

THE CORE OF GANDHI.

(G. Ramachandran)

Gandhi's was a many-sided personality. The external simplicity of his life and his constant and concentrated devotion to non-violence often effectively cloaked many profound currents of ideas, disciplines, loyalties and aspirations, which surged with him. He was at once a saint and revolutionary, a politician and social reformer, an economist and a man of religion, an educationist and a Satyagrahi; devotee alike of faith and reason, Hindu and Inter-religious, Nationalist and Internationalist and a man of action and a dreamer of dreams. He was a great reconciler of opposites and he was that without any strain or artificiality. He loved greatly but without sentimentality. He unreservedly accepted the fact that truth can reside in opposites. We have all come so much under the spell of the astonishing integration and unity of the man within himself that, no one has yet attempted a clear analysis of his complex and magnificent personality.

It was poet Rabindranath Tagore who once wrote that those disciplines are the most complex, which ultimately lead to the simplicity of a song. One has only to look at those who learn music to understand something of the daily grind of hard disciplines through which they must pass before they bring out a soulful song. Gandhi's life was one long and ceaseless saga of endeavour in which he aided, bit-by-bit and piece-by-piece, to his stature ending up in the ever-advancing fullness of his total personality. There was nothing mystic or miraculous about his growth from a common man into the unsurpassed Mahatma of our history. It is open to each one of us to see how he advanced, step by step, gathering innumerable fragments of truth one by one and mixing them together in the fiery crucible of his life, ready to look at facts, accept their real significance, face any consequence in the pursuit of a cause, suffer any penalty for a mistake, recover lost ground again, but always moving onward, open minded, without fear and dedicated heroically to reach and hold the truth of a matter at any cost. He was, therefore, not born a Mahatma. He moulded himself into one by the Tapasya of which he became the embodiment. He was a common man who pulled himself up to the uncommon height. He was no God but became a god man. Gandhi knew this about himself and that was why he named his biography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth". Experimentation was one of the deepest passions of his life. He

experimented with food, health and cure, clothes and dress, politics and economic, education and reform, ethics and spirituality and organization and revolution. With relentless logic and courage he broke new ground in every direction and yet had the depth and width of mind to separate the false from the true, the unreal from the real, defeat from success and to integrate all his aims and endeavors into the inner unity of his personality.

When we look into the splendid mosaic of his thoughts and deeds there is one thing, which stands out as unique and puts him in the forefront of world leadership. This was the unique discovery he made in a unique laboratory. The laboratory was South Africa and the discovery was Satyagraha. It was history, which threw Gandhi into the South African crucible. The situation in South Africa was itself unprecedented in history. It was not merely that a white minority Government brutalized itself and millions of colored people in an attempt to permanently enslave them. Slavery was nothing new in the world, but this one was unique in that it was grounded in a new metaphysics and ethics buttressed by perverted science. Every thought and action conceivable to diabolic human ingenuity was drawn upon to perpetuate the subjection of the many who were physically weak to the few who were physically strong. Any rebellion was totally made impossible. The very thought of rebellion was made treason under the law. The white minority Government was armed to the teeth not only with weapons but also with twisted laws, institutions and philosophy. This slavery itself was held up as part of God's plan for man and the teachings of the New Testament were blackened and poisoned in support of it. The Bible had taught through 20 centuries that God made man in His image, but the cruel tyrants in South Africa taught that this applied only to the Whiteman. The many who were weak and held in subjection had no arms, no education, no organization and no power of any kind. They could work and just manage to live within the unbreakable frontiers of this slavery. Once they accepted this slavery, they were fed, clothed and given shelter, but without any human rights whatsoever, not even the right of a husband to live freely with his wife or of a mother with her children. They could live like animals in the cattle shed of this fantastic civilization. Any attempt to break away in any direction was met with torture and death. It was a terrible prison house reared and maintained with infinite care within the heart of a new civilization.

It was into this prison house of slavery that history cast Gandhi. He had lived and studied in London. He was a Barrister-at-law from the Middle Temple. He was also an Indian from an aristocratic family with a

great and ancient tradition of culture in his blood. But he was very young and inexperienced. He could have turned tail and run away from this terror in South Africa. It was at this point that Gandhi revealed the first glimmer of his greatness. He stood firm and looked at the terror with unflinching eyes. Can we not say, in humility, that God broke into history at this point and gave Gandhi the inner urge to stand firm like a rock? He had behind him only a mass of unlettered, poor, weak and unorganized Indian coolies and he himself had already been dubbed a coolly-barrister by the arrogant whites who kept the keys of the slave-prison. The historic challenge before Gandhi was whether the weak could fight the strong with any hope of success.

Throughout history in all the battles and conflicts between the strong and the weak, the weak had always surrendered or perished. Gandhi asked himself the question if this inescapable fact of history, as it appeared to be, could ever represent the law of truth, justice and love i.e., the law of God. Again, the light of God entered the soul of Gandhi and he knew at once that what surrounded him was simply the negation of the law of God and therefore of history. Thereafter Gandhi did not hesitate. He plunged into the greatest experiment of our time to discover the weapon with which the weak could fight the strong, not individually but in the mass.

Let us unravel some of the ingredients, which went into this astounding experiment. The first was Gandhi's impregnable faith in God. To Gandhi, God was Truth, love and justice. Truth and justice were concepts, but love or hate furnished the motivation for their interaction. Hate was acting in South Africa to perpetuate injustice and untruth. Could love be made to act effectively for truth and justice in the same area of collective human life? The answer came from the depth of Gandhi's mind. His inner mind said, yes, it could because it must, if God and man were to co-exist. Otherwise, God would be annulled and man would be left lonely in the jungle of life. That was impossible? This was the logic of Gandhi. He held on to that logic till the end of his life. But there remained the question how could love be harnessed and made to act in the collective life of the slaves. The first answer was love must act totally differently from hate. Suppression, torture, violence the prison and the bullet were the instruments of hate in the South African crucible as everywhere. These must be rejected as instruments of love. But what could be the instruments of love? Having rejected the weapons of hate, Gandhi set about to discover the instruments of love for the battle of the weak against the strong. Discoveries came to him one after the other. The weak can refuse to obey, the weak must not surrender, the weak

must invite suffering instead of inflicting suffering. The weapons of love must make the weapons of hate as useless as possible and above all the slaves must stand together as one united community. It must be remembered that the challenge was to use the weapons of love collectively. It was clear, as crystal to Gandhi that the whole of this battle would, inevitably be non-violent. And yet large masses of people must act together non-violently. 'Gandhi' was modern enough to understand the dynamics of numbers, which he did not disdain in a mood of super saintliness. He realized at once that the first step was for him to disobey the iniquitous laws himself and then persuade all his people also to disobey them. He saw why the white minority Government used cruel violence to suppress the colored people. It was only under such suppression that the colored millions, including Indians, would give unobtrusive obedience. The whole aim was to secure obedience through terror. Gandhi's answer was to match fearlessness against terror and disobedience against submission. Gandhi came to the ingredient in his experiment, which made disobedience a duty. It became the only duty. But could there not be violent disobedience, came the subtle question. Gandhi discovered that violence weakened disobedience because it would leave the initiative in the hands of the tyrants who were masters in the art of violence. Disobedience would become more effective when it was non-violent. Instead of increasing the violence of the tyrants it would reduce that violence to an extent and within that margin non-violence could become more effective. Gandhi thus arrived at the discovery of strong disobedience through non-violence. But disobedience and surrender must be kept poles apart. How could this be done? If the tyrants failed to secure obedience what would happen? They would punish the slaves, beat them up, throw them into prison and shoot at them with bullets.

So Gandhi said to himself and his people that disobedience should persist in spite of everything the tyrants did. They could and would do everything in their power to extract obedience but they could not annihilate a whole community resisting them non-violently. The larger the number the better. But the question was would the weak disobey in sufficiently large numbers and face all the terrible consequences of disobedience. Here Gandhi's mind hesitated for a moment. There came another vital ingredient in his discovery. There was the soul in each human being. Whatever might be the differences between human being due to geographical and historical circumstances and conditions during a few thousand years, man himself who was several hundreds of thousands of years old on the earth had each one a soul equal to any other soul. God created man in His own image said the Bible. God resided in each human being said the Gita. The Buddha and Mohamed affirmed the

same truth. Gandhi was a believer. He decided heroically to act upon the basis of the equality of human souls. From Gandhi's faith in this equality sprang his conviction that there was no man or woman so small, weak or helpless who could not discover the strength of the soul inside and make use of it when life itself was in peril before tyranny. Gandhi thus put his faith not only in the transcendent God but also equally in the God immanent in every man and woman. Gandhi then put together all these ingredients of his discovery and welded them into the concept and practice of Satyagraha. Thus, step-by-step again, the experimenter in the laboratory of South Africa arrived at his radiant discovery of the power of collective non-violence, which evolved in time into the revolutionary weapon of Satyagraha.

It is difficult to make a discovery but even more difficult to apply it in a most difficult situation. Where did Gandhi get the reckless courage to use Satyagraha in South Africa? He was himself undergoing a basic transformation within himself. He found out that fear and non-violent action would be completely contradictory. He therefore shed all fear and resolved that if he did not trust in the power of the soul he could do nothing. He therefore gave his people the call to awake, arise and act non-violently. The response astonished and justified Gandhi's faith in God and man. His people rose as one man and followed him valiantly in the non-violent struggle the meaning of which came to them instinctively and with growing conviction. What happened in South Africa in this epic struggle that lasted over 7 years is now a part of our history. It jerked the whites into wonder and dismay. It also flashed the message of a new revolution across the world. Tolstoy, in far away Russia, saw it and recognized it as a new power for good in the whole world. The coolies began civil disobedience. The whites became angry and blind. They struck out at Gandhi and his coolies with all their weapons. They threw thousands into prisons, properties were confiscated and crowds were beaten up brutally. Disobedience continued nevertheless. No Indian surrendered and no Indian obeyed. The whites sought for a remedy and found none. It became a long drawn out struggle that ended in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. The struggle ennobled the coolies and gave them confidence and strength. The whites were ashamed inside them and were cleansed a little. The Whites were Christians. The Hindus and the Muslim coolies showed them the meaning of the Cross. Both sides emerged from the struggle with a premonition that something new had happened to them both equally. The world had changed a little, not only in South Africa but in the conscience and mind of man. Tolstoy wrote to Gandhi that the struggle in South Africa was significant for the world. More than anything else Gandhi himself became a transformed man.

Deep within him there stirred the first awareness of a great mission. Gandhi went to South Africa as a young lawyer. He returned to India as the Mahatma.

This then was Gandhi's discovery in the laboratory of South Africa. It was the discovery of a weapon with which the physically weak can fight the physically strong. It is perhaps the greatest discovery of our century, greater than the discovery of atomic power. Atomic weapons are now in the hands of the mighty and with these weapons the strong will fight the strong and might destroy themselves. But here was the discovery of a weapon, which the weakest could use with effect against the strongest with a sporting chance of success. The victory of the physically strong and the subjugation of the physically weak became no longer an imperative of history. Gandhian non-violence created a break-through in the history of the world. The physically weak need never remain anymore helpless in the face of the physically powerful. This is the explosion of hope, which Gandhi ignited in our time. There is almost nothing more significant for the future of man than this in the landscape of our century. Luckily Gandhi has not left the power of Satyagraha in doubt. After the non-violent struggle in South Africa, Gandhi led millions of the Indian people in 3 massive non-violent revolutions against British rule through which mainly the freedom of India was won. The new imperative laid upon us now is to place the weapon of Satyagraha in the hands of the suppressed and downtrodden throughout the world. No greater duty rests upon the people of India than this in view of the Gandhi Centenary in 1969.

Let no one be deceived into thinking that the impact of Gandhi and non-violence on world events are not clear or effective. The world seems to have little to do with Gandhi and Satyagraha. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. dominate the world because of their stockpiles of atomic weapons of incalculable destructive power. Civilization is now in the grip of escalating violence. But let us remember that since the end of the Second World War we have had several groups in the world, which have successfully practiced Satyagraha against tyranny and terror. More significant still is the worldwide reaction against nuclear weapons and a third world war and for world peace. Surprisingly, peace movements are strongest in the most advanced countries like the U.S.A. the U.S.S.R. the United Kingdom and Japan. Non-violence is still only a trickle against the tidal waves of violence sweeping the world. But these tidal waves point to the decay and death of civilization. The trickle however points the way onward to a great renaissance of the human spirit with the possibility of building a new human society based on freedom, justice and

peace. Militarism and nuclear weapons are the blood-soaked signposts of a vanishing era. Gandhi and non-violence are the vibrant symbols of a slowly coming epoch of justice and peace. This is the core of Gandhi's life and work. To understand that, love can be made more effective than hate, violence and hate are inseparable, equally non-violence and love are inseparable and non-violence can be organized on a commensurate scale to fight tyranny of every kind and above all that these are possible with mankind everywhere is the core of Gandhi.

THE CENTRE OF GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION: SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha literally means “Truth Force” or “Truth Powers”. This idea and practice was at the center of Gandhi's life as is the center of his contribution to the world. All else is marginal compared to this. The quintessence of Gandhian is Satyagraha. If we don't get this, we have missed the meaning of his life and death.

I would sum up the five great contributions, which Mahatma Gandhi gave to the world as follows:

- (1) A new spirit and technique – Satyagraha;
- (2) The emphasis that the moral universe is one and that the morals of individual, group, and nation must be the same;
- (3) His insistence that the means and the ends must be consistent;
- (4) The fact that he held no ideals he did not embody or was not in the process of embodying;
- (5) A willingness to suffer and die for his principles. These are the five great things he gave but the greatest of these is Satyagraha. He was influenced by his religious mother and Harischedar.

The idea of Satyagraha slowly evolved and then took possession of him. The germ of the idea was given to him in a Gujarati hymn. He says of it: “Its precepts – return good for evil-became my guiding principle. It became such a passion with me that I began numerous experiments in it.” The hymn:

For a bowl of water give a goodly mean;
For a kindly greeting bow thou down with zeal;
For a simple penny pay thou back with gold;
If they life be rescued, life do not withhold.

Thus the words and action of the wise regard;
Every little service tenfold they reward
But the truly noble know all men as one,
And return with gladness good for evil done.

The germ of the idea came from this hymn. “But it was the New Testament that fined it in my heart” says Gandhi. When a missionary Dr S. W. Clemes, asked the Mahatma years ago what book or person had

influenced him, most, he replied: “The Bible, Ruskin, and Tolstoy”. In later years he would have undoubtedly added the Gita. Tolstoy, with his insistence that the Sermon on the Mount be taken literally and acted on, helped to confirm the idea of the Gujarati hymn and to expound it. It was Ruskin’s ‘Unto This Last’ that made him decide on a life of simplicity. This is noteworthy—a book out of the war-ridden west – the New Testament—turned him against war, and a book out of the materialistic, complicated civilization of Europe—Ruskin’s – turned him towards simplicity. He reduced life to his bare necessities.

Unto This Last put together religion and service. “As you did it do one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me”. His religion would be a serving of God through a serving of men. He would be non-violent, he would be simple; and he would serve God through humanity. Thus was his working faith forward.

But it was an incident that precipitated these gathering elements into a finer life attitude – the well-known train case in South Africa (Harijan, December 10, 1938)

There were two other influences that helped shape Mahatma Gandhi’s ideas and attitudes. Thoreau’s essay “Civil Disobedience” expounding the fact that a man must obey his own conscience even against the will of his fellow citizens and be ready to undergo imprisonment in consequence for after all it was only his body, but not his spirit, which was in custody, arrived at a critical moment in South Africa and greatly appealed to him. Concerning this Gandhi says:

“The statement that I derived my idea of Civil Disobedience for the writings of Thoreau is wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa was well advanced before I got the essay of Thoreau on Civil Disobedience. But the movement was then known as Passive Resistance. As it was incomplete, I had coined the word Satyagraha for the Gujarati readers. When I saw the title of Thoreau’s great essay, I began the use of the phrase to explain our struggle to the English readers. But I found that even Civil Disobedience failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. I therefore adopted the phrase “Civil Desistance”. Non-violence was always an integral part of our struggle”.

Another influence was his observation in 1909 of the British suffragettes and their methods involving imprisonment for gaining of their goals.

Here was a confluence of which God used to mould a mighty instrument of his purposes for this age: a Gujarati hymn from India, a New Testament from Palestine, a book from Russia, a pamphlet from America, a book and the suffragette influence from Britain, and then two men in South Africa, a coach attendant and a white occupant of a waiting room. All these combine to push Gandhi by a hand of destiny into the arena of the 20th century to fight one of the noblest fights that have been fought by man for the liberation of man. They combined to make Gandhi the greatest revolutionary of the age – and the most gentle and humane. When Gandhiji began to apply a New Testament principle to public affairs, then that was revolutionary.

But there was another strain that went into the making of Gandhi and his revolution. It was his conception of truth. Perhaps in the end it may be seen to be the most important element. He identified truth and God.

He said:

“I do not regard God as a person. Truth for me is God, and God. Law and God are not different things or facts, in the sense that an earthly King and his law are different. Because God is an idea, law himself. His law abide everywhere and govern everything.”

Again and again he said: “I do not say God is Truth, I say Truth is God”. Here he seems to rule out a personal God and make him identical with an impersonal law. And yet that is not quite accurate for he called God “Law himself”. If he meant that God was impersonal, why should he say “Law Himself” instead “Itself”. Besides he tells about what happened just before going on a 21 day fast.

“About 12 o’clock in the night something wakes me up suddenly and some voice within and without I cant’ say whispers, “Thou must go on fast”. “How many days?” I ask. The voice again says: “21 days”. “When does it begin?” I ask. It says, “You begin tomorrow.”

The Mahatma believed that if you always did the true things, you would have the backing of the moral universe. He believed that the stars in their course would work for you. He further held that the Universe and we are made for truth. Gandhi had one problem in life. In this matter am I on the side of truth? When he decided to adopt two things, truth and non-violence – one the fact and the other the method of applying the fact – he went forth believing that he had cosmic backing for what he was doing. It gave him an inner steadiness of purpose and a

terrific drive-quiet but terrific. Gandhi's strategy is truth, and his method is non-violence.

Satyagraha: says Gandhi – ‘Satyagraha is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument. It is the weapon that adorns the strong. It can never adorn the weak. By weak is meant the weak in mind and spirit not in body- the sword of the Satyagraha is love and the unshakable firmness that comes from it.

A Satyagrahi must always be ready to die with a smile on his face, without retaliation and without rancor in his heart. Some people had come to have a wrong idea that Satyagraha meant jail going only; perhaps facing lathi blows and nothing more. Such Satyagraha could not bring independence. To win independence they had to learn the art of dying without killing”.

He goes on and lays down rules for the behaviour of the Satyagrahis: -

Anyone summoned to appear before a court should do so. No defense should be offered and no pleaders engaged in the matter. If a fine is imposed, with the alternative of imprisonment, imprisonment should be accepted. If only a fine is imposed, it ought not to be paid. There should be no demonstrations of grief or otherwise made by the remaining Satyagrahis by reason of the arrest and imprisonment of their comrade. It cannot be too often repeated that we court imprisonment and may not complain of it when we actually receive it. When once we are plain of it when we actually receive it. When once we are imprisoned, it is our duty to conform to all prison regulations. A Satyagrahi may not resort to surreptitious practices. All that the Satyagrahi do can only and must be done openly. To evade no punishment, to accept all suffering joyfully and to regard it as a possibility for further strengthening his soul force, is the duty of every single one of my followers:

He gathers up his ideas into fifteen commandments.

As an individual:

1. A Satyagrahi, i.e. a civil resister, will harbor no anger.
2. He will suffer the anger of the opponent.
3. In doing so he will put up with assaults from the opponents, never retaliate; but he will not submit, out of fear of punishment or the like, to any order given him anger.
4. When any person in authority seeks to arrest a civil resister he will voluntarily submit to the arrest, and he will not resist the

attachment or removal of his own property, if any, when it is sought to be conflicted by the authorities.

5. If a civil resister has any property in his possession as a trustee, he will refuse to surrender it, even though in defending it he might lose his life. He will however never retaliate.
6. Non-retaliation excluded swearing and cursing.
7. Therefore a civil resister will never insult his opponent and therefore also, he may not take part in many of the newly coined cries, which are contrary to the spirit of Ahimsa.
8. A civil resister will not salute the Union Jack nor will he insult it or officials, English or Indian.
9. In the course of the struggle if one insults an official or commits an assault upon him, a civil resister will protest such official or officials from the insult or attack even at the risk of his life.

As a prisoner:

10. As a prisoner, a civil resister will behave courteously toward prison officials and will observe all such discipline of the prison as is not contrary to self respect; as for instance, whole he will salaam the officials in the usual manner he will not perform any humiliating gyrations and will refuse to shout "Victory to Sirkar", or the like. He will take cleanly cooked and cleanly served food, which is not contrary to his religion, and will refuse to take food insultingly served or served in unclean vessels.
11. A civil resister will make no distinction between an ordinary prisoner and himself will in no way regard himself as superior to the rest, nor will he ask for any conveniences that may not be necessary for keeping his body in good health and condition. He is entitled to ask for such conveniences as may be required for his physical and spiritual well-being.
12. A civil resister may not fast for want of conveniences whose deprivations do not involve any injury to one's self respect.
13. As a unit:
A civil resister will joyfully obey all the orders issued by the leader of the corps, whether they please him or not.
14. He will carry out orders in the first instance though they appear to him to be insulting, inimical, or foolish, and then appeal to higher authority. He is free to determine the fitness of the corps to

satisfy him before joining it; but after he has joined it, it becomes his duty to submit to its discipline, irksome or otherwise. If the sum total of the energy for the corps appears to a member to be improper or immoral, he has a right to sever his connection, but, being within it, he has no right to commit a breach of its discipline.

15. No civil resister is to expect maintenance for his dependents. It would be an discredit if any such provision was made. A civil resister entrusts his dependents to the care of God. Even in ordinary warfare where in hundreds of thousands give themselves up to it, they are unable to make no previous provision. How much more, then should such be the case in Satyagraha? It is the universal experience that in such times hardly anybody is left to starve”.

When one takes the attitude of the real Satyagrahi, it throws around him something that disarms his enemies. The Moslems of Noakhali slaughtered the Hindus in mass slaughter. The Mahatma deliberately went into these scenes of desolation state and went unarmed. India held its breath. But when the Mahatma would trudge from village to village on his peace mission, the goondas would flee before him, afraid to face him. Once the absence of resistance and even resentment so unnerved the attacker that he desisted. Later he came and fell at the Mahatma's feet and begged forgiveness for what he had done.

Dr. Radhakrishnan sums up Gandhiji, and his non-violence movement. “Gandhiji embodies the moulded pride of India, and in his Satyagraha is reflected the eternal patience of her wisdom. Gandhiji admits that submission to injustice is worse than suffering it. He tells us that we can resist through an act of non-violence, which is an active force. If blood is shed, let it be our blood, cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing; for man lives freely only by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him...” Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

All of this seems idealistic and impossible. But not when you see it applied on a mass scale to a political situation. Then you see the sheer power of it, a strange new power that shakes you to your depths, and shakes a nation to its depths – the nation that adopts it and the nation against whom it is adopted. At first you are disposed to mockery and then something gets past your armor and gets you.

Gandhi has taken this method out of the realm of idealism, has applied it on a vast scale and has demonstrated its practicability. India has won her independence and she won it by non-violent means. It took 30 years to win it, but the time would have been greatly shortened had not violence crept into the movement. To the degree that it has remained non-violent it has been power purer unadulterated power. Its only weakness was in the departure from its own principles and practice. Had India been true to the principle and practice of the Mahatma's non-violent movement, she would have assumed the moral leadership of the world.

The violence that crept in the movement when it was on and the violence that has attended the adjustments between Pakistan and India have tended to dim that moral leadership and yet through it all the amazing power of Mahatma Gandhi and his method shines. The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi shines all the more against the background of the betrayal of his spirit, often by those who named his name.

Satyagraha as Gandhi conceived it must be born in the heart of the man using it as an answer to violence and evil. It is not a skilful use of one's body to retract the movement of the other party but an offer of one's body to his physical violence.

To enunciate that Love and Truth have been shown by Gandhi to be powerful answer to hatred and falsehood and violence is easy. To say that these forces of Love and Truth can solve and are the only way to solve, racial, economic and political conflicts is easy. But in practice it will be found to be a begging of the question. How can you summon up love for one who has given you so much cause to hate? How can a Negro love a White man? How can a Pak patriot love Indian or Indian patriots love the Pak?

The force of Love and Truth must spring from a firm faith in God and His sovereignty over the hearts of man, to save Gandhiji's way from becoming an empty doctrine or a disappointing technique. Satyagraha is not for the skeptic, not for one who is content with the phenomenal world and the classification of what one sees in that world. Satyagrahi was not an inventor. He was a man of God.

“STUDENT FERMENT”

Gandhi Round-Table of The Gandhi Peace Foundation

Sri. G. Ramachandran’s speech on “Student Ferment” in India at the Bharatiya vidya Bhavan on 9th Dec 1966 with Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission in the Chair.

The whole world is in a troubled state. Traditional moorings in politics, economics and ethics have given way. Two world wars have shattered many old values and created a deep current of cruel cynicism throughout the world. Student ferment in India and in many other countries including the United States must be looked at as part of this picture.

The role of students in the history of nations must not be forgotten. When every section of the people was beaten down and suppressed, students have stood up suffer and fight for freedom. In our own time we have seen this in Turkey, in Egypt, in India under Gandhi, in Indonesia and in China. We must therefore value students and look upon them as a heroic section of the people and not as a danger or a nuisance. This must be our positive approach.

Students are really the enlightened youth of every country. If students become simply obedient, contented, examination-passing bookworms, they will make no contribution to nation building or world-building. To be restless, always seeking to go forward, passionate in attachment to causes, constitute the birth right of students. Our task must not therefore be to suppress their rebellious spirit but to canalize it for creative purposes.

This was what Gandhi did. He never pushed back the student in India. He always challenged them to come forward, to fight for freedom and to do constructive work in the rural areas. But he laid down inexorable conditions, i.e. disciplines, non-violence and no going back. The myth created by a section of the intelligentsia that all student indiscipline stems from Gandhian movements is totally untrue. It is those who never came within a 100 miles of the freedom movement under Gandhi who have created this bogey. No one

disciplines students as Gandhi did and no one gave them harder tasks to perform than he. Tagore also helped in releasing the minds of students and youth from traditions and old ruts and led them on to new creative purposes in literature, the fine arts, rural reconstruction and nation-building. It is no longer enough to preach to the student. The need is to lead them in hard studies, vital action and sincere dedication.

We can no longer contain students and keep them quiet in old ideas and programmes. The politicians in power in India, after independence are stabilizing and conserving, but seldom really advancing. Even the revolutionary Nehru of pre-independence became the conservative Prime Minister after independence. We cannot any longer look to politicians in power to give the right lead to the students in dedicated idealism or realistic action.

The memory of Gandhi and his non-violent revolutions must be studied and understood in every college and university. Nehru's great ideas, programmes and vision must be kept alive before the students. The dynamics of Vinoba's bhoodan-gramdan movement must be studied by students and teachers everywhere and it should be realized that the Prophet of Padayatra shows the way to a new world in which the basic concepts of socialism and the basic method of non-violence combine.

Students have every right not only to study and discuss politics but even in participating in politics so long as they remain non-violent and conduct themselves with dignity and so long as what they do in politics do not take them away from their studies altogether. Any price they pay in this connection will be exactly what they willingly pay by neglect of their studies and consequent failure in their examinations. Unless they become violent, break the law and destroy property, we must not hurt them in any way. Even when they break rules they must be treated with a legitimate margin of generosity and even affection. Otherwise, the older and the younger generation might tend to become enemies of each other

Today leadership comes more from ideas than from men. Our socialism appears to be spineless and uninspiring. A strong dose of Sarvodaya can perhaps galvanize it and make it more truly Indian without the loss of any of its universal significance.

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MAKE THIS AN YEAR OF NON-VIOLENCE

Dated: 9th January 1969.

Are we organizing the Gandhi Centenary Year in the manner in which the soul of Gandhi would rejoice? This is not an easy question to answer. It is not for us to say that India and other countries are Celebrating the Centenary simply as a grand show. We cannot forget that there are in India and outside thousands of sincere and true men and women who will do their best during the year to more than merely Celebrate an International Birthday. There are two aspects of the matter from which no one can run away.

The first is the persisting and tremendous vitality of the impact of Gandhi on the human mind and the second is that millions of people in India and outside are not so small-minded as to forget Gandhi's mighty contribution to world thought and world freedom. Gandhi and mankind are inseparably integrated in the crucible of history. What God has thus put together none may put asunder. We must guard ourselves against dismissing all external celebrations as mere forth and noise and realize they represent, in some measure, the deep longing of everyone to recall the priceless memory of the life of a man who lived, worked and died in unsurpassed dedication to the cause of justice and freedom for man.

There will be meetings, conferences, seminars and exhibitions as also monuments erected during the Centenary. Let them be. Let us not quarrel with those who do these things as though any of us is doing something much more real or fundamental. Let us be humble and accept every tribute to the memory of Gandhi, during this year as some token alike of his greatness and of mankind's gratitude and reverence. Nevertheless, we must go deeper into this matter. When everything that Gandhi said, wrote and did are fully analyzed and synthesized, it can be shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that at the core of all these was his dynamic and revolutionary doctrine that the power of love is greater than the power of hate and can be harnessed effectively to collective non-violent action wherever freedom and justice are in peril.

If we do not recover this truth, which he revealed, and follow it up with action in accordance with it, then indeed we shall miss the biggest thing of the Centenary. In his own life and in the life of millions of people in India, Gandhi proved how love could become the power of non-violent

revolution. Gandhi gave us not only the convincing theory of non-violence but laid down a detailed and precise methodology with all the imperative disciplines to make it work effectively. He was thus the supreme positivist of the ideology and methodology of collective non-violent action. Karl Marx spun out the ideology of communism but it was Lenin who worked out the methods of its application. Gandhi was both Marx and Lenin in terms of non-violent revolution. This was the unique greatness of Gandhi in our time. The Gandhi Centenary will be incomplete and without its shining soul if we do not study this uniqueness of Gandhi and recover this core of his historic contribution and that particularly, at the present time when the dreadful terrors of nuclear weapons have cast their poisonous shadow across the human horizon.

Let us put this matter into the simplest language possible. Gandhian non-violence is greatest contribution of Gandhi to the history of our time. Non-violence itself may be as old as the hills since we catch glimpses of its luminous streaks in many cultures and periods. But Gandhian non-violence is only as old as Gandhi. It is collective non-violent direct action for freedom and justice everywhere. Gandhi defined non-violence as love in action. It was the imperative of the Gandhian doctrine that when love acted it must act non-violently. We are no longer dealing with the non-violence of the solitary saint or of a small body of holy men. We are dealing with the non-violence to be practiced by masses of people who have been given the necessary minimum disciplines.

In our complex world of today injustice and slavery have assumed innumerable new forms. We must train ourselves to direct the power of non-violent action in ever increasing numbers against them. It was another imperative of Gandhian non-violence that it became a social instrument in the fight for justice and freedom. To recover this challenge of the new non-violence, to discipline ourselves to practice it, then to articles practice it here and now and finally to spread its revolutionary dynamics throughout the world should become the major programme of the Gandhi Centenary Year if it is to become a radiant landmark of the 20th Century and perhaps of all time.

Let us eschew during the year violence for the solution of all problems of injustice, slavery and conflict. Let us keep this one-year for the understanding and the practice of Gandhian non-violence. Let us declare this “An Year of non-violence” as we had recently “An Year of co-operation” as suggested by Jawaharlal Nehru. It is easy to envision such a world programme but nothing in the entire world will be a more difficult project to execute. And yet what could be a more significant field

of thought and action than this for the Gandhi Centenary Year? It will mean that every nation must bring to the common pool the very best in their culture and civilization. What glorious offering that will be at the altar of mankind. Let us formulate broadly but concretely such a programme to the extent we can, leaving it to all those concerned to improve upon it. Here are our suggestions: -

1. Let us declare this year as “An Year of non-violence”.
2. Let people in India and outside in their thousand assemble together to take the pledge of abstention from all violence in personal, national and international affairs during the year. It will certainly be a pledge of non participation in war during the year. It will be a year of truce for the entire world. The pledge should be brief and simple and may be as follows:

“I pledge myself solemnly, deliberately and openly on my honour that during this year I will not be a party to any act of violence for solving personal, national or international problems. I shall dedicate this year to the understanding and the practice of non-violence”

3. Let us undertake a global programme of education in non-violence through schools, colleges, Universities and organizations throughout the world. Such a global programme might well be undertaken by the Unesco in combination with the Gandhi Peace Foundation in India and similar Bodies in other countries.
4. Let us before the end of the year create the necessary public opinion and find the resources in men and material for establishing at a suitable place in the world the first “Gandhi University of non-violence and peace”.
5. Let us organize during the year friendly dialogues between sections of the human community among whom there are tensions and conflicts and the possibility of conflicts. This means we must organize such dialogues between India and Pakistan, the Jews and Arabs and North and South Vietnam etc. What a glorious task this would be. In India, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan should take the lead and then link himself with fellow minds in other countries. In this connection we recall with a thrill the open letter of Romain Rolland to fellow writers

and artists of the world in the early months of the first world war to condemn and stand aloof from the conflict and to keep the torch of love and good will between all the peoples burning and shining above the field of battle.

6. Let there be during the year international exchanges of visits of authentic votaries of non-violence of different countries so that the growing impulses of peace in every country can have confrontation with similar impulses from other countries.
7. Let all the Seminars and conferences already planned for the Centenary Year in different parts of the world lead up to the climax of an approach by the peoples of the world through highly accredited representatives to the United Nations to insist on disarmament, to outlaw war effectively and to forge genuine sanctions against any nation taking recourse to war for any purpose. Let us challenge the United Nations to establish peace brigades in every country on the lines of the Shanti Sena in India to stand between warring parties and to invite death on themselves if necessary.

Against the background of a programme envisaged above the United Nations must be compelled to become more truthful, sincere and effective or crumble before the onslaught of the organized will of the peoples of the world clamoring for the reality of a life of justice and peace. This might well mean replacing the 'United Nations' by the 'United Peoples of the World'.

All this might appear fantastic and impossible. Let us not weakly and timidly yield to such a thought. Gandhi was tremendous person who lived, worked and died on a mighty canvass of history. What he achieved was fantastic and impossible to an earlier generation. We must achieve the impossible in terms of non-violence and peace. The alternative will be more impossible, the suicide of the race in a third world war fought out with nuclear weapons.

This would mean an annihilation of the human race. The path that Gandhi showed might be long and difficult but at the end there would be a new human society based on justice and peace and therefore redolent with happiness and prosperity for the whole of mankind.

**SPEECH BY
SHRI. RAMACHANDRAN,
SECRETARY,
GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION,
RAJA SABHA.**

DATED: 24TH JULY 1968.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (NOMINATED):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will take only just one minute to refer to two of the previous speakers. About the first speaker, Shri Mishra, I think the whole of the speech was a strong attack on the External Affairs Ministry and on its ineptitude. I wish the Prime Minister had been here to hear that attack. I am not joining in the attack because I am not used to such attacking but I should say this to the Prime Minister that it is high time that there is a full-time Cabinet Minister in charge of the External Affairs, that she has her hands so full that she will find it will find it very difficult to personally handle such an important Ministry as External Affairs. I now come to the speech of my friend Mr. Alva. He referred to Ayub Khan's offer of common defense but he forgets that Pandit Nehru made again and again the offer of a 'No War' Pact to Ayub Khan and he did not accept it. I wish he had balanced what he said about Ayub Khan with what Pandit Nehru had offered to Ayub Khan.

In order not to stray from the main issue, I have jotted down one or two things which I shall present to the House.

There is no escape for anyone of us on the floor of this House, to whichever party one might belong, from facing up to two major developments. The first is the shift in the policy of the U.S.S.R. and the second the agreement to supply arms to Pakistan. Spokesmen of different political parties have hammered away to reinforce their well-known attitudes for or against the U.S.S.R. by making use of these two developments. This was only to be expected. Anti-Russian parties call this a betrayal and want us to break away from our friendly alliance with Moscow. Communists and pro-Communists have tried to explain away these two developments insisting that Delhi-Moscow friendship stands unbroken. I wish to look upon this issue as one wanting India to take every step towards disarmament and world peace without which problems like the one we now have will become perennial and constant. Even so, I wish all parties and the general public in India to observe certain imperative proprieties.

The outburst of consternation verging on hysteria which we see in our country is unworthy of the India of Gandhi and Nehru. We are not marionettes in the hands of the U.S.S.R. or the USA or any other power on the face of the earth. As my friend shri Venkataraman from the extreme Left said, let us not forget we are a great nation and a great people with our own distinct contribution for the making of a free, prosperous and peaceful world. I deeply regret that we have made an unseemly exhibition of ourselves before the bar of international opinion. When America armed Pakistan free of cost we did not lose our heads. Our protest was properly canalized and dignified even though Leftist parties did their share of shouting and raving. Let not the world think that India is terrified. The first reaction of the Prime Minister was at the highest level when she stated that it is not for India to tell Russia what to do or what not to do. India does not choose friends or give up friends at the orders of anybody. It is childish to give the impression to Moscow or to the world that we have a right because of our friendship with Russia that she should not be friendly to Pakistan or give Pakistan what Moscow chooses to give.

We can only take up with Moscow relevant issues in a dignified and friendly manner and this is what our Prime Minister has done. It is a pity however that many others of different parties have given the impression of a terrified and terribly angry India to the world. I consider this a disgrace to the good name of our great country.

No one has denied a certain shift in the Russian attitude to India and Pakistan. I go one step further and say that the U.S.S.R. has every right to make a shift in response to new conditions. We were very close to China but our attitude underwent a revolutionary shift when China committed aggression. The change in the attitude of Russia to Pakistan comes not only out of the Tashkent agreement but also even more as a response to a total and unimaginable shift of Pakistan's own policy. Pakistan has almost repudiated its military pacts and closed down an American Base within its territory in spite of the earlier free gift of two billion dollars worth of military hardware and continued support later on in many other ways. This shows the courage of Pakistan to readjust itself to a new situation in the world. Pakistan has come out way, the way of non-alignment. Let us congratulate Pakistan that it has come our way. Pakistan has gone all out to befriend Russia, and that it has succeeded in spite of its close relationship with China is undoubtedly a tribute to its consummate diplomacy. You cannot prevent Pakistan making friends with Russia and Russia responding. The big shift in Moscow is in response to the bigger shift in Pakistan. No one can prevent such developments, and for India to cry out against such developments is, to say the least, unwholesome. We have no control over the actions of other people just as we do not want any other people to control us. We can only take care of our own

policies and programmes of action within the country and without. Let us do this wisely, firmly and imaginatively.

What then must we do? Number one, we must build up our internal strength. This does not mean only producing arms and training the army but complete and total national integration. This is the primary condition. Number two, let us hold on firmly to the hand of friendship Prime Minister Kosygin has held out even after the decision to give arms to Pakistan saying quite openly before the whole world that nothing he will do will be such as to harm India. We must take him at his word. Number three, let our non-alignment become more truthful in that we shall keep on the friendliest relation also with the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Burma and other countries. Our lofty principle of non-alignment must stand every test and particularly this present test. Number four, let India go all out for disarmament and world peace, which I am not satisfied India is doing. We are laboring under some inferiority complex, which was never in the picture during the great days of Pandit Nehru. We are strong because we are morally strong and not because we have destructive weapons. Number five, in our pursuit of world peace let us aim first at peace between India and Pakistan, our closest neighbor and until recently our own country, and do everything in our power to accomplish this even if Pakistan does not come half way. The moment India and Pakistan come together we shall both case to be marionettes in the hands of big powers. We have in India such leaders even today as Dr. Radhakrishnan, Rajaji, Vinobhaji and Jayaprakash Narayanji, not to speak of others, who can make a contribution in building Indo-Pakistani friendship. We must now think of actively helping them to do this. The key to the present situation of fear and anxiety, which can unnerve both the peoples, lies in this that we must establish goodwill and peace between India and Pakistan. Till this is done there will be recurring situations like the present one, each one worse than the previous one, pushing both India and Pakistan to deeper dependence and degradation. Anyone who imagines that in the present day world superiority in arms will solve this or any other problem is living in fool's paradise. The arms race is one in which both sides can run with fatal consequences. I therefore plead, Mr. Vice-Chairman, finally that even while dealing with any immediate situation that confronts us today we must also look beyond the situation and discover the causes from which this situation has arisen and find solutions for those causes. If the present disillusionment in the minds of many of our people will teach us to do this, then we shall have lost nothing.

Thanking you.

G. RAMACHANDRAN
SECRETARY

24th July 1968.

GANDHI AND WOMAN

(G. RAMACHANDRAN. M. P)

What a strange title for my article: Keep it. Since I want to pinpoint Gandhi's attitude to woman. This attitude of his shows what a revolutionary he was in regard to the most difficult area in human relations i.e. those between man and woman. The history of civilization is partly the history of these changing relations. Each civilization and culture can be tested on this anvil of man-woman relations. In the days, when man was emerging from the ape, he struck down the female of the species he wanted and then carried her to his cave: In other words man then captured his woman for his lust and for inescapable procreation. Man still captures woman even in the latest phases of human evolution; only the methods have changed. It was Oscar Wilde, the brilliant and perverse English Poet who said,

“Every man kills the thing he loves,
The brave man does it with a sword,
The coward does it with a kiss”

These are gruesome lines. But they take us back to the basic idea on the subject. Through millions of years of human history man needed woman and took her at his will. She was not his equal and she had no rights except what man in his undeclared whimsicality allowed her. But as civilization and culture grew woman became not an instrument but a person. The advance of civilization and culture can almost be measured by the extent to which the person in the woman grew.

Prophets of religions invariably gave an inferior place to woman even while protecting them in every way. You can protect the weaker vessel without conceding equality to it. Neither the Buddha nor the Christ nor Mohamed was an exception. They showed deep sympathy for woman but did not proclaim her equality with man. None of them certainly proclaimed woman's superiority over man. But this was just what Gandhi did. This distinction is perhaps his greatest distinction in history.

Gandhi aimed ultimately at a non-violent human society, a society made stable and high through non-violence. To him non-violence was live in action. Non-violence was the embodiment of the highest spirituality and morality. In the creation of such a society, Gandhi firmly held that woman by her inner nature could contribute moral than man by his inner nature. Both man and woman could

become non-violent but between the two women could do so more fully. Thus woman could and therefore must outstrip man in the creation of a non-violent human society governed by laws of love and good will. Therefore Gandhi proclaimed unhesitatingly that woman embodied superior qualities. His aim was not to reverse the present tension in society by creating a counter tension in favor of woman but to point out the truth about which he had no doubt. If we grant the superiority of woman in the manner held by Gandhi, then she being the better vehicle of non-violence, there could be no question of woman competing with man except in making love and truth and gentleness prevail everywhere. This must be made clear because otherwise what Gandhi called the superiority of woman is likely to be misunderstood.

But what then is the practical value of such superiority. It would unmistakably be in terms of hastening the process of evolution to a higher life. No religion has elevated God to the Divine Mother more than Hinduism. We have had in larger measure the Motherhood of God than the Fatherhood of God in our spiritual tradition. Gandhi trusted woman to do work in any sphere of life including the battle for freedom just as much as he trusted man. He called out millions of man and women alike in his non-violent revolutions in India. Women fought side by side with men because the battle was non-violent. This could have never happened in the battle was violent. This does not mean that some women cannot always be found to join even a violent revolution. But the phenomenon of large masses of women marching hand in hand with men into British prisons and against lathis and bullets is unique in history. Gandhi wanted women in every profession and calling in life. He wanted that the first President of the Republic of India should be a Harijan woman and even offered to find a suitable, educated and qualified candidate but the men of India, the best of them, were too clever for him. They accepted the principle and went on to deny it in practice. India is today very much a man's India. This is because India as a State and a Nation is not non-violent. It is just like any other State or nation. Under such a condition woman will remain only in the second place, whatever may be achieved exceptionally by a Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, an Indira Gandhi or a Sucheta Kripalani. In spite of these exceptions, and we have had such through the centuries. India is a man's India. This will not change unless we succeed in creating a non-violent India, strong inside through unbreakable social cohesion and equally influential in International relations. There hardly seems to be a chance for this happening and therefore equally there is hardly a chance that the woman of India will outstrip the men in every area of peaceful and creative national life. Gandhi's dream may thus remain long unfulfilled. But it is a worthwhile dream. Its realization can be brought nearer only by women living up to Gandhi's expectations of them. They must voluntarily and gently enter into every sphere of action, social, economic, political and cultural without waiting for men to call them. Thanks to Gandhi, men in India will never obstruct their way

even if they do not lead them on. Women must take advantage of this great historic opportunity. Gandhi called them not to compete with men but to march with them as comrades in life and in death. The whole of the Gandhian approach derives added significance from the fact that Gandhi showed that men and women could work together in pure fellowship without sex obsessions. No one in history kept together so many hundreds of thousands of men and women united in common work at the high level Gandhi did. This is an achievement, the significance of which has not been fully understood. In this as in so many other matters Gandhi was a revolutionary pioneer.

Neither India nor the world will be fully redeemed and remolded without Gandhi's dream of the new woman being fulfilled. What a strange and foolish thing to day in the cruel and cynical situation in the world today affecting men and women. And yet, knowing something of the mind of Gandhi, I must not hesitate to say what I have said. I trust I will be forgiven.

ARTICLE NO: 7

PLEASE LOOK HERE.

“The Cancer of Communalism” – Editorial

The world has not yet found a cure for cancer. India has not yet found a cure for communalism. Gandhi's greatest dream was Hindu-Muslim unity and a united India. His greatest defeat was the horrible blood bath into which India almost sank in the communal conflicts before and after partition. Some of us had thought that Gandhi's martyrdom at the hands of a Hindu fanatic would wash away the poison of communalism from the soul of India and Pakistan. There was the hope that both the great communities after the political settlement of partition would live down to peaceful and harmonious life between the communities, each within its own territory at least. All these dreams have been shattered. India and Pakistan still function as enemy countries. Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India are restless and unhappy, though, it might be said with some truth that the situation is not the same in both countries. But the cancer of communalism survives in the body and mind of both Pakistan and India.

The more we attempt cheap and superficial remedies the further will recede the solution. Secularism as embedded in the Indian Constitution is a sovereign remedy.

But secularism is neither cheap nor easy. It is a tremendous responsibility. It has to retain the ethical and spiritual values of all the great religious traditions in India. Giving them all equal respect and validity and at the same time promoting a vital reconciliation among them on the basis of the welfare and progress of the whole nation. We need true secularism not only in politics but in economics, social development and particularly in our education and culture. Nothing is so purposeless as education in India today. Gandhi made a tremendous effort to make education purposeful even in regard to communal harmony through Nai Talim. But Nai Talim has now pushed into the corner of Purani Talim. The Central and State Governments stand guilty before the spirit of Gandhi for this grave error. Under Nai Talim the many millions of our children would have grown up, day by day, with understanding and reverence for all our religious traditions and cultural patterns from childhood upwards. We could have transformed society.

Even now it is not too late. Nothing is too late ever to redeem mankind. This applies to India also without doubt. But we are steadily heading for disaster. The most ominous signs are the rising tide of anger among Harijans and that of frustration among Muslims. If we do not take hold of education, from the primary stage to the University, to recreate a casteless Hindu society and a non-communal Indian nation, then we are throwing away the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of integration. We might have national conferences and seminars, galore or make every kind of external arrangements conceivable and yet if we do not impregnate the whole of our educational system with the nectar of true secularism we shall lose the battle.

A government either at the Center or in the State concerned mostly with self-preservation can do nothing. We need stability of Government to put through a great educational programme to reconstruct the mind of India. Adult education, outside schools and colleges, involving more than half the population of India who are illiterate, must become the backbone of our educational reconstruction. Every organization of constructive, social and religious work must take up this challenge. There must be conscription of the educated commissioned to educate the uneducated. This nation has no future unless it is built firmly on the contentment and happiness of all the minorities and the neglected and backward groups constituting the nation. Brute majority rule will explode Indian Democracy. We have already lost much time. We have no more time to lose.

ANOTHER CRUCIFIXION

Another assassin has struck and another non-violent revolutionary has fallen. Since Gandhi, no one had come nearer to him in non-violent revolution than Martin Luther King. He has now appropriately paid the supreme price. He knew he would be killed. His wife knew she would become a widow. The premonitions were unmistakable. King was only 39 when he was struck dead. He was at the height of his manhood and of his leadership in the creative and redemptive revolution in the United States. Nothing could suppress him. Nothing could weaken his faith in non-violence or make him hate his white oppressors. Nothing could stop him as he moved swiftly, consciously and valiantly towards his death. The assassin therefore struck with certainty and the saintly revolutionary fell, as he knew it was ordained. A tidal wave of sorrow has suddenly swept the world. It has lashed the human conscience everywhere into shamed and stunned penitence. A great call to atonement will now ring out from the within the United States and echo across the world. But alas, the fell deed is done and the priceless person is gone forever.

The world inside India and outside recovered from the death of Gandhi without loss of time and moved on along normal ways. The world inside the U.S.A. and outside will recover now also soon from the present terrible tragedy and move on in normal ways within weeks. The world is too big and complicated to be thrust back by any death, however great, except for a short while. The dismay and agony in the mind of man will pass and yet the moral challenge of the death of Martin Luther King will remain to be met if freedom and love are to survive in human society. There will remain the fragrance of a life and the pain of a death, which will chasten even the minds of the cruel and the cynical. There will continue a memory that will spur alike the oppressed and the oppressor throughout the world. This death will not be in vain because it must not be in vain. It will open the door to incredible possibilities for good in the years and decades to come. Just as, his wife Coretta will now lead the march of garbage workers in Memphis, which her husband was to have led, we must also in every country pick up the gauntlet and march together along the highways of non-violence to resist every kind of tyranny and slavery in the world. If the stupid assassin and the cruel white racists behind him in the United States imagine that the killing of kind will throw back the Negro revolution, it should be proved to them at once that they are living in a fool's paradise. The day is gone when assassins can stem the tide of a non-violent revolution.

When Gandhi was shot dead in our own lifetime we knew once again that good and evil will always co-exist in history. Gandhi was the embodiment of love and non-violence who would not let a hair of an Englishman to be touched when he fought with all his might against British rule in India and yet history produced an assassin within India itself to shoot at his gentle and tender chest. From then on, who could dare to hope that the innocent and the saintly would be beyond the shots of assassins? Martin Luther King also had created an empire of love and non-violence reaching across political, national and racial boundaries. He proclaimed without hesitation that it was his hope that the non-violent Negro revolution in the United States would redeem alike both the black and the white peoples of his country. He passionately dreamt of the time when the blacks and the whites would live together in peace and harmony, helping each other to rise to fuller heights of happiness and prosperity. Here are some of his own prophetic and exquisite phrases: -

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character. When we let freedom ring from every village and every hamlet, from every State and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual, “Free at last, Free at last, Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.”

King was profoundly religious man. At a crowded public meeting in New Delhi, during his visit to India, he said, “My inspiration comes from my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ and my method comes from Mahatma Gandhi”. IN one swift sweep of mind he combined Christ and Gandhi in his concept and practice of non-violent revolution for freedom and justice. He came to India to meet Gandhi’s colleagues and co-workers and he made himself completely at home with them and they in turn took him into their hearts as absolutely one of their own. In a letter he wrote before leaving India he said that he was going away convinced more than ever before that true freedom and justice can be achieved only through non-violent revolution. He was thus the symbol of the truest synthesis of the ancient world of faith and the modern world of action.

As a human person, Martin Luther King was happy hearted, robust, brilliant and vibrant with a lively sense of humor. He was incapable of any pretension of hypocrisy. He was always frank and open hearted. He was always ready to take as to give a blow. He was never apologetic about his non-violence. He declared it was the highest way of life and equally the most effective way. He told a group of Harijans who met him in South India, “Don’t tell me you are any more afraid or suppressed in India. You had Gandhi. He taught you to fight and to stand up non-violently. O God, what could we not have accomplished in the united States

if we had only a Gandhi. Make up your minds to deserve him and you will win through at last". Some of us who listened to him marveled at his faith in Gandhi. We said to ourselves here was a Gandhi testifying to another Gandhi: He was no starved and frustrated ascetic. He was full of life and vitality. He loved the good things of life and yielded his mind to poetry, music, painting and beauty. And yet he was an ascetic of a new type as was Gandhi. Like Gandhi he rejected nothing except what weakened his will to fight for justice and freedom non-violently. He loved his wife and children with passionate devotion and yet was ready to surrender them to God when the trumpet of non-violent revolution called him forth to action and sacrifice. He was the most lovable person and so was Coretta, as we knew her in India. Her rich and honed voice still rings in our ears, recalling her astonishing outbursts of singing to which she incited us from time to time. King and Coretta were a marvelous pair of human beings united in loyalty to Christ and Gandhi and in their devotion to freedom and justice. And now Coretta will walk her lonely path without her mate but she has in her the same dauntless courage and unbreakable will which were in the body and mind of her heroic husband. The world will watch her in the months and years to come as she marches forward bearing the banner of her husband in the uncompleted Negro revolution in her country. She will be as unafraid of death as King himself and as resolute in the pursuit of victory through non-violence. She will have in Abernathy, the successor of King of the Civil Rights battle a companion tested already and fully in the fire of battle and suffering. They may together yet achieve the unfinished task of Martin Luther King. Men will come and go but the Negro revolution will go on till every Negro is free and equal inside the apparatus of American Democracy.

We in India have no moral right to shed crocodile's tears over the assassination of Martin Luther King. We had Gandhi in India who more than once was willing to lay down his life to liberate the "Untouchables". And before him we had the Buddha, Guru Nanak, Dayananda, Ramanuja and Shri Narayana Guru. We have deceived them all and still cling to caste and unsociability. However such these evils have been lessened by legislation and education. It was only the other day that a young untouchable lad was burnt to death in an Andhra village for some petty thefts. There have been other examples of caste cruelty in some of the other States also. We shall truly honour the memory of Martin Luther King by destroying for every the roots of casteism and untouchability in our society and in our hearts. Casteism and untouchability in India are the equivalence of the evil of racism and segregation in the United States. The best way we can strengthen the hands of the non-violent Negro revolutionaries in the United States is to take up afresh and with no compromise what so ever our own battle against casteism in India. The late Dr. Ambedkar was absolutely right when he asserted that there will be the outcast only as long as there is caste. Caste and untouchability are organically linked and one cannot be destroyed without destroying the other. This is the challenge before India and if we do not take up this challenge here and now

we are. Even if only indirectly, in company with the cruel villain who shot Martin Luther King dead and then ran away to hide himself like a contemptible coward. Human life has become highly integrated in spite of untouchability, segregation and apartheid still persisting in society. Mankind must be redeemed totally or go to perdition totally. There will be no compartmental salvation for mankind. It is against such a background that Martin Luther King stands out toady in the canvass of history. He beckons not only the Negro's or the Americans as a whole but the whole of mankind to a richer, fuller, nobler and freer life through his philosophy, faith and practice of non-violence. In our mind for many generations to come the radiant black figure of king will stand beside the colossal brown image of Gandhi calling us to atonement and there through to true freedom and happiness.

May we conclude by bowing our heads in reverence and admiration before King who has left behind him an imperishable kingdom?

ARTICLE NO: 9

G. Ramachandran's speech in Indian Parliament on the budget

New Delhi

Dated, 19th March 1968.

“Madam Deputy Chairman”, As usual you have called me to at the siesta hour of the Raja Sabha when even such a disciplined Trojan as the Finance Minister looks sleepy and tired.

In fact, I thought he was sleeping. I thought also that if anybody deserves to sleep a little and take a little rest, it is this great man of our country. He has produced a Budget, and before I speak a word on the Budget and offer my points may I say, it appears to me that every Budget is like a mighty elephant. Some of my friends from the Left tried to break the tusks of the elephant. Someone else tried to lame the elephant and all tried to got hold of this big Budget at some point or other. I too in my own way would like to get hold of this Budget at one or two points. But before I do so, I want to say that our Finance Minister, this time, faces and unprecedented situation in India. He faces tremendous difficulties, and he had to make a Budget in the making of which no Finance Minister could have had much happiness or contentment. Taking everything into consideration, he has produced a Budget which perhaps is the best that any finance Minister today can produce in this country and yet it is open to all of us to throw stones at the Budget, find fault with the Budget here and there and so on. I too propose to do that in my own humble way at one or two points.

Somebody here asked a question: "Is this a socialist Budget?" I think nobody will be more honest than the Finance Minister himself in answering, that this is not a socialist Budget. There cannot be just now in this country a full-blooded socialist Budget that any Finance Minister can produce. So I pay my tribute to him for having produced this Budget in a situation of unprecedented difficulties.

I must say a word of congratulation to my friend, Shri Banka Behary Das. He managed to get all the time from the others in his party and blazed away. I am glad he got all that time. He made a very good speech. He had studied the subject well, and how I wish that Opposition attacks on the Budget would be at the constructive level at which he put it today.

Madam, last time when the annual Budget came up and I spoke on it, I remember Shri Morarji expressed his annoyance with me. I am quite sure he has forgotten that because he never keeps annoyances in his mind. But he then reprimanded me by saying that everybody indulged in strong talk, and Ramachandran also indulged in strong talk, and he almost said, without saying it, that I was using expressions not consistent with non-violence. I do not wish to annoy him this time because it will be cruel to annoy him now in the midst of this Budget and the innumerable difficulties facing this nation, because he is not only the Finance Minister, he is also the Deputy Prime Minister of India, bearing a very heavy burden. So I will not, as I did last time, annoy him. I will try not to annoy him consistent with plain speaking on subjects in which I am deeply interested.

One point I raised last time, I must raise again, and that is the state of the colossal illiteracy of the masses of India. Dr. Zakir Husain, speaking some time back somewhere, said that more than 300 millions of the people of India are either illiterate or nearly illiterate. I brought this to the notice of the Finance Minister last time and said that I did not know of any massive, commensurate programme of adult education in this country. And I said that without that adult education programme, all planning will be blocked and every effort at the upliftment of the people will be blocked. You cannot build a democracy on more than 300 millions of people who are illiterate or nearly illiterate. He was kind enough to refer to this point when he replied to the Budget debate and asked, Can Mr. Ramachandran point out a single instance, where when people are trying to do adult education work, Government did not come to their assistance? He had the last word at that time, as he will have the last word this time also on the subject. I want to tell him that I have studied this subject since I spoke here last time, as to what is going on in the field of adult education in this country and I have found to my dismay that there is not one thing which can be called an adequate, massive co-ordinate programme of adult education going on in this country today. There are separate and small agencies here and there. I have met almost all of them and talked to

them. Their biggest complaint is that they have not enough funds with which to work. They have the men, they have the will, but they do not have the funds with which to expand their work. And then, the Finance bodies to take up the programme of adult education. I would like to tell him that in my own humble way I am at this work and in and around Gandhigram where I live, we have 25 adult education centers. But this is less than a grain of sand in this ocean of illiteracy and lack of adult education. I wanted to ask then and I could not and I want to ask the Finance Minister now, "Is this a matter to be left to non-official agencies?" Personally, I believe, Madam, the entire programme of adult education must be taken up as a Central subject by the Government of India because without this democracy would be a mockery in this country. Take family planning. My friend Dr. Chandrasekhar is here. Look at the fanatic zeal with which he drives the programme of family planning. Does he say "I will leave it to some individual agencies here and there and only to men and women of India who feel strongly about it, to do this kind of work". On the Contrary has become one of the most powerful drives in the country directly under the Government agencies, helped by Government funds techniques and so on. I want to put it back to my revered friend, the Finance Minister, that he must take cognizance of this fact that nothing is going to succeed in a country where nearly half the people are illiterate or nearly illiterate. I pleaded with Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari when he was the Finance Minister, to look at this question. But he left soon after. I wonder whether even if he had remained, he would have looked at it. He was also bothered, like other Finance Ministers, with many other problems. But I want to plead again that this is a matter, which cannot be put off by one single day in this country, if we want to make our democracy real and make this democracy advance towards socialism. Socialism looks a complete mockery against the black background of this illiteracy of the masses of the people of India. We must be able to put crores of rupees into this work. It should be taken up by the Central Government as a duty incumbent on it. If you leave it to the States, I do not know how many decades we shall cover before literacy really comes to the people of India in such measure as is require in a democracy leading on to socialism. I am very sore about this, and I cannot understand how this Government can neglect a thing of this supreme importance. I plead with shri Morarji Desai that he must look into this, call together, if necessary, the agencies conducting adult education work, go to the Education Ministers concerned and so on and so forth, and put it to them "All my economic development plans will break on the rock of illiteracy."

Another point which I took up then and which I must take up now again because, the matter still remains unsolved, is that of rural industrialization. Mass illiteracy is the starvation of rural industrialization. Mass illiteracy is the starvation of the mind of the people, but the manner in which we are going on with rural industrialization leads to the starvation of the body among the millions in the rural

areas. I mentioned this last time and shri Morarji Desai also referred to it in his reply. Since then, I want to assure him, that I have gone about studying what is going on in the field of rural industrialization in this country in two States. I have found that what is going on is a caricature of rural industrialization. The main objectives of rural industrialization, if I may say so, are maximum use of local materials, training of local talent and utilization of local talent and the production of commodities consumable in that area. I have found by a study of this programme in two States of south India, that very often in these rural industries, the raw materials come from far away places, the people who work in the units are not rural people at all—they are from the nearest towns and cities—and what is produced is consumed often only by people far away from the rural areas. This is not rural industrialization. This is merely putting any industry in the rural area, which is different from what I conceive to be the programme of rural industrialization. Unless we correct this, we shall neither touch the problem of rural unemployment, nor of prosperity in the rural areas. What is going on is that the middle-class people from the nearest towns and cities take advantage of these programmes and whatever profits accrue, instead of going into the rural areas, go back to the towns and the cities. This is true of innumerable other things in India today, we call them national programme. We call them things of fundamental importance to the rural people. But when actual plans begin to work, they get concentrated in and around towns and cities and the rural areas for which the programme was intended are left starving.

We have now had the Asoka Mehta Committee reviewing the work of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. It has reported. It is a unanimous report except for one dissenting note by a member who was more absent than present in the Committee. I had the honour of being a member of this Committee and I think we have produced a fairly good report. I would plead with the Government of India, through the Finance Minister, to stand guard, to stand sentinel, over the recommendations of the Asoka Mehta Committee and see that what that Committee has asked for—the minimum it has asked for—is implemented in the next one, two or three years of our economic development. Here is a golden opportunity for the Government. Now this is about rural industrialization.

Then I come to my final point because I know I have only just a few more minutes left. Madam, I am certain in my mind, as friends on the right, left and in the middle will be equally certain, that you cannot go on with economic development in an atmosphere of political instability. Political instability is spreading from one part of India to the other. Look at Assam, at Bengal, at Bihar, at U.P., at Haryana, Madhya Pradesh or Punjab. Probably you will find a more stable picture south of the Vindhyas, and it is not fully appreciated that more stability is to be found in the South than in the North. I am not making any invidious distinction but simply pointing to a fact.

All honour, of course to Gujerat and Maharashtra. Now, Madam, I was saying you cannot have economic development in an atmosphere of political instability. Now what are we to do? There are serious situations everywhere. You saw, Madam, what happened on the floor of this House this morning? Can democracy survive this kind of thing that took place on the floor of the House this morning? Can democracy and this kind of thing go together? If this is what is happening on the floor of Parliament, you can imagine what is happening outside in the wider areas of the country. What is happening is a serious breakdown of democratic attitudes to life and of all the disciplines, which alone can make democracy. But then you will ask: What can we do? I do not want to be the fool who rushes in where angels fear to tread. But luckily, as I look around, there are few angels left in this country to tread anywhere: So I might take the courage to do a little treading.

I am convinced – this may not be acceptable to both sides of the house – that the dream of one-party Government in every State in India and at the Center is an impossible one hereafter in this country. We must reconcile ourselves to Government of talent and at the same time to Government of such parties as accept democracy and are wedded to the methods of democracy. To put it in very plain language, instead of one-party Government, the stronger Party must take in representatives of other Parties, provided the other Parties accept two conditions in the political life of our country. One is that they will not resort to violence to settle political issues. Today, the very people who outside Parliament and everywhere in the country create every incitement to violence and indiscipline come here and challenge us when somebody else counters that violence and that indiscipline at those places. This is one of the funniest things happening today. That is why I have in mind for Democratic unity “Every Party which is not wedded to violence and every Party which is not wedded to communalism”. In other words, whatever be the name of the parties, there has to be a rapprochement, a union of democratic forces if democracy is to service in this country. That is why I repeat that the dream of one-party Government in every State in India and at the Center is hereafter an impossible dream and it must be given up gracefully and voluntarily. We must work in collaboration and in co-operation. No other way is open to us to stabilise democracy. When forces opposed to democracy raise their heads and march, how can democratic parties be divided among themselves? So I plead very strongly that we must establish political stability in this country because without political stability economic development is impossible and political stability historically in this country today depends on co-operation of all the democratic parties in the Center and in the States. Let us not wait till we are compelled to do so too late. If we do not do this now, there is peril for us. The Prime Minister said recently “My Government is stronger today than it has ever been before.” I have great admiration for and am

proud of our brilliant and valiant woman Prime Minister. But I want her to read the writing on the wall. Things are crumbling and getting shattered around us. Then to sit back and say, "The country is stronger than ever before" is good from the point of view of courage and self-reliance but not so good from the point of view of political wisdom or realism. So I plead that we must build up political stability through a rapprochement among the various democratic parties and then build up economic development on that solid basis. Thank you, Madam.

G. Ramachandran

223, Rouse Avenue,
New Delhi-1
21st March 1968.

ARTICLE NO: 9A

VYKOM

Vykom is situated in Kerala mid-way between Cochin and Alleppy. There is a vast stretch of back-water touching the town-ship of Vykom and small power steamers fly from Vykom to Ernakulam (Cochin). Kottayam and other important places in Kerala. Vykom is well connected by road with Kottayam a prosperous and important town and other places in Kerala. Buses and taxis are plentiful. There is small Traveler's Bungalow at Vykom on the banks of the back-water. Vykom could be developed as a tourist center if proper boating facilities are made available and if the Travelers Bungalow is modernized.

Vykom has an ancient and famous temple. According to legend the deity in the temple was installed by the famous Rishi Khara. On being pleased with Khara's worship Lord Siva, according to the legend appeared before him and gave him three Sivalingas. Khara started with one linga in his right hand, the second one in his left hand and the third one in his mouth. After some journey Khara felt very tired and had put the lingas on the earth. One linga was placed at Vykom, the second one at Ettumanoor and the third one at Kaduthuruthy. The linga placed at Vykom became very powerful. Vygrapada one of the great Rishi offered Puja for the linga and Khara's request stayed on at Vykom worshipping. Some say the place came to be known as Vygrapadapuram because of Vygrapada Rishi and Vykom became the popular name by usage.

The temple at Vykom is one of the most important temples in the South although it has no architectural or sculptured magnificence like the other well known temples of the South. It is said Sri. Parasaram had visited Vykom and had worshipped Lord Siva there and was blessed by the lord himself. Parasurama's worship is now commemorated by the particular Ashtami Maholsava festival

conducted at the temple during the month of Karthrika or Vrischiga in every Malabar year (November – December). It is said that on the Ashtami day Lord Siva will be in his auspicious figure intended for giving blessings to his worshippers. Worshipping the Lord on that auspicious day and his darshan will wash out all sins. On that night the Lord and his consort are taken out in a procession and a darshan of both the deities together held to be very auspicious. The Ashtami Maholsava festival is celebrated at a grand scale and thousands of worshippers congregate on that day at Vykom for the function. The small town of Vykom becomes a floating city on that day.

Vykom is located in what was the princely State of Travancore. The temple was one of the temples that followed all the rules and conventions of the Travancore Raj. It is well known that the Travancore Raja family was steeped in orthodoxy. The Maharaja of Travancore in the early part of this country was very benevolent but he was embarrassingly orthodox. It is said that the Maharaja would interview the Europeans before 9 a. m. So that he could have an ablution immediately after to wash away the pollution he may have acquired by touching the European's hands. The Maharaja was deeply religious and he was known as he still is as Padmanabha Dasa – the servant of the Lord Padmanabha. The Maharaja spends hours in the great and magnificent temple of Padmanabha at Trivandrum. It is said that the Maharaja became the Raja-Pramukha after Independence he almost created a constitutional crisis by refusing to take the oath by words as he said being a Padmanabha Dasa he could not possibly do it. V. P Menon and Sardar Patel overcame this crisis by probably taking a letter from him that he would be true and faithful to the Constitution.

The stiff attitude of the Brahmin's at the top as far as Untouchability and unapproachability to the temples was concerned had led to a stratified Hindu society with the Brahmins at the top and the Nair at the bottom of the higher castes. The untouchables were formed of the Ezhavas, Thiyas, Pulayas, and Parayas etc. The Ezhavas and the Thiyas were more educated and wealthier. The temples for the Hindus in Travancore-Cochin were a complete taboo to the untouchable classes. The famous temple of Vykom was a typical instance of how vigorous the caste-system in its orthodoxy worked. The Vykom temple has four gates and there is a road running round the temple, which meets the four gates. Now the Muslims, Christians and even dogs could pass by the roads leading up to the gates of the temple but the untouchable classes could not. They could only go up to a certain point of the roads leading to the gate and there was a signboard that the untouchables could not go beyond. The temples at Vykom, Trivandrum, Suchindram, Guruvayur etc. were completely forbidden to the untouchables for entry or worship.

The orthodox and high-caste Hindus of the South saw nothing wrong in this. The untouchables had to keep themselves at a considerable distance from the Brahmins. An untouchable girl, if she did meet a Brahmin had to show her regard to him by baring her bosoms. The Nambudiripad Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas actually treated the untouchables with an unashamed barbarity and all that passed in the name of religion. This was the picture at the beginning of the Twentieth century.

But there was reaction. Sri. Narayana Guru, a Sanyasi and Guru of the Ezhavas propagated his creed throughout Kerala and beyond of one God, one Caste and one Society. Sri. Narayana Guru built his centers at several places in Kerala and soon attracted a large number of followers. The Ezhavas were a rich community and they were feeling the oppressiveness of the environs where they were treated as dud. Sri. Narayana Guru had opened a few temples for the Ezhavas. It was also his idea to stop the rapid conversion of the Keralites to Christianity. It may be mentioned that Christianity of various denominations had existed in Kerala for centuries. The Syrian Christian Jacobites Community of Kerala is as old as their Church is and older than the Roman Catholics. One of the objective of Sri. Narayana Guru was to keep the untouchables within the fold of Hinduism and to see their conditions were liberalized.

Sri. Narayanan Guru was essentially a Sanyasin and there was no militant spirit in him. But of his disciples were clearly itching for an over-throw of their wretched conditions. In a big meeting at Alleppy presided over by one.

Dr. Palpu, a doctor with British qualifications who was refused a job in Travancore because of his caste presided. In this meeting one T.K. Madhavan of Mavelikera in Alleppy district proposed that since the Maharaja of Travancore would not liberalize the conditions of the untouchables and would not treat them as human beings as long as they remained untouchable Hindus, they should all be converted to Christianity on the birthday of the Maharaja. This proposal created a stir but Kumaran Ashan, a great Malayali poet and others opposed the move and wanted to continue in Hindu fold. Kumaran Ashan was also an Ezhava. The wave of unrest found a concrete shape and it was decided to meet the Dewan of Travancore and others to do something about it. Thus the first fight against untouchability and unapproachability was born in an Indian administered portion of India, namely Travancore.

Sri. T. K. Madhavan met the Dewan of the Maharaja with the grievance of the untouchables. Meetings were held here and there. Some of the untouchables took to Christianity and immediately got the right to use the roads leading to the temples that were forbidden before. But to get something out of the Dewan of an

orthodox Maharaja was like drawing water out of stone. Being desperate the Ezhava leaders thought of taking outside help and their eyes turned to Gandhi.

The main local leaders of the movement were Sri. Keshava Menon (India's first envoy to Ceylon and now the Editor of 'Mathrubhumi', a widely circulated Malayali daily paper), Sri. K. Kelappan and Sri. Kurur Namboodiripad. They were all ardent admirers of Gandhi and put themselves in touch with him. Sri. T. K. Madhavan met Gandhi when he came to Madurai and discussed with him the taboo on the untouchables. Gandhi gave out that no one could stop the untouchables from using the road leading to temples at Vykam at "Hindu" of Madras flashed this news the very next morning. A great stir was the result. Gandhi had advised caution and the local leaders had put themselves absolutely under Gandhi's advice.

The matter came up in the Cocinada Congress in 1923 and a Committee was formed with Sri. Kesava Menon as the Chairman to go round the places and come to a conclusion. Sri. Keshava Menon told the writer that for 24 days continuously he and his colleagues had toured different places in Travancore and Cochin and satisfied themselves as to the wretched behavior given to the untouchables. Seeing the conditions at Vykam Sri. Keshava Menon told the untouchables that he could launch a movement provided they would support him and offer Satyagraha. There was a wide approval and Sri. Keshava Menon, Sri. Kurur Namboodiripad and others worked out the details under the advice of Gandhi.

Gandhi advised that the movement should be strictly nonviolent and the volunteers should be prepared to be beaten, jailed and if they could not fulfill the strict test of being nonviolent in spite of provocation they should not join. Volunteers poured in and the movement started in April 1924.

On the first day three men, one Nair, one Ezhava and one Playa went up to the forbidden zone and wanted to cross. The Nair community is not untouchable. The police stop them and said that only the Nair could go. But the batch of three went together and was arrested.

There was a very great excitement throughout South India and the news of the Vykam Satyagraha started being flashed in all the newspapers from the very next day and this went on for months together. Some of the Brahmins wrote to Gandhi and wanted few days' time to think about the problem. Gandhi wrote back that there might be a suspension for two or three days. The volunteers were going restive. Sri. George Joseph, an ardent Congressman and a Christian came to Vykam and said that the movement having been taken up by the Congress must go on. On his advice Sri. Keshava Menon, Sri. T. K. Madhavan and Sri. A.K. Pillai offered themselves for arrest and their arrest was the signal for the pouring

in of volunteers from all parts of the South. Close contact was kept with Gandhi through letters and wires by Sri. Kelappan, Sri. Kuru Namboodripad and others. Gandhi, however, thought that the movement must be run firstly by Caste Hindus and, if not, by the untouchables but no non-Hindu should not taken a part. Before his instructions to this point had come Sri. George Joseph had offered himself for arrest and was arrested.

Events moved very rapidly and Vykom, in an Indian administrated State, become the storm center for eroding the castle of orthodoxy which had conglomerated into something very vicious. Vykom was in the daily newspapers for months. A number of well-known leaders and public men like Sri. C. Rajagopalachary, Sri. C.F. Andrews and others rushed to Vykom to see for themselves the great nonviolent struk Sri. E.V.R. Naicker, an ardent Congressman then, with his persuasive advocacy created a great excitement throughout that area. Sri. K. M. Paniker who was then working as the agent of Gandhi at amritsar in connection with the Akali agitation had sent a band of Akali Sikhs under Sarder

ARTICLE NO: 10

POINTS FROM G. RAMACHANDRAN'S SPEECH ON THE BUDGET IN THE INDIAN PARLAMENT.

New Delhi,
Dated, 19the March 1968.

1. Last time an year ago when I spoke on the Budget the Finance Minister was annoyed with my strong language and even chided at me for not expressing myself non-violently: I shall do my best not to annoy him consistent with my duty to speak plainly.
2. I had then referred to two major issues concerning which I said the Government was not taking adequate action. Pointing out that some three hundred millions of people were illiterate or nearly illiterate in India, I said no nation carrying such a burden can claim to be Democratic or moving towards Socialism. I attacked the Government for not undertaking a massive, nationwide and concerted adult education programme. The second thing I referred to was the inadequacy and misdirection of the rural

industrialization programme. I said that unless this programme was given top priority, the gulf between the rural millions and the cities will widen and lead to a catastrophic eruption, perhaps violent. I added that what was taking place in India was the betrayal of the masses for whom Gandhi had lived, worked and died. This was what had annoyed the Finance Minister.

3. I had made the same attacks when the previous Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari presented his Budget and told him I would come back to the same attack as long as necessary. I must repeat these two attacks today also.
4. I have got into touch with Adult Education agencies trying to do what little they can. The whole of this work is starving for lack of funds and lack of Governmental action. Shri. Morarji hinted last year that Adult Education must be taken up by dedicated organizations. I agree. But they cannot do so unless Government gives them adequate funds for a nationwide movement of adult education. I also fail to understand why Government should not organize and direct this programme, of course also helping all private agencies. The Government are doing that in the case of Family Planning in spite of the fact that there are sharp differences of opinion on the methods of Family Planning adopted by the Government. Family Planning itself will be wrecked on the quicksand's of mass illiteracy. Mass illiteracy is the only national education programme affecting millions of adults here and now. All other educational programmes will affect the people only tomorrow and the day after.
5. Let me now say a word about Rural Industrialization. I have tried to study this programme since the last Budget. I have also visited at least in two States, Centers where it is claimed there is a programme of Rural Industrialization. I am sorry to say neither the aims and the methods of this programme are clearly understood or put through. The essence of this programme is utilization of local raw materials, production of locally consumable articles, even if improved machines and tools are used, which is certainly correct. I have found units of rural industry depending on raw materials from far away, they are run by city people without recruiting or training rural talent and the products are quite often, though not always, marketed far away and in towns. This is like stabling ordinary colleges in rural areas and calling them Rural Higher Education: Unless we effect a complete correction in this programme we shall only help the city exploiter to exploit more the rural people and thus help the middle class rich to become richer without touching even a fringe of the poverty in the rural areas.

Let me not call this, the betrayal of the masses because that will appear as strong language. May I call this neglect of the masses. Can this Republic wax strong and grow on such neglect?

6. We have now the Report of the Ashok Mehta Committee on Khadi and Village Industries. I had the honour of being a Member of this Committee. We have produced a unanimous Report with a dissenting note from a Member who hardly attended the Committee meetings and who has simply arranged an array of quotations from Gandhiji. He did not know that there were some of us in the Committee like Shri Dhebar, Shri Khandubhat Desai and others who knew these quotations but also knew that Gandhi had always kept an open mind and absorbed new urges from changing conditions. That is why we have now the many spindled Ambar Charkhas instead of the traditional old Charkha with one spindle. My point is that the Government have now a golden opportunity to go ahead with Rural Industrialization with appropriate objectives and methods of implementation. Our Report has recommended that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission should be replaced by a Rural Industries Commission, wider and deeper in scope than that of the present Commission. We have asked, for Rs. 5 crores to work this programme each year for the next few years. Let the Government take the fullest care of this programme and consolidate and extend it. I have no doubt that if we wish to cover all our rural areas we would need many more crores. We should insist that the States also put in their crores. Let us use the latest techniques of production, and the best tools but let us insist on the utilization of local raw materials, training and use of local talents, production of locally consumable goods and above all let us guarantee that every new paisa will go into the pockets of genuinely rural people and not to the fellows from the nearby cities and towns who simply want to make money.
7. Let me finally refer to another crucial and critical matter i.e. the political instability which is spreading in many parts of India. Political instability and economic development will never go together. Look at Bengal, Bihar, U.P. Punjab, Hariyana, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland and Kashmir. Political instability has led to administrative instability. Who will implement economic programmes, administrative reforms against the background of political instability? Who is to blame and what can we do about it? These are big questions, I must now like a fool rush in where angels might fear to tread. But looking around me I see no angels anywhere and therefore I might tread, not entirely as a fool but as a lover of my country where no angels are treading. Let us now make up our minds to bid good-bye to the dreams of one party Government in every State or even at the Centre.

There is usually a National Government in the face of foreign aggression and war. But I must tell you that the internal emergency and crisis in our country is bigger and more dangerous than foreign aggression or war. War can unite and energies. But the kind of undeclared civil war inside the country disunites and weakens the country. I am glad that the Prime Minister recently declared that the Central Government is stronger today than at any time. I am one of those who feel proud of and full of admiration for our valiant and brilliant woman Prime Minister. But may I plead with her to read the writing on the wall. We must now make up our minds to have over aments in the States and in the Centre representing the unity of all Democratic parties. We might keep out parties wedded to violence and communalism but let all the other parties unite to save Democracy and the Democratic way of life in this Republic of ours. That is the major duty we owe to Gandhi, Nehru and our people. Without it political stability will never come and no economic development will be possible.

ARTICLE NO: 11

SYNOPSIS OF G. RAMACHANDRAN'S TALK ON "THE RELEVANCE OF GANDHI AS A RELIGIOUS FORCE FOR PEACE":

Dated, 12th January 1968.

1. We have been carefully selecting the treasures of thought from the core of our different religions to prove that they all stand for non-violence and peace. At the same time, we have confessed to each other that there is a big gap between the ideal and the conduct of the votaries of our religions. We have also stressed again and again that our religions must come into life and face up to the realities, the problems and the challenges which surround us and not simply sit at the mountain top. It is at this point that Mahatma Gandhi comes to us like a luminous revelation. He demonstrated in his life and work that it is possible for human beings to close the gap between the ideal and the practical. To innumerable requests made to him often for a message, his invariable answer was, "My life is my message". This quotation from him is now inscribed beneath his busts, statues and portraits. In the International Gandhi Centenary

Exhibition which we are planning for 1969 here in Delhi, the Central Court will be called "My life is my message".

2. Gandhi once said "I have met many religious men in my life who were politicians in disguise but I who appear to be a politician is really at heart a man of religion". He said this half jocularly and half seriously but for us there is a world of meaning in this. Gandhi was above all a man of religion. Millions of us would perhaps have turned away from religion but for him. He proved that religion, properly understood, could become a tremendous revolutionary force for changing life into some thing better, nobler and greater. Here are two more quotations from him in this connection: -

1. "Not a dead leaf is lifted by the wind from where it lies and dropped elsewhere except at the will of God". Thus Gandhi's God was immanent and vibrant in every atom of the Universe.
2. "You may pluck out my eyes and I shall live. You may cut away my limbs and I will not die. I can live without food. But take God away from me and I shall be no more in an instant". He was thus utterly dependent and wrapped up in God and yet he lived the normal life of a man, working and struggling to liberate himself and his fellowmen not only from political and economic subjection but from moral and spiritual death.
3. Gandhi insisted that religion must be lived and not preached. Preaching creates the illusion of doing without doing. He challenged the missionaries of every religion including Hindus that the only way to spread their religion was through example and living. And yet, what an almighty amount of preaching goes on in the world without effecting inner change in making. If millions of people in India followed Gandhi, step-by-step through many long years, in three great non-violent revolutions, it was because he set the example and lived the revolutions himself, finally paying the last price a man can for his convictions. He was shot dead by a fanatic Hindu who thought he was sacrificing Hindu interests in favor of the interests of the Muslims of India.
4. Gandhi was a man of few words and yet if we collect together all that he said and wrote, we would perhaps have a bigger number of volumes that can come from any other world leader. The Government of India is now collecting together all he said and wrote and this is expected to run into nearly 50 volumes. We must remember however that every word Gandhi spoke or wrote was related to something or other he was doing in terms of human service or the liberation of man. There are no other two words which occurred more often in his utterances and writings than "Truth and Non-violence". These two words he kept in front of him all the time. If I am asked what was the most significant thing about Gandhi I would say, "Action". This came to him from the Gita. Inaction was the

negation of truth and non-violence. Truth and non-violence must act here and now in the face of every situation. This was the supreme teaching of the Gita and this was the supreme core of Gandhi's life. To turn away from action in the face of a moral challenge meant committing spiritual suicide. No words, no explanations, no excuses were good enough to explain away inaction. Not non-violence therefore, but action, came first with Gandhi. Non-violence was however the immediate and imperative corollary to action. In other words, action and non-violence that non-violence came to Gandhi from the Gita but action did. Non-violence came from the Buddha and the Christ and even more from the utter and inescapable needs of the situations in which Gandhi lived, worked and grew. Gandhi discovered the potency of collective non-violent action in the terrible crucible of South Africa where he faced an unparalleled situation in which every hole to freedom was plugged by a Government armed to the teeth, not only with weapons but with a perverted and terrible philosophy of cruelty and suppression. Even the thought of a revolt was punishable under the law. It was there that Mahatma Gandhi discovered Satyagraha, the greatest weapon in the arsenal of man, because it was the weapon with which the physically weakest could fight the physically the strongest with a sporting chance of success. Here was a break-through in history in which for many centuries, the physically stronger had subjugated the physically weaker. After Gandhi, this was no longer an imperative of history.

5. But if the physically weak must fight the physically strong, the weapon had to be a moral weapon. A moral weapon could be moulded only on the anvil of the human spirit. Gandhi discovered not only the incalculable power of the human soul but the possibility of linking that power in a vast collective process of chain reaction. It was a greater discovery and an earlier one than the discovery of atomic power. In atomic power we have the ultimate in physical power. In atomic power we have the ultimate in physical power. In Satyagraha we have the ultimate in spiritual power. If Gandhi were not a man of religion, there would have been no such discovery by him and for mankind and certainly not the application of this collective power of the human soul, in a process of chain reaction, for the liberation of India from British rule and equally the liberation of the mind of man from violence and hatred.
6. Gandhi's God was a revolutionary God leading man from one great destiny to another. There was nothing static about this God. For Gandhi, God alone was the Captain of mankind. He had discovered this Captain in South Africa and thereafter stuck to him with all the strength of his soul and, even as he dropped down dead with the bullets of his assassin in his chest, the last words that he uttered with his last breath was "O my God". Gandhi looked upon death as a fulfillment of life and not

as an alienation from life. When once there was famine and hunger in Orissa and people were dieing in thousands, he uttered the revolutionary doctrine, "God himself can today appear before the hungry only in the form of food and work". This utterance of his has entered into the songs of the revolutionaries of India. Even the violent revolutionaries of India look upon Gandhi as a comrade to be loved and respected, because he too was a revolutionary, even if non-violent.

7. Keeping all this in mind let us consider how far was Gandhi relevant as a religious force for peace.

Conflicts and wars arise because there are wrongs to be righted, freedom to be secured and defended and injustice to be remedied. Through uncounted centuries, these tasks were attempted through violent means. But through out history violence has led to counter violence, till ultimately we have today two tremendous and vast systems and patterns of life, each armed with incalculable powers of destruction, confronting each other. Gandhi knew that this escalation of violence was inherent in meeting violence with violence. He also did not run away from the need to right wrongs, defend freedom and remedy injustice. The arithmetic of this complex proposition pointed to the need for an alternative to violent force. Gandhi discovered the alternative in Satyagraha. The discovery of Satyagraha was the historic necessity of the 20th Century, if mankind was to survive at all. We must now notice that violence has always stemmed from the negation of spirituality and non-violence has equally always stemmed from ethical and spiritual conditions. The harnessing of non-violence on a commensurate scale was what Gandhi accomplished in South Africa and later in India. His watch words were 'the purification of politics', 'the moralizing of economics' and 'fighting evil without hating or harming the evil doer'. When the battle for Indian freedom ended, and India and England parted company, it looked more like a reconciliation than a separation in anger or hate. If it was possible to win the freedom for India from the British Empire through non-violence, the possibility is now open in history to win the freedom of mankind from injustice everywhere. We must now admit the possibility of substituting non-violent collective action for militarism. Gandhi showed the way up to a point. We must now advance further from that point towards world peace. The way is long but it is open.

Gandhi once said that, if anybody thought religion and politics have nothing to do with each other, then they did not understand either politics or religion. For Gandhi life was total and integrated. There were no water tight compartments in life. Religion and daily life, in every sphere of activity, must come together. Religion cannot go one way and politics and economics go in another way. The fascinating story of how Gandhi has left for us the picture of total and integrated redemption of life is a big chapter by itself.

N.B. These are only a Series of points tied together by a common thread of understanding. Each point can be spelt more fully in discussions. Particularly fascinating would be the spelling out of the broad disciplines which alone can make collective non-violent action possible.

ARTICLE NO: 12

SHEIKH ABDULLAH **AN IMPRESSION**

On the cold morning of 5th January '68 a warm hand-shake with Mr. Sheikh Abdullah visiting the Gandhi Peace Foundation was something which I never envisaged. It was a pleasant surprise. He did not overlook the fact that he was late by 15 minutes and apologized promptly with a gentlemanly gesture. As he passed from person to person who was being introduced his superiority in physical stature was very conspicuous. A fine tall man with a thoughtful and calm visage.

After making clear the informal nature of the morning's gathering and after giving a brief sketch of the work of the Foundation, Sri G. Ramachandran posed some very relevant and thought-provoking questions of which the most vital, I thought, was how he (Mr. Abdullah) would set about implementing his largely expressed view of bringing a settlement of the Kashmir problem in a way which would be agreeable to Kashmir, India and Pakistan. Mr. Abdullah felt that a public opinion should be created both in India and Pakistan that a friendly relationship is most important between the two nations before they could settle down without suspicion to work to build there up our objective should be PEACE and reconciliation between India and Pakistan. These two peoples belonged to one another as part of the same sub-continent and were together for centuries before partition took place, which he personality did not at all favor. In this matter we must pick up the threads from where Mr. Nehru had left-he said.

As he went on speaking about some aspects of Politics at the time he was heading the Kashmir Ministry, one could see in his eyes how deeply he felt for the welfare of the peoples of India, Pakistan and Kashmir. He thought Kashmir's future would best be left to the people of Kashmir to decide by any acceptable method. He was not prepared to believe that the Kashmir question had been finally settled.

Whenever he spoke of Gandhi who was his greatest inspiration in life he spoke with highest reverence for the Mahatma. He explained that it is because of his “Truthfulness”, that this little man could move not only India but the whole world. “He lived by his words”. – He said. The one thing we have to have in mind is the utter sincerity of thought, word and action of which Gandhi was the highest exemplar in our time.

Mr. Abdullah referred to various campaigns of calumny against him in press and platform and in government circles. A small campaign had been set a foot in a press interview which ended in interpreting even his most innocent acts as acts of conspiracy against the Indian government and its sovereignty with. True that he said that at a press defense that he is not an Indian citizen, but he did not stop there, he would say I am the citizen of the World”.

“The Physical Barriers are there between India and Pakistan – but let there not be mental barriers” – he pleaded. An open mind and humane outlook should be brought to bear on the solution of the problem of conflict between the two countries.

As he progressed expressing his ideas in a crystal clear way my mental image of Mr. Abdullah took a finer and finer shape. Here is a man of great significance and sincerity with a and outlook on life, free from any bitterness to which he never gave expression against any one for what he was made to suffer.

Mr. Ramachandran called it “a Muslim interpretation of the Geetha” when the Sheikh said that all that he could do and must do was to act – act in the way of truthfulness and sincerity (like Gandhi) for what one considered honestly as the right cause and leave the results in the hands of God who alone could guide us on the right path.

Mr. Abdullah following Gandhi, stressed the importance of Prayer and concluded that faith in Prayer would lead us a long way.

ARTICLE NO: 13

THE SPEECH OF G. RAMACHANDRAN
(SECRETARY), GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION IN

THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT ON THE FINANCE BILL

New Delhi,
Dated, 2nd August 1967.

We are back again at the inescapable annual ritual of Budget Appropriations and the Finance Bill. The high priests go on changing but the ritual remains the same. We had Sri T.T. Krishnamachari. We had Sri Sachindra Chaudhury and we have now the redoubtable Deputy Prime Minister cum Finance Minister, Sri. Morarji Desai. If we study what they have put before the House from time to time there is hardly any difference. One had expected that when Sri Morarji Desai came before the House with his proposals there would be something radical, something of real significance, something that would change the face of the country even if only slowly and steadily. I am afraid, as I study the figures there is hardly any hope left for any such feeling in my mind.

My first charge, which is a charge that I repeat, because I have made this charge when Sri. T.T. Krishnamachari was sitting there, is that the betrayal of the rural people is going on steadily and uninterruptedly. How I do not wish merely to get away with words like the “betrayal of the rural people”. I want to pinpoint two or three things which will sustain my charge that what is going on is nothing less than the betrayal of the rural areas.

Number one: there is no programme worth the name for a tremendous drive of adult education in this country. Vast millions of people, who are illiterate, are asked to understand the Plans, are asked to line up with the Government, are asked to co-operation? How can an illiterate people stand by a Government and add strength to its elbow? They just don't understand most of all these. I asked Shri. Krishnamachari that he must sit down and give this country the finance for a tremendous drive of adult education. It did not happen and it is not happening today.

Illiteracy and socialism are completely contradictory terms. I look around in vain in this country for real signs of socialism. I hardly see a sign of socialism anywhere in the figures presented in the national expenditure. There is nothing to show that we are building up a socialist society. We have not the courage; we have not the conviction to plumb fully for all we are worth for building up socialism. This is on one hand. And on the other, are we giving enthusiasm to capitalism? No. The capitalists are frustrated, angry and bitter. We are neither here for there. Now what is going to be the future of a country which does not make up its mind

concerning the direction it must take, and having decided, has not the courage to advance fearlessly in that direction.

I mentioned the fact of a programme of adult education. I now come to the second point and I am quite sure in my mind that the Finance Minister will appreciate what I say on this point. I have long refused to agree with the cynical view held by many critics that the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. I can no longer turn away from this view as altogether wrong. Our 80 per cent of people are still in the rural areas and nobody knows this better than the Finance Minister. But have we on our hand, an adequate programme for rural industrialization? I hardly see anything worth the name. When I said this to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari at one time, he said, "Yes. We are putting up a number of factories in the rural areas". But the present Finance Minister will understand exactly what I mean by rural industrialization. Are we taking into the rural industrialization. Are we taking into the rural areas in an organized and adequate manner such industries as the village people can handle in their own villages and in their own homes without much capital, without much training and yet add considerably to national wealth. When Pandit Nehru came to preside over the anniversary of our Institution in South India, Gandhigram, he made an admission which I have always held in my memory as something sacred. He said that we want big industries and we are proud to have them. But before these big industries can add an inch to the economic stature of this country, it will take a long time but if in the meantime we can put something into the homes of the village people, into every village, and produce something, then immediately we will see a change. He understood this intellectually just as he understood many other things intellectually. But somehow he did not initiate and probably his colleagues did not initiate programmes to carry out these basic ideas. Now this rural industrialization seems to be at a dead end in this country.

We have of course the Khadi and Village Industries programmes, and I am in intimate touch with what is going on under these headings. They hardly yet touch the fringe of the life of the people. Therefore, on the one hand, there is the absence of a great drive of adult education to lift the people up, so that people can understand what we are asking them to do, and on the other, there is no programme of putting into their hands such instruments, under such conditions as they can manage for production from home to home and village to village. Now this is what I call the betrayal of the rural areas of India.

I then go to another aspect of this matter. We are no doubt talking about agriculture and we are no doubt doing all that is humanly possible to push up agriculture. But this is fundamental that you cannot build up agricultural prosperity without agro-industries. If the farmers or the farming communities or villages of India are merely pushed to have better agriculture but if the agricultural

income is not supplemented through income in agro-industries, then we are not playing the game because you cannot build up the prosperity of a people entirely on agriculture; it has to be backed up by agro-industries and that is why I stressed we lack a programme of rural industrialization. Then, as you study the figures, you see at once the enormity of expenditure on administration. I am glad that more than one speaker referred to this. Since Independence the administrative apparatus has expanded incredibly and expenditure has increased incredibly. We have had the Committee under the Finance Minister, the Administrative Reforms Committee. It remains to be seen how the recommendations of that Committee would be implemented. If we learn from past experience, we have had innumerable committees which presented exceedingly good reports but they are on the shelves today. Hardly anything is being implemented. But talking about administration, the vast expansion in the administrative apparatus plus the increase in administrative expenditure, one thought that comes to me, and which I would like to share with the House, is that the greatest corruption in this country is inefficiency. There is inefficiency on every side. Take the Railways. There is so much bragging about the improvement on Railways. But people who travel long journeys in this country by rail know how inefficient the Railways have become. There is hardly a compartment in which everything is in good order. Something or the other is always wrong. There is inefficiency everywhere. You look at the offices in Delhi. Let the Finance Minister appoint a small group of watchers who will go round the offices and see what is happening. A good percentage of people do hardly anything in the office. Many of them pull into the office half-an-hour, 45 minutes or even an hour late and pull out of the offices 35 minutes, 45 minutes or an hour earlier. How can you build up a great nation pledged to productivity and progress on this kind of terrible inefficiency which is the worst type of corruption going on in this country? After all what is this corruption? You pay a man to do a job and the man does not do the job; but he takes the money, he takes his salary and yet will not do the job. If that is not corruption, I would like to know what corruption means in any country. There is terrible inefficiency.

Then you look at the figures again. Here I would like to have a special say on a special problem. Ours is a war budget. We call it defense budget. Defense is a respectable name in modern times for war. You do not call the Minister a War Minister but you call him a Defense Minister. About Rs. 1,000 crores are going into defense. Am I saying that this wrong? Or am I saying that we can do otherwise? I am simply pointing out that round about Rs. 1,000 crores are going into this business called "Defense" which is really the business of war or war preparedness. Then look at the figures for Education, look at the figures for Public Health, look at the figures for Rural Housing etc. Look at the figures for all else which means putting happiness into the life of the people. They are fragmented, they are small fractions of the Defense expenditure. Now I would say "Let us keep our powder dry as a State. You can do little else. You are not

running an ashram but you are running a Government, a Nation State". I realize that these things have to be done. But while you are spending Rs. 1,000 crores on war preparations or defense preparations, whatever you like to call it, Gandhiji's India, Nehru's India must take definite, positive steps towards peace with our neighbors and the world. Even in the British Cabinet, there is a Minister for Disarmament. Now while we have a Defense Minister in this country, we should also have a Peace Minister. In England you can have the Disarmament Minister. But we should have a Peace Minister. Peacemaking is a tremendously difficult subject; probably it is more difficult than war-making today. You have to build up a great apparatus for peace. We have to study where a blow for peace can be struck. We must have a full-time Minister charged with the task of collaborating with all other Governments and peoples in the world for disarmament and establishing world peace. You have, for instance, these endless conferences in Geneva which come to nothing. Probably it is inherent in the situation. But a great Minister of Peace from this country continually attending to problems of peace and taking part in such endeavors might push the world a little nearer to world peace and I suggest that this is the least that Gandhi's India can do. I do not demand, I shall not be foolish to demand, the scrapping of defense and war preparedness. After all we are afraid of China. After all we are afraid of Pakistan. But it was only yesterday that President Ayub Khan said in a remarkably brief but absolutely clear statement "We do not wish to attack India: it is not our intention to attack India". Either the Presidents of the Governments of the can all be liars or they are capable of speaking the truth. And if our President is a President who can speak truth, I take it that the President of Pakistan can speak truth also. He said 'We do not intend to attack India'. I am not saying, therefore, that on the basis of this statement we can get away from all our preparations. But the emphasis must not be on war-making; the emphasis must be on peace-making. We should have, as I suggested, a full-fledged Ministry for Disarmament and Peace, studying the problems of disarmament and peace and helping India and the world towards that consummation.

And finally, as I watch the Indian scene, there are many disturbing signs on the horizon. You cannot have economic stability unless there is political stability. You cannot build up economic prosperity on political instability and the breakdown of every canon of political morality as is taking place in this country. On every side, canons of political morality are breaking down. I am referring to political morality as is understood between parties and parties in a democratic country. Treason today pays the highest dividend. If you are a traitor, you become a Minister. If you cross the floor and sell your party with a few companions behind you, you get into places of power. To what a pass has this nation come? Is this the nation which Gandhiji once rescued and took up to great heights of endeavor and achievement? Political morality has completely crashed

all round. And the congress is a party to this breakdown of political morality. In their working Committee, or somewhere else I am not sure, they have approved of crossing the floor. Now once the Congress itself has become a party to this, the game seems to be almost a lost one. How shall we recover from all this? Poverty, suffering, the big gap between the rich and the poor becoming bigger and bigger year after year, breakdown of all canons of morality and confusion and indiscipline in the country-these are the portents of a revolution. No people, least of all our people-millions and millions of them as our people are; nearly 500 millions of people, will not tolerate the existing situation too long. Either we must guide them steadily step by step effectively through peaceful methods of development or there would be a terrible explosion in this country.

As I watch the scene, the fear grows in me that there may be not in this country adequate leadership, adequate programmes, adequate efficiency, and adequate understanding to prevent a revolution of that kind. I wish it will not come but if comes, body would be more responsible than those who have held the power in this country for nearly 20 years. So let us take the warning. Let us study the portents. Let us not be like sparrows building their nests in the crater of a volcano. That is what we seem to be doing, sparrows flying up and down in the crater building nests. Any day the eruption may come and all these pious things we are trying to do, our palliatives will be swept away in a storm of anger, hate and violence. Let not that happen and if it is not to happen we have to work in new directions and more effectively and urgently than we are doing today.

ARTICLE NO: 14

EDITORIAL NOTES.

II. OUR NEW PRESIDENT

We have now a great new President. Zakir Hussain will fit magnificently into line with Rajendra Prasad and Radhakrishnan. He has however an added distinction. He became President after the first real election contest in India over the Presidentship. All the opposition parties combined to defeat him and were themselves defeated. We have a shrewd idea that when Zakir Hussain was elected there were many in the opposition parties who heaved a profound sigh of relief. They had the double satisfaction of indulging in a face-saving adventure and at the same time getting a man in the president's place whom they loved and revered in their hearts.

Let us take a look at the new President himself. He might well be the great Akbar come back to the India, he loved and served. Zakir Hussain has a noble personality. He is calm but vibrant. He combines a high intellect with a big heart. The head and the heart are held together by a spirit full of vision, courage and beauty. He is at the same time a dreamer and a man of action. He can be firm and precise and at the same time gentle and forbearing. His highest mission is education in the highest and broadest sense. He is one of those rare teachers who teach without teaching. To know him is to love him and to trust him. His personality and character bring back into our minds the nostalgic memories of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Maulana Azad. He is today India's greatest living embodiment of the culture and spirit of Islam fulfilling itself in the world of the modern man. He knows politics exceedingly well without being a political himself. He is like Gandhi a practical idealist. Let no one be deceived by his gracious external charms and courtesy, he can be hard like rock where principles and honour are concerned. He is going to be no yes-man to any party. As chairman of the Rajya Sabha he gave so much freedom and latitude to members of opposition parties that he created visible resentment among Congress members. His sense of justice to every party and in fact to every human being will be the major passion moving him deeply as he functions as the President of our Republic.

IN electing Zakir Hussain to Presidentship, India has honoured itself and renewed its pledge before history to follow in the footsteps of Gandhi and Nehru. We have very difficult times ahead and thank God we have in Zakir Hussain a great Head of State with mature wisdom and experience whose guiding hand will remain firm and unerring on the rudder of the Republic.

ARTICLE NO: 15

EDITORIAL

BALLOT BOX REVOLUTION AND AFTER.

A Revolution can take astonishingly different forms under the stress of separate historic circumstances. The latest form which it has taken in India may well be called Ballot Box Revolution. What has happened recently in India is not simply the victory of some parties over the Congress and consequent changes in the Government of some of the States. These changes are certainly the result of the Ballot Box Revolution but it is the revolution itself which is very significant. The significance can be understood only by those who know the legendary power

and fascination of the Gandhian and Nehru eras of Indian history. Gandhi and Nehru held the mind of India with unalterable force till recently. To have broken away from this immediate past was as unexpected as it was politically shattering. The Congress had ruled too long creating the illusion of one party dictatorship. Congress rule had become isolated from the many tragedies in the life of the common people. Congress had become somewhat arrogant and self-righteous. It lived within the stupid idea that it can and must rule always. It had fallen into ruts of its own making. The apparatus of administration and expenditure on it had risen beyond endurance. The poverty of the people remained where it was. The moral values created by Gandhi in politics were betrayed. The people hardly understood and therefore hardly participated in the great land of the Planning Commission. Congress failed to attract fresh intellect and talent into its ranks. The Legislatures were filled with members who studied nothing and who could therefore in no way influence the mind of a new generation. And so, the will of the people rose up like a tidal wave in many parts of India and beat back the influences of even Gandhi and Nehru. New parties were swept into power. This is why, what has happened is a Ballot Box Revolution.

Out of the wreckage of the Congress in different States there is still a Congress majority in the Central Parliament. There is also a great Prime Minister and a Deputy Prime Minister of the highest ability and integrity. Non-Congress Governments in different States are getting on smoothly with Congress Governments in other States and with the Union Government under the broad umbrella of the Indian Constitution. The consequences of the Ballot Box Revolution have been arrested and neutralized at this point. How long this will last it is difficult to foresee.

What is clear is India has now settled down firmly in the process of Democracy. A Ballot Box Revolution is a peaceful revolution. It may therefore be that Democracy and the ways of peace may march together yet in the India of Gandhi and Nehru.

ARTICLE NO: 16

PLEASE LOOK HERE

“THE RAPE OF PEACE”: EDITOR

The usual saying is that even if a mad man throws a lighted match stick into a hay stack he can start a conflagration. It is not however always the stupid mad-cap who starts a conflagration with terrible consequences. Even the wise and the powerful have started fires which have eaten up civilization and culture. We have now such a conflagration in Vietnam taking the world relentlessly towards the precipice. The miracle is that the third world war has not yet erupted from Vietnam. President Johnson is unable to pull out from a situation he has himself created and all his incalculable military power is unable to defeat North Vietnam. But suddenly another volcano has erupted in and around the tiny State of Israel. It is a complicated picture but the threat of a world war over it is as clear as daylight. If the United States and the United Kingdom join hands to accept the challenge of President Nasser then nothing can stop the fatal drift to the next world war. President Nasser is the strong and unbending hero of the Arab world. He is a good match for President Johnson through militarily there is no comparison between the U.S.A. and the U.A.R. Both are tough and wise men. Which of the two will be rash enough to light a conflagration is difficult to state. Grace under is redoubtable President is holding its hands and watching the situation. France is not anti-Israel and at the same time not unfriendly to the Arab powers. The U.S.S.R. is openly committed to support the Arab powers. The Arab powers themselves are not wholly united. Under the stress of the present situation their unity may be achieved like the sudden agreement between the U.A.R. and Jordan. Will power and wisdom become bankrupt like the mad man throwing his match stick at the hay stake?

How much we miss Jawaharlal Nehru's wisdom and courage at this juncture: It is easy to take sides and India, in its traditional manner, is on the side of the U.A.R. It is far more difficult to remain detached to press both sides towards peace. India must preserve the closest friendship with the Arab world and yet be strong and wise enough to plead effectively for restraint and peace. This requires moral courage of the highest order, of the Gandhian pattern. It is doubtful if India today has that moral courage. India has become weak within and unsteady without. The Arab powers are angry and defiant. We must deal with them patiently and understandingly. We do not wish Israel to be destroyed but Israel must understand its limitations internally and externally. No great Western power will be willing to engage in war with the Arab world for Israel. Even the U.S.S.R. will go only up to the point where total war may be avoided. It is in the balancing of these fantastic factors that we see a glimmer of hope.

Man has done everything to deserve his final doom. Only the hand of God seems to still protect him. Perhaps that is why mankind has as yet not deserted God.

PLEASE LOOK HERE

“NON-VIOLENCE AND SATYAGRAHA” : EDITOR

The discussion came up unexpectedly in the night train from Madras to Madurai. We were fellow passengers, the Professor and I. I had given him a copy of our “Peace News letter” of April 1967. He appeared interested. I saw he was no cynic. He suddenly looked up and shot a question at me “Is there any difference between non-violence and Satyagraha or are they the same”? He was Professor of Philosophy and he was asking no idle question. I quietly turned the question back on him, “What do you think”? He smiled and said, “That is not fair”. I therefore tried to give an answer. I said that all Satyagraha was non-violence but all non-violence was not Satyagraha. We pursued the study as the train ran quickly through the landscape shrouded in darkness. The following is more or less the result of our discussion: -

1. Non-violence can be simply absence of violence. It can thus be also inaction.
2. Satyagraha is not merely the absence of violence. It is necessary non-violent action. Also, it is non-violent action against injustice and evil.
3. Non-violence can be an ethical abstraction. Satyagraha was action here and now. Therefore Satyagraha is more limited than non-violence. Non-violence is like the ocean but Satyagraha is like a mighty river.
4. Satyagraha has come to mean more and more collective non-violent direct action. It is therefore historically revolutionary.
5. There is not only non-violence but irresistible power inside Satyagraha.

We thought that while non-violence is a general term, Satyagraha is a particularized form of non-violence. Gandhi was not a theorist of non-violence but an organizer and practitioner of non-violence. Others before and after him have spun out the theories of non-violence more ably and fully. The non-violence of Buddha and the Christ are not exactly the same as Gandhian non-violence. For Gandhi, non-violence was not just an abstract ethical doctrine of the highest value. For him it was the instrument of action. Gandhi stood for action but rejected violent action. Gandhi held that violent action was self-defeating, contradictory and therefore ultimately useless. Only non-violent action could really accomplish legitimate results.

Before we went to sleep, late in the night, we agreed that Satyagraha was non-violence but it was the peculiar and special incarnation of non-violence in and through Gandhi. Just as Justice, Democracy etc have revealed themselves in new light through different persons in history, so here we have Satyagraha, the Gandhian form of non-violence. To fall back today on non-violence as such without absorbing the Gandhian essence will mean the negation of Satyagraha. Satyagraha is a challenge all the time to every person to fight injustice, evil and untruth in every form without fear or hesitation here and now. That was why we thought that while non-violence was like the ocean, Satyagraha was like the Ganges arising from the high mountain peak of the soul of Gandhi and then running through society and history, revolutionizing both, before mingling again with the ocean. Before we said good-night to each other we also agreed that we had only touched the tiny edge of the problem of non-violence and Satyagraha. We were not even quite sure if our quest had not been somewhat obscured by sleep.

ARTICLE NO: 18

GANDHI ROUND-TABLE OF THE GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION

ABSTRACT OF SRI.G.R RAMACHANDRAN'S SPEECH ON
"STUDENT FERMENT" IN INDIA AT THE BHARATIYA
VIDYA BHAVAN ON 9TH DECEMBER 1966 WITH DR.
KOTHARI, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS
COMMISSION IN THE CHAIR.

1. The whole world is in a troubled state. Traditional moorings in politics, economics and ethics have given way. Two world wars have shattered many old values and created a deep current of cruel cynicism throughout the world. Student ferment in India and in many other countries including the United States must be looked at as part of this picture.
2. The role of students in the history of nations must not be forgotten. When every section of the people was beaten down and suppressed, students have stood up to suffer and fight for freedom. In our own time we have seen this in Turkey, in Egypt, in India under Gandhi, in Indonesia and in China. We must therefore value students and look upon them as a heroic

section of the people and not as a danger or a nuisance. This must be our positive approach.

3. Students are really the enlightened youth of every country. If students become simply obedient, contented, examination-passing bookworms, they will make no contribution to nation-building or world-building. To be restless, always seeking to go forward, passionate in attachment to causes, constitute the birth right of students. Our task must not therefore be to suppress their rebellious spirit but to canalize it for creative purposes.
4. This was what Gandhi did. He never pushed back the student in India. He always challenged them to come forward, to fight for freedom and to do constructive work in the rural areas. But he laid down inexorable conditions, i.e., disciplines, non-violence and no going back. The myth created by a section of the intelligentsia that all student indiscipline stems from Gandhian movements is totally untrue. It is those who never came within a 100 miles of the freedom movement under Gandhi who have created this bogey. No one disciplined students as Gandhi did and no one gave them harder tasks to perform than he. Tagore also helped in releasing the minds of students and youth from traditions and old ruts and led them on to new creative purposes in literature, the fine arts, rural reconstruction and nation-building. It is no longer enough to preach to the student. The need is to lead them in hard studies, vital action and sincere dedication.
5. We can no longer contain student and keep them quiet in old ideas and programmes. The politicians in power in India, after independence are stabilizing and conserving, but seldom really advancing. Even the revolutionary Nehru of pre-independence became the conservative Prime Minister after independence. We cannot any longer look to politicians in power to give the right lead to the students in dedicated idealism or realistic action.
6. The memory of Gandhi and his non-violent revolutions must be studied and understood in every college and university. Nehru's great ideas, programmes and vision, must be kept alive before the students. The dynamics of Vinoba's bhoodan-gramdan movement must be studied by students and teachers everywhere and it should be realized that the Prophet of Padayatra shows the way to a new world in which the basic concepts of socialism and the basic method of non-violence combine.
7. Students have every right not only to study and discuss politics but even in participating in politics so long as they remain non-violent and conduct themselves with dignity and so long as what they do in politics do not take them away from their studies altogether. Any price they pay in this connection will be exactly what they willingly pay by neglect of their studies and consequent failure in their examinations. Unless they become violent, break the law and destroy property, we must not hurt them in any way. Even when they break rules they must be treated with a legitimate margin

of generosity and even affection. Otherwise, the older and the younger generation might tend to become enemies of each other. Today leadership comes more from ideas than from men. Our socialism appears to be spineless and uninspiring. A strong dose of Sarvodaya can perhaps galvanize it and make it more truly Indian without the loss of any of its universal significance.

ARTICLE NO: 19

**GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATIONS 221/223 ROUSE
AVENUE, NEW DELHI-1**

**G.RAMACHANDRAN, M. P.
SECRETARY**

DATED, 1ST MARCH 1966.

BRIEF REPORT OF HIS RECENT VISIT TO EUROPE; PART I

I returned yesterday at 10-30 A.M. by a direct flight from Frankfurt to New Delhi by Air India Boeing 777. I was in Bombay only as a transit passenger. I was away in Europe from 28th January 1966. to 28th February 1966.

Reaching Brussels at 8 P.M. on 28th January 1966, I was in Belgium for seven days. I was in Luxemburg for two days. Leaving Luxemburg on 5th February 1966 and reaching London the same day, I was in England during the second week from 5th February 1966 to 13th February 1966. I was then in West Germany during the third week from 13th February 1966 to 20th February 1966. I left Germany from Frankfurt on 20th February 1966 and reached Warsaw in Poland the same day. I was in Poland from 20th February 1966 to 27th February 1966. Leaving Poland on the morning on 27th February 1966. I came to Frankfurt again to catch the Air India Boeing the same day at 1-30 in the afternoon. Flying at 600 miles an hour by the Boeing jet via Geneva, Cairo and Bombay, I returned to New Delhi on 28th February 1966 as above-mentioned.

I was thus one full month in the five countries of Europe, i.e., Belgium, Luxemburg, England, West Germany and Poland.

It was the wrong time for an Indian to be in Europe, i.e., the whole of February. It was the climax of winter in Europe and this year, January had been particularly cold with heavy fall of snow and the temperature several degrees below freezing point. But luckily, the cold was a little less in February and I had the joy of taking something of the Indian sunshine to each country as I arrived. In all the five countries, friends said that his sunshine was very unusual in February. There was nasty weather in London, but even there it was little better than usual in February. In West Germany at Bielfeld, I lived in the mist of snow and this was true almost throughout Germany. In Belgium earlier, there was very little snow. It is not coldest when there is heavy snowfall. It can be colder without snowfall. My brother in London warned me of the intense cold in Poland. Normally, yes. But I took sunshine to Poland also. During the seven days in Poland there was bright sunshine, the like of which friends said they had not seen in 20 years. Particularly on the morning I left, the sun was so bright as to be almost warm. Luckily, I was fully equipped with more than enough warm clothes with a heavy overcoat. I was never so dressed up in all my life as during this month in Europe. My box was so heavy, it became a problem everywhere and I was a little ashamed when often friends lifted it and carried it.

I did not catch even one little cold in Europe and I had not the slightest indigestion or stomach upset. I continually and systematically ate less than I would in India and the food being different, this did good. Of course, I never touched any kind of liquor, nor did I smoke a cigarette. I kept wonderfully healthy throughout. I have a strong notion, the love and prayers of friends helped me without my knowing it. My deep gratitude.

1. In Belgium, West Germany and Poland and in England, I met our three Ambassadors and our High Commissioner respectively. I discussed with them the proposed programmes of the Gandhi centenary and specially that of holding International Seminars on the relevance of Gandhi in our time. I was glad to find, they were all already concerned about the Gandhi centenary and there was quite a file with each of them on the subject.

I made it a point to visit as many Universities as possible in all the five countries. In fact, I had invitations from several Universities. In Belgium, I visited and spoke at the Universities at Huy, Louvain, Gent and Luxemburg and also at the College of Europe at Brugge. In England I spoke at the Indian Students' Hostel, the International House, the Friends International Centre, Woodbrooke in Birmingham and at Balliol College in Oxford. I also spoke about the Gandhi centenary at an informal meeting of select leaders and M.P.S and friends which our distinguished High Commissioner in London was good enough to arrange.

In West Germany I visited and spoke at the Universities of Marburg, Stuttgart and Gottingen, besides a good meeting of the public and another of teachers at Bielfeld.

In Poland, I visited and spoke at the Universities of Lodz and Warsaw and also at a good meeting arranged by the Indo Polish Friendship Society in Warsaw.

Everywhere I spoke on Gandhiji's life, work and philosophy. At every meeting there were many questions and answers. At all places I also met important individuals interested in India.

2. As the Indian Ambassador in Belgium has reported to New Delhi, my visit and lectures in Belgium made the week into a Gandhi week in the little State. I began with two days at a Seminar at the Gandhi University of Peace at Huy, 50 miles from Brussels founded by Father Pier the Nobel Prize winner for Peace. It is a wonderful place breathing the spirit of Gandhi in the European setting. In England there are many friends of Gandhi and a number of Peace Organizations which helped. It was Mr. Donald Groom, well known in India, who arranged, my programme. Perhaps the best meeting was at Woodbrooke in Birmingham. It was Lord Sorenson who told me that a Gandhi statue will be unveiled in London in June next. In West Germany there are groups in different places who know about Gandhi and love him. I should say that it is generally more among the Catholics that I found deep interest in Gandhi. There is a strong German-Indian Friendship Society in Stuttgart with nearly 3000 members. But it was in Poland that along with bright sunshine, I received the warmest welcome and where I found eager desire to know more about Gandhi. The Polish Indian Friendship Society is an institution by itself with a beautiful Indian canteen and a fine little hall. It was Dr. Ija Lazari Pawlowska, distinguished woman Professor at the University of Lodz, who took charge of my programme and helped to make my visit so good and successful with the help of her husband Dr. T. Pawlowski, also a distinguished Professor at the same University. One of the great intellectuals at Warsaw, who is also an ex-President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Dr. T. Kotarbinski, in a long conversation with me, showed astonishing understanding of Gandhi's ideas and work.

In Belgium and Luxemburg, it was the third Secretary of our Embassy in Brussels, a bright and energetic alumni of Cambridge, Shri Mani Shanker Aiyar, who kindly took charge of my programme and came with me everywhere. In London my personal comforts were in the good hands of my elder brother shri G. Reghuveeran who was long an Officer at the India High Commission in London. In West Germany, there were two good friends, Mr. K. F. Meyers of Bielfeld and Dr. Odeila Koenig of Gottingen. Mr. Meyers arranged the programme everywhere except in

Gottingen where Dr. Odeila looked after it. Apart from the programme, these two friends looked after me personally with the utmost kindness. In Poland, besides Mr. and Mrs. Powlowska, Shri S. N. Puri, second Secretary at the Indian Embassy, was of considerable help to me. In fact, but for him, my baggage would have been sent to the wrong address by a mistake at the Warsaw airport which he found out in time! It is impossible to thank all these kind friends adequately.

I am sorry this had become a little too long and yet it gives only the external picture of the tour. I shall attempt to paint the mental and moral picture in my next within the next few days, if I get the time.

New Delhi – 1
1st March 1966.

(G. RAMACHANDRAN)

ARTICLE NO: 20

**GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION 221/223
ROUSE AVENUE NEW DELHI – 1**

G. Ramachandran, M.Secretary.

Dated: 9th March 1966.

A FEW POINTS OF INFORMATION FROM MY
RECENT TOUR IN EUROPE: PART II

1.I met Mr. Donald Groom in London several times between the fifth and twelfth of February 1966. In fact it was he who arranged my meetings in London and Birmingham at which I introduced the subject of the Gandhi Centenary. He knows India well and has lived in India for several years. For some five years he was in charge of the Friends' Settlement at Rasulia near Hoshangabad. He speaks Hindi fluently. He was in bhoodan movement and trekked with Acharya Vinoba in some parts of India. He knew Gandhiji personally and also knows most of us in Gandhian constructive work in India. He is willing to come back to India and take up the Secretary ship of the Sub Committee on Inter- national Seminars and work with us till the Gandhi Centenary. I have consulted Shri R. R. Diwakarji and

we have accepted his offer to come to India and work with us for organizing the International Seminars. He is in close touch with Gandhi groups and peace workers in many parts of the world. He has agreed to be in India early in April.

2. During my visits recently to Belgium, Luxembourg, England, West Germany and Poland, I found out a few good and substantial people who might be of considerable help to our Sub Committee in organizing international seminars for the Gandhi Centenary. Here are their names with very brief notes against each name:

1. Father Pire, Huy, Belgium.

He is the Founder and Director of the Gandhi University of Peace at Huy. He was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize some years ago. He is a Catholic priest who became somewhat detached from the Church in order to pursue more freely the quest for peace. I was at his University for three days and he warmly commended the idea of the Gandhi Centenary, but insisted we should celebrate it in a manner worthy of Gandhiji.

2. Shri K.B.Lal, Indian Abassador in Brussels.

He struck me as a very capable and efficient person who has already given some thought to celebrating the Gandhi Centenary in Belgium and adjacent European countries. He was long ago in Wardha and was in touch with leaving Gandhi workers in that area of whom he cherishes happy and warm memories. He told me he would do his best to help us.

3. Mr. M.S. Aiyar, Third Secretary at the Indian Embassy, Brussels.

He is a Cambridge graduate and I.F.S. It was he who arranged meetings for me at the College of Europe in Brugge and at the Universities of Gent, Louvein and Luxembourg. He functions as the Cultural Attaché at the Embassy and he was sincerely enthusiastic about the Gandhi Centenary. He is in touch with several Universities and leading people who might be interested in the Gandhi Centenary in Belgium and Luxembourg. If permitted he was willing to visit other countries in Europe and take up the question of organizing Gandhi seminars in them.

4. Mr. Donald Groom.

I have already put in paragraph about him. He is also sincerely enthusiastic about Gandhi seminars in different countries of Europe, in the U.S.A and in Africa. He is willing to travel and is an excellent organizer.

5. Mr. K.F. Meyers, Bielfeld, West Germany.

This is a remarkable West German. He comes to India almost every year and is in close touch with Gandhian constructive workers and the Bhoodam

movement. In fact he has found considerable sums of money to help constructive and bhoodan workers. He is the owner of a modern factory in Bielfeld producing different kinds of “plush Fabrick” and his annual out-turn runs to several million D-Marks. As a businessman he is trying to live out the Gandhian idea of Trusteeship. He has established a Trust in the name of his factory and uses funds for serving the people. Though rich he lives a simple and hard life and is lived by his workmen. He has studied the writings of Gandhiji and Vinobaji and it was he who arranged meetings for me at Bonn, Bielfeld and at the Universities of Marburg, Stuttgart and Gottingen. He has a standing in West Germany. He has agreed to help our Sub Committee in its work in Europe.

6. Dr. Odelia Koenig, Gottingen, West Germany.

This is a woman doctor who is a specialist in Ophthalmology. She worked in the Gandhigram hospital near Madurai for four years, some years ago and then went to London and specialized in eye treatment. She is in touch with India and knows India well. She is popular in Gottingen. She has agreed to work for us for the Gandhi Centenary and specially for organizing a good Seminar.

7. Madam Dr. Ija Lazari Pawlowska,
Professor, University of Lodz, Poland.

She took her Ph. D, in Poland with a thesis entitled “The Ethics of Gandhi”. Her husband is also a professor in charge of the Chair of Logic at the University of Lodz. Madam Pawlowska is a discerning and devoted student of Gandhian thought. She was in India for three months recently and met many of us in the field of Gandhian work. She is in a way the torch-bearer of Gandhian ideas in Poland. It was she who arranged my lectures at the Lodz and Warsaw Universities and at another good meeting in Warsaw. I found she was respected by many people and has a standing of her own in Warsaw. If we have any work to do in Poland, she is the person to do it for us and her able husband will stand by her.

8. The Indian High Commissioner in London-
Dr. Jivaraj Mehta;
Mr. Banarjee, our Ambassador in Bonn,
Mr. Rajkumar, our Ambassador in Poland

are all already seized of the matter of the Gandhi Centenary and each one has already a file of letters addressed to different important people in their areas and their replies. In fact Mr. Banarjee at Bonn had more than 50 letters on his file. They are all awaiting some precise word from the appropriate person in India to go forward with the work of contacting friends in their areas in regard to the Gandhi Centenary. They were sure that even if they circulated the preliminary word regarding the Centenary, it ought to be and would be local people who must take up the idea.

3. In small countries like Belgium and Luxemburg the quest for world peace is earnest and very relevant to the people. Gandhi's name is cherished in these countries and particularly by the new Catholics, i.e., Catholics stirring under the inspiration from the late Pope John and the present Pope Paul. In England, the peace movement and groups have become somewhat divided as between "The Peace News Group" and "Canon Collins Group". British peace movements and groups are less effective today than they were sometime before. Earl Bertrand Russell's name, however, continues to be a big name against war and for peace. In West Germany there will be warm response from the Catholics and the Universities though not from the politicians. There is discernible subservience to the U.S.A In Poland, there is high regard for Gandhi and Nehru and I am sure they will help the celebrations of Gandhi Centenary with special enthusiasm. In Poland there is a struggle now between the chief Catholic leaders and the secular Government. The Catholics are holding their own and the secular authority is not too harsh.

4. There is a big gap between the younger generation and the older generation in Western Europe. The younger generation feels they have been betrayed by the elders in their own life-time. One typical view was, "Our parents do not understand us and we do not care to understand them. We want to pursue nothing, but our own personal happiness which has been so much shattered". If the message of Gandhi is given to them as a revolutionary moral force that can transform life, I think, they will respond.

5. It became clear that each country in Europe might organize a Seminar on the relevance of Gandhiji and his teachings for our time. A common seminar for more than one country will be more difficult. Perhaps at the Gandhi University of peace at Huy in Belgium, we might get a good international seminar. But these are things to be decided by different countries for and by themselves. The biggest need is to distribute Gandhian literature, even if only in English, to different groups in countries of Western Europe and Poland etc. We must give serious thought to his matter.

New Delhi-1,
Dated, 9th March 1966.

(G. RAMACHANDRAN)

THE SIGNIFICANT OF GANDHI CENTENARY

Mahatma Gandhi more than anybody else represented the urges of the twentieth Century and shaped those urges to the reconstruction of man and society. He had the people of this century to liberation and showed them the vision and the technique of a new society based on truth and non-violence. He gave a new orientation to political and economic thinking of this century and gave us a social science based on decentralization of power and wealth. He wanted the integration of science and spirituality in all levels of life and wanted people to lead a life of truth and love. By his philosophy and action he has become the greatest prophet of the twentieth century, who diagnosed the ills of our times and gave us the proper sense of direction to reorient an thought and action.

It is the centenary of such a man we are going to celebrate in 1969, and it should mean the proper education of the various sections of the people in the ideology and technique of Mahatma Gandhi. Acceptance of Gandhi in our life should mean reconstruction of the ideas of the people, reconstruction of the life of the people and the reconstruction of the social and economic relationship of the people.

There are many programmes chalked out by the national committee for the Gandhi Centenary for this purpose and one of the important programmes is the organization of our International Seminar and Seminars to discuss the most challenging subject of Gandhi's relevance to Modern Times.

Gandhi has touched all the dimensions of human development and he has given us a vision and programme for individual and social reconstruction and an understanding of Gandhi in terms of our modern problems is very necessary if we are to take the right track in dealing with the problems of world reconstruction.

Somehow the elite in India and the world have not shown sufficient interest in the understanding of Gandhi. They have not given sufficient time and energy to have a proper and scientific understanding of Gandhi. The elite in India consisting of the intellectuals like professors, teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, students, administrators require very much the real understanding of Gandhi in their respective fields for the reconstruction of our nation.

The various other nations too in their programmes of development and in the matter of integration, require the light of Gandhi in action in steady way.

For this supreme purpose of taking Gandhi to the elite, seminar is a very effective technique of reflective thinking, co-operative and democratic understanding.

The main topic of International Seminar and Seminars in the various countries is suggested as Gandhi's relevance for the modern times. Gandhi has given seminal thoughts to the reconstruction of the ideas of the present age. He has tried to build up the thought structure of our democratic age on the basis of Truth and nonviolence.

Gandhi's relevance for the modern times can be broadly divided into

1. Gandhi's contribution to the understanding and practice of religion
2. His contribution to Economics
3. His contribution to Politics
4. His contribution to Education
5. His contribution to Indian revolution
6. His contribution to human and social reconstruction.

Let us try to understand his guide lines to each of these subjects.

1. Gandhi's contribution to religion:

Gandhi was the greatest religion leader after Buddha who integrated religion with the problems of life. He believed in the philosophy of life affirmation and phasised ethical values for the dynamic fulfillment of life. He evolved a Synthesis between his faith in God, his ethical action and the building up of life in this world. He believed in Truth as God and said that the mission of life is God realization. To realize God one has to find Him in his vast and wonderful Creation. To find him and experience him in Creation we have to identify ourselves with his Creation. This requires the practice of morality and ethics. This requires fighting evil and untruth in the world. This requires to base all that we do in this world on Truth and nonviolence. So our economics and politics and our worldly activities should be integrated with our spiritual activity to realize truth in our life.

Religion according to Gandhi meant inner awakening. It is this awakening which made Gandhi fight the crudities of religion like untouchability, animal sacrifice and other meaningless institutions that had become part and parcel of religions practices. It is this wakening which made Gandhi see the truth in every religion and proclaim the ideal of 'Sarva dharma Samantha'. He has awakened us to the Life of the spirit and has given a reorientation to the religions thinking of the people. He has integrated religion with the active responsibilities of the people. He has shown us how science and religion can be integrated in the life of man. Religion according to Gandhi should became a revolutionary force taking up the challenges of life through an awakened consciousness which will release spiritual energy to fight the battles of life.

2. Gandhi's contribution to Economics:

Gandhi's ideas of economics is particularly relevant for the economic reconstruction that is going on in the under developed countries. He gave

economics a total perspective and insisted that economic activity should enrich the Life of man. It would remove poverty, build up the resources of life making use of the talent of man and the resources of nature with the proper use of science and technology. Gandhi did not subscribe to the usual concept of economics that man's wants are unlimited. He believed that man's wants are limited and man's economic pursuits should not hinder his cultural and spiritual life. A sound economic system according to him should give balanced diet to every individual, give him other necessities of life like shelter and clothing, educational opportunities and other opportunities and facilities to build up his personality and enough freedom to pursue his cultural and spiritual values. This can be done only when everybody is given opportunities for creative work. The Economic system should be so planned as to create work for every one. To give balanced diet, there should be balanced cultivation, and if everybody is to participate in this balanced cultivation there should be scientific and decentralized agriculture based on organic harmony. Agro Industries have to be organized along with balanced agriculture and it is necessary that we decide about the nature of technology to be employed in agriculture and Agro Industries. Gandhi said that we should develop what is called small technology and intermediate technology in agriculture and agro industries. That alone can guarantee the organic harmony, social balance and the creative nature of work and Keep up the freedom of man. To build up such an economy we have to revolutionize the existing land tenure system and create a peasant revolution to harmonies science, technology and social awareness in the peasants.

Gandhi while insisting on the decentralized technology to be employed in agriculture and Agro industries, was clear about the role of the Key industries based on centralized technology. Such industries will be publically owned and help the nation as a whole to develop sufficient economic strength.

So Gandhi believed in a judicious blend of decentralized industrialization with small Scale technology in the field of Primary necessities of life and centralized industrialization with the highest technology in the matter of Key industries in connection with production of steel, electricity, chemical engineering, ship building etc. To achieve such a synthesis is the problem of wise industrialization ensuring employment to one and all.

Gandhi was not apposed to machines as such but he opposed the chase for machinery which is one of the reasons for maladjustments in society. He wanted to use machine to help man and he insisted that employment of machines should not create problems of concentration of capital and replacement of human labour.

The present economic system has alienated man from nature and society and it has created the tremendous problems for the proper development of the human personality. Nationalization of the means of production does not solve the problems of alienation. Only a conscious decentralized economic order based on the philosophy of small and meaningful communities can solve the problems of alienation.

Gandhi synthesized the problems of bread and liberty for man. Capitalist Economy denied bread to many but gave the liberty. The Communist economy denied liberty but gave bread. But the quest of Gandhi has been how to provide for both bread and liberty for people and he has suggested the creation of true democratic economy based on decentralization of wealth and power.

Gandhi believed in the universal economic principle of Trusteeship in society. Everyman should employ his fullest talent in the production of wealth and happiness for all. Everybody should use his talent as a trustee for the development of society. If this trusteeship is misused, labour can use the economic sanctions of Satyagraha against the every trustees.

Gandhi did not lose his way in the laborinth of economic theories and statistics. The unmistakable facts of poverty and the objective facts of India made his economic thinking real and dynamic in terms of the peasants and workers of India.

Gandhi wanted ultimately to unite capital and labour of the same hands. He synthesized production, distribution and consumption in a natural way and his charka was the symbol of this synthesis.

He lead the peasants and working class on the revolutionary path of challenging the very system of exploitation. He wanted the peasant and workers to understand the power of their conscious and organized collective action against their systems of tyranny. He wanted them to build from below ensuring a work centered economy, democracy and peace.

Gandhi related Economic activity to the Supreme end of life. Man is a complex of matter mind and sprit and only 'dharma' which integrates matter, mind and spirit can serve him in a true way. Gandhian economy is based on 'Dharma'. It is capable of developing the material, mental and spiritual aspects of man. For this Gandhi based his economic theories on the basis of Swadharma and Swadeshi.

Gandhiji's economic thought is very relevant to the reconstruction that is going on in different countries after their attainment of political freedom. He insisted that political freedom should give the economic contents of freedom to the people through the creative methods of democracy resulting in the all round development of man. The Gandhian economy is the first ladder in this process of development.

3. Gandhi's contribution to politics:

The greatest political event of the present century is the Liberation of Asia and Africa from the imperialist domination. The revolutions in Russia, India and China are the mighty political transformations of the present age. Gandhi shaped the political liberation movement and gave leadership to Indian revolution. In doing so he contributed in a very significant way to the politics of the people.

Politics deals with the Social power in society. This power deals with the relationship between man and man, group and group nation and nation. Gandhi insisted that this power should be completely free from violence and domination. He wanted political power to be based on truth and ethical considerations. He waged political battles to set right the misuse of power. He wanted the suffering people to understand the nature of tyranny and resist the misuse of power. At tyranny he said is sustained by the will and power of the tyrant and the willing or the unwilling submission of the tyrannized. He wanted the tyrannized to become conscious of the great injustice and through their collective and organized strength resist and break the injustice. The tyrannized after breaking the tyranny should set up a new social order based on truth and justice and the real use of power.

Gandhiji wanted to tame political power in society through moral power. Moral power is based on truth and is exercised through nonviolence. This power can be exercised by people of moral convictions who will exercise continuous impact on society. The old Liberal political school of thought believed in an automatic adjustment between the Liberties of the people and their actions. The Marxists thought that progress is inevitable and Society is moving towards socialism. Gandhi believed that history is shaped by the collective will of the spiritually integrated people who will organize the forces of truth and nonviolence in society against tyranny and injustice.

Thus Gandhiji integrated politics with ethical and spiritual values. The political and the economic conflicts have to be resolved through nonviolence. People should do their duties to society before they insist on their rights. Rights will naturally flow out the performance of duties.

Gandhi did not organize for the capture of power. Power should accrue to people out of performance of their duties.

Gandhi believed in the philosophy of democratic reconstruction. He believed in the integrity of the individual and on no account he could agree with any interference with the integrity and freedom of the individual. The duty of the government is not to use him as its tool but to help him in his onward march. He believed in democracy as a form of Government, as a way of life and as a way of collective development. He wanted the

structure of the state to be federal and decentralized to avoid all centralization of power. He wanted regional autonomy and wanted small political structures so that people may actively use them as their political expressions. Life has to be organized on a democratic basis so that it may create more harmony and cooperation resulting in the good of all. Our family, our economic institutions, our educational centers should be truly democratic in their functioning to make democracy an integral part of Life. The development of the individual and society should be a simultaneous process and all our development plans should build up the individual and society without creating any lag between the two. The mechanisms of democracy should be run with the power of nonviolence and violence should never be used to resolve disputes. Democracy and violence cannot coexist and democracy can flourish only in the context of understanding, tolerance and nonviolence.

Vigilance in democracy is essential. Democracy has always to keep up vigilance to fight injustice and untruth in society.

Gandhi gave the weapon of Satyagraha to the people to build up a truly democratic political Life. Satyagraha is the only practical weapon, which can be wielded even by the physically weakest in Society.

Gandhi wanted everyman to realize the strength of the spirit in him. Every man carried with him the divine spark in him and we should recognize this spark and never allow it be extinguished by all the untruth of injustice in society. We should organize this spirit in society to build up social Life. Politics has to be based on the spirit of man and it has to be a vehicle of service and not domination. Politics based on spirit should build up true democracy at home and remove war between nations and nations to build up world peace. Gandhi awakened us to this mission for the political regeneration of all freedom loving people.

4. Gandhi's contribution to Education:

Gandhi simultaneously with his political and economic programmes, gave us a system of education which will train us in the science of man making and social reconstruction. Man is complex of Body, mind and spirit and true education should develop all these three dimensions of human personality in an integrated way. Nature has shown to us that work is the medium of development. Work also has the three aspects, the physical, mental and the spiritual. It is only when the Human Individual with his three dimensions acts and reacts with the three aspects of work by actually working these various aspects of the Individuality and work act and react in a continuous way resulting in the enrichment of human personality. So Gandhi wanted work as the medium of his educational programme. This education should be imparted in the mother tongue of the children as it facilitates natural development. The productive capacity of the educated

should improve by teaching them better techniques to lead a life of fulfillment. Education should be through life, for life and throughout Life: Gandhi's system of education covered prebasic education, for children, basic education for boys and girls; post basic education for a adolescents, and rural University education for the grown up students and adult education for workers and peasants. This education of Gandhiji is remarkably consistent with the progressive and modern theories of education developed by the educationists in deferent parts of the world. If society is to be remade, this constant remaking is the responsibility of education. We cannot build up a new society Keeping up the old educational system. There should be a new education for a new society and Gandhi's new system of education is the system, which will constantly build up the generations of human material to have a Society based on freedom and democracy. Gandhiji's System again emphasized the values of peace and democracy. It helps to create a peaceful society based on non-exploitation, Co-operation and decentralization of wealth and power. It helps to balance science and humanity.

Gandhi believed in a classless society. He also took note of the fact of class conflict in the existing Society. But unlike Marist, he did not make a philosophy out of it. He wanted to fight class conflict through the programme of class transformation. And his new system of education is his greatest programme for class transformation. The children of the exploiting calls will be transformed into a producing class with the proper technology and healthy spiritual outlook. The educational revolution of Gandhi cannot be isolated from his political and economic revolution. Without the educational revolution, there is no possibility of success for the political and economic programmes.

5. Gandhi's contribution to Indian revolution:

Twentieth century has witnessed three major revolutions. The Russian revolution which changed the economic structure of Russia, the Indian revolution which achieved political independence through the methods of Satyagrha and the Chinese revolution which broke the colonial domination of China to build up a Communist Society. The oppressed millions have been schooled in these three great revolutions and their impact on the world is creating tides of revolutionary changes in the world.

Marx and Gandhi are the two revolutionary leaders who have inspired the revolution. Both of them stood against exploitation and wanted to build a classless society based upon non-exploitation and justice and peace. Revolution deals with the transfer of power and Marx did not give sufficient thought to this problem. He gave thought only to the problem of concentration of capital. But Gandhi had to deal with both the problems of concentration of capital and concentration of power. So he

evolved decentralization of power and capital as the basis of revolutionary reconstruction. Gandhi believed that armed insurrection will result in military dictatorship and not in a free and democratic society.

He evolved a revolutionary weapon of Satyagraha which can be wielded by the opposed millions in all situations of tyranny.

Gandhi was the leader of the oppressed humanity in South Africa against Racial domination. He discovered his revolutionary weapon in trying to redress the grievances of the oppressed workers in south Africa, Again he was the political leader of India in the struggle for freedom. He organized Indian nationalism on the basis of freedom and the spiritual values of man. He never allowed nationalism to become egoistic or chauvinistic but explained nationalism in terms of the spiritual birthright of a people to create a new and peaceful life for them. He shaped nationalism as to be consistent with the true interests of humanity.

He gave this nationalism a social and economic content. He combined economic justice along with nationalism and said all the national resources belong to people and political independence should mean using and panning these national resources to build up the economic contents of freedom. Nationalism should mean a just and equitable Social order which will result in the development of all. This he called Sarvodaya or nonviolent socialism.

He awakened the masses and brought them to the political arena to make the politics of Indian revolution truly democratic. He organized open rebellion against foreign domination and made all the processes of revolution known to the people. Mass participation was organized by Gandhi through Satyagraha. It is this which gave a permanent democratic structure to Indian revolution. Gandhi said nationalism and its economic programmes will be weak without mass participation through the process of democracy. Then Gandhi said that the free government of India should be secular. He believed in the equality of all religions and so wanted the state to be secular. Gandhi wanted the integration of science and spiritual values in human reconstruction. He wanted the people to develop the great weapon of non-operation with all evil and the great power of co-operation with all that is good. He wanted conscious Satyagraha workers to educate the people in the science and art of a peaceful and nonviolent society independent of government.

Thus Gandhi gave a true and dignified concept of Nationalism and gave us an economic philosophy to utilize this nationalism, showed the processes of democracy in awakening the masses basing to mass participation in politics, insisted on Secularism to ensure democracy in a country with different communities and religion, advocated the integration of science and spiritual values to build up a life of abundance to people and gave us a revolutionary weapon of nonviolent non-co-operation to resist

tyranny. Nationalism, Sarvodaya, democracy, Secularism, integration of science and spirituality and the weapon of Satyagraha are the concepts of Indian revolution given by Gandhi.

Revolutions by violence have ended in counter-revolution. Violence in revolution has resulted in unwanted cruelty, barbarism and suppression of people. If the revolutionaries in the world study Gandhi's contribution to Indian revolution and adopt them for world reconstruction it will be real lead in the matter of fulfilling the human goals.

Thus the validity of Gandhi to modern problems can be brought to the elite of India and other countries by study and discussions, about his philosophy and programme to reconstruct man and society. There are many democratic mechanisms to make the people understand our idea and take to them. Seminars, symposia, study class, round table are some of the mechanism that can be organized for this purpose. And it is to take the ideas of Gandhi to people and to bring the Gandhian thinking into the various nation-building activities, the national committee for Gandhi Centenary has decided to organize International Seminar and Seminars in every country on the subject of Gandhi's relevance for the modern times.

6. The Technique of Seminar:

Seminar is one of the effective mechanisms of democracy of democracy to study and understand the various aspects of a subject in an organized and cooperative vary at the theoretical and practical level so that this cooperative thinking may enrich the democratic effort of the people.

The Seminar should consist of students about a subject who can penetrate to the various dimensions of a subject both at the theoretical level and practical level. It should consist of people who are already have in their possession sufficient quantum of knowledge about the subject. The number of persons should be limited to about 100 or so, so that they can split up into four or five working groups dealing with different aspects of the problems.

7. Ingredients of the Seminar:

A preparatory committee for each Seminar to decide upon the following details:

- a. Time and place of the Seminar
- b. The participants in the Seminar
- c. The subject, and its sub-divisions and working papers to be got ready about each aspect by a competent person.
- d. The Director of the Seminar who will guide the proceedings.
- e. The different sub committees to be formed to deal with each aspects of the problem. These divisions have to be done at the general meeting.

- f. The reports have to be presented to the general assembly following discussions.
- g. After that the general conclusions and decisions have to be arrived at. If there are difference that has to be indicated.
- h. Then come the steps to be taken for the follow up work, publications, taking the conclusions to the concerned people for understanding and implementation.
- i. There should be a committee looking offer the finances, travels and other conveniences of the delegates.
- j. There should be a general reporter and reporters for various groups discussing the various aspects of the problems.

The national Committee has formed a Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Sri G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. The programme of the Seminar Sub-Committee is to organize state level seminars in every state in India and in other countries of the world and an International Seminar in New Delhi in 1969. This should naturally mean the creation of an intellectual movement among the elite to understand Gandhi and his Significance in the context modern problems. It is also necessary to organize seminars in every university and other educational institutions and other institutions connected with democratic development.

It is the earnest wish of the Sub-committee that all thoughtful people will take up this mighty programme of taking Gandhi's seminal ideas to different sections of the people to help them to reconstruct their Life and Society.