont and Otto Wanger, who had personally known Gandhi, spoke about his philosophy of nonviolence.

On 17 September 1969, the Town Council of La Chaux-des-Fond, with the cooperation of the Swiss National Commission for UNESCO, the Edmond Privat Foundation and the Ethnographic Museum, arranged an impressive exhibition showing, for the first time in public, letters in original from Gandhi to Professor Edmond Privat and his wife, who had been christened by Gandhi as Anand and Bharti respectively.

The *Journal de Geneva* carried an article written by Professor Gilbert Etienne, a member of the Swiss National Committee for Gandhi centenary celebrations.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

The leading daily *Al-Baath*, spokesman of the ruling Baath Party, published five articles on Gandhi during the centenary year. Prominent among these were 'Moral Consciousness' by Dr Zakir Husain and 'Gandhi's Heritage' by Mrs Indira Gandhi. Other important papers also published articles on Gandhi. The Syrian magazine of culture, *Al-Maarifa*, paid homage to Gandhi by publishing a special commemorative issue.

Gandhiji by Romain Rolland was translated into Arabic by Dr Mohammed Altounji.

Two photographic exhibitions entitled 'My life is My Message' were inaugurated at the Arab Culture Centre on 5 May and 2 October 1969.

TANZANIA

The Gandhi centenary exhibition in Dar-es-Salaam was inaugurated at the National Museum by the Chief Educa-

tion Officer of Tanzania, J. D. Mganga, on 24 September 1969.

On 2 October 1969, the Mahatma Gandhi Foundation of Tanzania organized a public meeting which was presided over by the Tanzanian Minister for National Education, C. Y. Mgonja. The speakers at this meeting included the Indian High Commissioner, V. C. Vijaya Raghavan.

On 2 October 1969, the *Standard,* a daily newspaper came out with a sixteen-page special supplement on Mahatma Gandhi.

THAILAND

A photographic exhibition on Gandhi, arranged by the Cultural Committee of the Thailand National Commission for UNESCO in association with the Indian Embassy in Bangkok, was declared open on 2 October 1969 by Prince Dhani Nivat, President of the Privy Council, at the National Library Hall.

A Gandhi Memorial Room at the Soi Pranang Municipal Public Library was inaugurated on 24 April 1969 by General Praphass Charusathira, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

The Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge organized a public meeting on 2 October 1969, which was presided over by Prince Wan Waithayakorn; the Indian Ambassador was the guest speaker at this function.

TRINIDAD

A statue of Gandhi was unveiled at Kew Place, Port of Spain, by the Minister of Education and Culture, Senator Donald Pierre.

Lectures were delivered by the Indian High Commissioner

L. N. Mishra, Senator Donald Pierre, John Bharath, M.P., Kamaluddin Mohammed, Minister of West Indian Affairs, C. A. Thomasos, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Basil Pitt, Minister of State for Tobago, between July and October 1969 in Port of Spain and other towns.

During September 1969 the National Museum and Art Gallery organized a comprehensive photographic exhibition on Gandhi.

The Arima Borough Council named a playground on Salamat Ali Street, Arima, after Gandhi.

TUNISIA

A photographic exhibition entitled 'Mahatma Gandhi: His Life and Message' was held at the Maison de la Culture in Tunis from 17 to 26 November 1969. It was inaugurated by Mustapha Fersi, Acting President of the National Cultural Committee of Tunisia. Important papers of Tunisia, *L'Action, Al Sabah and Al Amal,* published special articles on Gandhi.

TURKEY

At the Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, on 15 September 1969, a public celebration was inaugurated by Bedrettin Tuncel, President, Turkish National Commission for UNESCO. The Turkish National Commission also published a book on Gandhi in Turkish. Introduced by Prof. Bedrettin Tuncel, the publication contains a special contribution entitled 'Gandhi and Ataturk' by Enver Eiya Karal, well-known historian, and an article 'Mahatma Gandhi as a Reformist' by Kemal Gagdas of Ankara University.

In August 1969, in the Indian Pavilion at the Izmir International Fair, a section was devoted to the Gandhi Exhibition. It was entitled 'My Life is My Message'.

UGANDA

A public meeting was held in Kampala on 2 October 1969, to pay homage to Gandhi. It was addressed by the Minister for Culture and Community Development, C. B. Katiti.

Also on 2 October 1969, the English language and vernacular newspapers carried special supplements on Gandhi. Exhibitions of photographs and films were organized in July-October 1969 in all important towns of Uganda.

On 20 August 1969, the Kampala Aga Khan Youth Organization organized a symposium on Gandhi.

UNITED KINGDOM

The premier event of the centenary celebrations was the Grand Tribute to Gandhi at the Royal Albert Hall on Tuesday, 21 October 1969, at which the Prince of Wales and Prime Minister Harold Wilson spoke. Zubin Mehta conducted the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, and performances were given by Yehudi Menuhin, Ravi Shankar and Vanessa Redgrave.

There was an Ecumenical Memorial Service at St Paul's Cathedral on 30 January 1969, the twenty-first anniversary of Gandhi's assassination, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the oration and Lord Mountbatten gave a short address.

The B.B.C. Television recorded part of the service in colour, which was screened later that evening.

A commemorative stamp was issued on 13 August 1969. This is the first time that the British Post Office issued a stamp honouring an overseas leader, and the British Post Office accepted for the first time the design of an Indian, Biman Mullick.

The Religious Section of B.B.C. Television sent out Malcolm Muggeridge to do a program on the spiritual aspects of Gandhi's life and work. Francis Watson over ten years ago had interviewed nearly all the living associates of Gandhi at that time and produced the only extensive radio biography of Gandhi in the world. *The Sunday Times, The Guardian* and *The Observer* published special articles on Gandhi.

During the year a number of exhibitions were staged, among them an exhibition at the British Museum. This was a collection of books, manuscripts and photographic exhibits, including the table cloth which Mahatma Gandhi gave as a wedding present to Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip. The Centenary Committee also sponsored an exhibition on Indian folk art at the Camden Art Centre. An exhibition on the life and work of Gandhi was held by the Gandhi Centenary Working Group of the National Peace Council under the leadership of Donald Groom.

The 'War on Want' organization under the leadership of Rank Harcourt-Munning organized a series of touring exhibitions for small towns and villages. The Gandhi Lecture at Oxford was delivered by Professor V.K.R.V. Rao, India's Education Minister, on 24 October 1969.

The Royal Commonwealth Society, together with the Royal India and Pakistan Society, also organized a Gandhi lecture which was delivered on 3 July 1969 by R. R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation of India.

In December 1968, a special Ramdhun honouring Gandhi's memory was organized by Rosalind Schama which was attended by the two daughters of Lord Mountbatten.

The General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches published a Commemorative Service on Gandhi for use in Gandhi Memorial Services in their churches.

The Martin Luther King Foundation, under the leadership of Canon Collins, marked the Gandhi centenary by organizing a seminar, and Canon Collin's Christian Action organized a School for Nonviolence which was held several times a week in the Church of St Martins-in-the-Field from January to July 1969.

Two books on Gandhi were published during the centenary. Bodley Head published the *Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi* by Robert Payne, and Macmillans published *The Trial of Mr Gandhi* by Francis Watson.

U.S.A.

A commemorative service was held in the Washington Cathedral on Sunday, 28 February 1969 in honour of Gandhi. The very Reverend Francis B. Sayre Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral, former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey and Indian Foreign Minister, Dinesh Singh, participated. The Cathedral Choir provided devotional music. Ravi Shankar and his accompanist played a special piece in honour of Gandhi.

The National Archives of the United States brought out a pamphlet containing a facsimile of Gandhi's letter to President Roosevelt. Free copies were distributed by them at the Dag Hammarskjold College symposium in November 1969. On 2 October 1968, a Gandhi Jayanti meeting was held at the Chancery of the Indian Embassy at which William Stuart Nelson, Professor Emeritus, Howard University, spoke to a largely Indian audience of his personal experiences and meeting with Gandhi. Ambassador Ali Yavar Jung presided.

In New York, Governor Rockefeller declared the period from 29 September to 5 October 1969 as Gandhi Week in the State of New York. Times Square became Gandhi Square for a week beginning 11 October.

The Governor of Hawaii, who was also the Honorary Chairman of the Gandhi Centenary Committee of Hawaii, proclaimed 1-5 October as Gandhi Week in the State of Hawaii. Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles, California, proclaimed 2-9 October 1969 as Mahatma Gandhi Week in Los Angeles. Mayor Daley of Chicago declared 2 October 1969 as Gandhi Day in Chicago.

A civic luncheon was held on 2 October 1969 under the joint sponsorship of the Mayor of San Francisco and the World Affairs Council of Northern California.

The Greater Chicago Centennial Committee organized a four-fold program which included: speeches with accompanying exhibits of literature, films and tapes; winning the cooperation of ministers, priests and rabbis to incorporate Gandhi's message in their sermons; and encouraging and assisting individual schools and organizations to plan appropriate celebrations. The Committee announced the minting of commemorative coins in honour of Gandhi.

Haverford College, Pennsylvania, sponsored a six-day Gandhi Colloquium on 'Nonviolence: The American Experience', from 7 to 12 October. Speakers included, Milton Mayer, Amiya Chakravarty, Harris Wofford and C.V. Nrasimhan.

The University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, which had organized an International Playwriting Contest on Gandhi, held a special program on 2 October 1969. A student from Hawaii and another from India now studying in Pennsylvania were awarded prizes.

From 3 to 8 November 1969 the Association for Asian

Studies, in collaboration with the East West Centre of Hawaii, organized a symposium on Gandhi in Honolulu.

Dag Hammarskjold College, a new Liberal Arts College of New York, organized as its first cultural program a symposium on Gandhi from 18 to 20 November 1969. The Principal of the College announced that they plan to have a 'Gandhi House' on their campus as the first polycultural house, of which many are planned in keeping with their international outlook. The Asian American Women's Forum held a seminar to discuss the life and teachings of Gandhi in Washington on 25 September. On various campuses all over the United States, Indian Students Associations, in collaboration with the campus authorities, observed the centenary by holding seminars, symposia or cultural events.

YUGOSLAVIA

On 12 November 1969, the main function was held in Belgrade, which was attended by President and Madame Joseph B. Tito, President of the Federal Assembly and the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia. From 19 to 25 September 1969 a book exhibition on Gandhi was held at the fourteenth International Book Fair in Belgrade. Important newspapers all over Yugoslavia published special articles on Gandhi. *Borba* brought out a special supplement on Gandhi on 2 October.

ZAMBIA

On 2 October 1968, a prominent English language daily, *Times of Zambia,* published three feature articles on Gandhi. On 2 October 1969, a photographic exhibition was held in the Evelyn Hone College Hall. President Kenneth Kaunda inaugurated it. The Education Minister presided. In memory of Gandhi a clinic was established in Livingstone.