270

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

GANDHIAN THOUGHT

M.A., SECOND YEAR

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PAPER X

Contemporaries of Mahatma Gandhi

Madurai Kamaraj University
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M.A. Second Year **Paper X**

Gandhian Thought **Contemporaries of Mahatma Gandhi**

Welcome Note

Dear participants of this course,

We are really in the end phase of our pilgrimage/journey/adventure/ quest together. This is the last and final paper of the M.A.course in Gandhian Thought.

When M.A. Gandhian Thought was introduced, in 1982-1983, paper x was "Essay". But in 1987-88 this "Essay" paper was replaced by this paper (Contemporaries of Mahatma Gandhi).

We are fortunate that there were several stars in the Indian horizon on the eve of the colonial rule. Mahatma Gandhi welcomed, nourished and celebrated differences. Leaders with different visions, approaches and action programmes co-existed.

As Homer A Jack and many others have said, the Twentieth century may be seen as the Gandhi century. Undoubtedly Gandhi's image looms large but he did not overshadow others as he was a great democrat. Gandhi may be better understood when he is placed along with his contemporaries - forerunners, early contemporaries, late contemporaries and post-Gandhians.

Originally the lessons were written by Dr.S. Jeyapragasam, late Shri T.D. Tirumalai, Dr. M.Mallammal and Dr.S.Jayaraj. Now this has been revised by Dr.S.Jeyapragasam for the new syllabus (1997-99). Now the lessons have been further revised by Dr.S. Jeyapragasam.

Dr.S.Jayaraj, has helped the proof reading.

We are quite sure this paper will be a fitting end to this course.

We shall part after this course with greater vision, inspiration, motivation and determination.

- STAFF

Syllabus

PAPER X - CONTEMPORARIES OF MAHATMA GANDHI

1. Forerunners of Mahatma Gandhi: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Kesab Chandra Sen, Dayananda Saraswathi, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Vivekananda, Ranade, Viresalinga Pantulu, Dadabhal Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Ramalinga Vallalar, Narayana Guru.

2. Gokhale and Moderates - Tilak and the Extremist - Bhagat singh and violent Activists - C.R. Das. Lajpatrai, Amrobindo, Bharathi Bihin Chandra Bal.

3. Tagore and Gandhi: Points of concergence and divergence Romain Rolland and Gandhi.

4. Gandhi and Nehru's - Vallaibai patel - Rajendera Prasad - Vinoba Bhave.- M.N.Roy -Lohia-JayaPrakash Narayan.

5. Ali Brothers - M.A. Jinnah - Maulana Abul Kalam Azad - Zakir Hussain - Khan Abhul Ghaffer Khan.

6.. B.R. Ambedkar - Takkar Baba - Gora - Fuji Guruji. -Subbash Chandra Bose

7. Annie Besent - Kasturiba Gandhi - Sarojini Naidu - Kamala Devi Chattobadyaya - Asha Devi Arya Nayakam - Mira behn - Sushila Nayar.

8. Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal, J.B.Kripalani, J.C.Kumarappa. C.F. Andrews Louis Fischer, Richard B Gregg, Horace Alexander, Joseph J Doke, Henry S.L.Polak.

9. C.Rajagopalachari, E.V.Ramaswami, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, S.Satyamurthi, K.Kamaraj, T.Prakasam, Kelappan, Post Gandhian Era Gandhian Leaders. Guru Dev Tulsi - Martin Luther king - Dalai lama - Desmond Tutu - Nelson Mendela - Ariyaratna - Julius Myerere - Aung San Suu Kyi.

10. Field visit / work and Application Encounter three politicians / Scientists / Social workers and Interview them about their views on Mahatma Gandhi Interview three INA Persons dalit leaders on Bose / Ambedkar - Gandhi relationship - visit and listen to experts various personalities mentioned here - compare Gandhi with other personalities mentioned here.

Books Recommended

S.P.Sen.(el)	:	Dictionary of National Biography (relevant Portions)
B. Shive Rao	:	India's Freedom Movement
Publication Division Government of India	:	Builders of Modern India Series
S. Gopal	:	Jawaharlal Nehru
Sibnarayan Roy (Ed)	:	Gandhi, India and the world
P C Roy	:	Gandhi and his contemporaries
Sushila Nayar	:	In Gandhi's Mirror
Catherina Ingram	:	In the Footsteps of Gandhi
ம.பொ. சிவஞானம்	:	விடுதலைப் போரில் தமிழகம்
க.அருனாசலம்	:	காந்திக்கு முந்திய புரட்சிகள்
மணி	:	இந்திய தேசியத்தின் தோற்றமும் வளர்ச்சியும
பெரியதாய்.சி & பா.ஆனந்தவல்லி:		மகாத்மா காந்தியின் காலம்
செயபிரகாசம்.ச	:	இந்திய விடுதலைப் போரட்ட வரலாறு

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M.A. Gandhian Thought - Second Year

Paper X - Contemporaries of Mahatma Gandhi

Model Question Paper

1. Compare Ramalinga Vallalar with Mahatma Gandhi.
2. Assess the contributions of Tilak.
3. Examine the points of convergence and divergence between Gandhi and Tagore.
4. What extend Nehru fulfilled the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi?
5. Asses the contributions of Vinoba and Jeyaprakash Narayan.
6. Examine the salient features of Gandhi - Bose relationship.
7. Examine the relationship between Gandhi and Kasturba.
8. Outline the contributions of B.R. Ambedkar.
9. Outline the contributions of K.Kamaraj or Auug San Sou kyi.
10. Give an outline of your field work experience for this paper.

Lesson - 1

KASTURBA GANDHI

The psychological strain in the family setting of Gandhi is evident from the fact that his father married four times. Gandhi writes in his *Autobiography* in a mild way thus: "To a certain extent he might have been given to carnal pleasures. For he married for the fourth time when he was over forty"[1] Gandhi talks about the saintly nature of his mother, Puthlibai, the fourth wife of Karamchand Gandhi.

Besides polygamy, child marriage is a major evil of the Hindu society of those times. Gandhi was a "victim" of this. He begins in the third chapter entitled "child marriage" in his *Autobiography* thus: "Much as I wish that I had not to write this chapter, I know that I shall have to swallow many such bitter draughts in the course of this narrative. And I cannot do otherwise, if I claim to be a worshipper of Truth. It is my painful duty to have to record here my marriage at the age of thirteen. As I see the youngsters of the same age about me who are under my care, and think of my own marriage. I am inclined to pity myself and to congratulate them on having escaped my lot. I can see no moral argument in support of such a preposterously early marriage"[2]

Gandhi, later had the will and power even to challenge the mightiest empire, had to remain as a silent participant of the process of child marriage. There were two distinct rites - betrothal and marriage. As pointed out by himself, "Betrothal is a preliminary promise on the part of the parents of the boy and the girl to join them in marriage, and it is not inviolable. The death of the boy entails to no widowhood on the girl. It is an agreement purely between the parents, and the children have no concern with it. Often they are not even informed of it,"[3] Ofcourse there is no use in informing the children about these as well since betrothals were often held when the children would have reached their fifth or sixth year. For Gandhi, there were three betrothals! Gandhi writes," I was told that two girls chosen for me had died in turn, and therefore I infer that I was betrothed three times. I have a faint re-collection, however, that the third betrothal took place in my seventh year. But I do not recollect having been informed about it"[4]. For the betrothal ceremony the children's presence is not needed but marriage rites cannot take place without them.

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1. *CWMG,* Vol. XXXIX p. 7
2. *Ibid,* p. 11
3. *Ibid.* p. 11
4. *Ibid.* pp.11-12

The girl betrothed for Gandhi Was Kasturba Makanji and she was the daughter of Seth Gokaldas Makanji, a merchant dealing in cloth, grain and cotton, living only a few doors away from their house in Porbandar.[5] Her mother was Viraj Kungvarbai. The marriage of Gandhi was to take place along with that of his elder brother and a cousin at the same. Gandhi in his Autobiography says, "... there was no thought of our welfare, much less our wishes. It was purely a question of their own convenience and economy" [6] Gandhi was 13 years old at the time of marriage[7] and Kasturba was also of the same age.[8]

Though Gandhi was highly critical of child marriage later on, at that time he was quite happy with that marriage inspite of the fact that his father participated in the marriage ceremony with severe wounds received due to an accident on the way to the marriage. Gandhi writes, "Little did I dream then that one day I should severely criticize my father for having married me as a child. Everything on that day seemed to me right and proper and pleasing."[9] Here we see a major transformation in Gandhi. Before his marriage he attempted to commit suicide for want of independence by consuming the seeds of Belladonna collected from the forest along with another relative in Kedarji Mandir at the appointed evening hour.[10] While they started taking the sees wisdom dawn on them and decided — to go to Ramji Temple to compose themselves, Robert Payre says, "From a would be suicide in love with death, Mohandas was transformed into an eager bridegroom surrounded by all the care and comfort that would be provided by an admiring family."[11]

There is a speculation that Gandhi and Kasturba had known each other and they would have played together as little children. Pyarelal writes, "This is quite possible as their respective houses were not very far from each other and his mother used often to visit his bride-to-be's house with Moniya in her company "[12] The extravagance of the marriage ceremony tended to ruin families. Gandhi was quite conscious of this. He writes in his *Autobiography,"* Marriage

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5. Pyarelal writes, "Behind this mansion (Gandhi's birth place and ancestral home) and a few houses removed from it, is another house, equally dark, equally airless and equally massively built. It is the house from which came Kasturba, little Mohan's would be child-wife". *Vide* his Mahatma Gandhi vol.I *Early Phase,* p.191.
6. *Ibid* p.12, Having three marriages together would certainly reduce the expenses. As Gandhi's father and uncle were almost of the same old age, they wanted their youngest sons to be married off and have a glimpse at their grandsons before they die
7. *Ibid.* p.11. But D.G. Tendulkar, the noted eight volume biographer of Gandhi says that he was married at the age of twelve (*vide* his *Mahatma*. vol.1, p.25)
8. Sushila Nayyar writes, "It is believed that she was born in April 1869 and was thus a few months older than Bapu. But she did not like any one saying so *vide In Gandhili's Mirror* p.70.
9. *CWMG,* vol. XXXIX, p. 13.
10. *Ibid,* p. 26
11. Robert Payne: *The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi*. p.35
12. Pyarelal, *op. cit.,* p.203.

among Hindus is no simple matter. The parents of the bride and bridegroom often bring themselves to ruin over it". The childish amusement of wedding caused him pleasure but he had his own restrictions. Pyarelal writes, "A wedding in those days, was as it is now, an occasion for great pomp. The bridegroom, decked in fine clothes and fripperies, was made to mount a horse, specially decorated for the occasion and taken to the prospective bride's house in procession. But Moniya, his sister recalled, had a hearty dislike for all that. He had to submit to some of these things for the sake of ceremony. 'But when they asked him to put on a gold necklace he absolutely refused and they had to give in"[13] It is interesting in this context to note a remark of Gandhi in his Autobiography: "Nishkku and sings, 'Renunciation of objects, without the renunciation of desires, is short-lived, however hard you may try" ..." Gandhi's struggle to evolve is evident but he has to go a long way. Gandhi pictures his wedding scene in his Autobiography thus: "... I can picture to myself, even today, how we sat on our wedding dais, how we performed the saptapadi[14], how we, the newly wedded husband and wife, put the sweet kansar into each other's mouth, and how we began to live together, And Oh! that first night. Two innocent children all unwittingly hurled themselves into the ocean of life".[15] But we should not overlook the fact that Gandhi himself was quite eager to get married,"[16]

Then came the "First Night", the night when the bride and bridegroom are allowed to be together for the first time. It is the first night of their sexual life. Gandhi mentions that he was throughly coached by his brother's wife - on the first night. Kasturba was coached by some-one. He confesses that he did not know who had coached her and he had never asked her about that nor he inclined to do so.[17] Both of them were very nervous to face each other. The coaching was of no use. Gandhi says,"..... no coaching is really necessary in such matters. The impressions of former births are potent enough to R make all coaching superfluous"[18] This goes against the contemporary notions of sex education. Further it is currently held by feminist scholars that prevailing notions of sex reveal a strong male bias. One also needs to *draw* the attention to the fact that human body is infinitely complex and we have not succeeded in understanding it fully. If this is true, consequently, our understanding of human sex is also limited. A classical example of miseducation in sex is evident here. It seems Gandhi imbibed the ideal of conjugal fidelity from a Practical Guide sort of a *Gujarati pamphlet*.[19]

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13. Pyarelal, *Op.cit.*. p.203.
14. A Hindu marriage ceremony consisting of seven steps in which bride and bridegroom walk together, promising mutual fidelity and devotion. Marriage becomes irrevocable with this. Also see *CWMG*. vol.XXXIX. Dp. 88-89.
15. *CMG,* vol.XXXIX, p.13
16. *Ibid*
17. *Ibid,* p.13-14
18. *Ibid.* p.14
19. Pyarelal, *Op.cit.*. p.204

It took a lot of time for them to know each other and to speak freely together. The fact being that they were of the same age helped them a lot. But Gandhi tended to become an authoritarian husband. He wanted to become an ideal husband and to make her an ideal wife. Probably this was the prevailing tendency and also this was the kind of coaching and learning he had. By being an Ideal husband, he meant a lifelong faithfulness to his wife. This also may be partly a reaction to the practice of polygamy prevalent in his own family. Though Hinduism unlike Islam generally proclaims monogamy, in practice gods and wealthy tended to be polygamous. His ego and patriarchal tendencies demanded that only he, can ensure his wife's faithfulness - towards him. His authoritarianism and jealousy should have caused incalculable pains to Kasturba.

Gandhi admits that he had absolutely no reason to suspect her fidelity but jealousy did not wait for reasons. He started to control her movements which resulted in her virtual imprisonment. Kasturba was not a meak person and she did accept his controls which resulted in bitter quarrels.

Gandhi writes in his *Autobiography.* "The restraint was virtually a sort of imprisonment. And Kasturbai was not the girl to broke any such thing. She made it a point to go out whenever and wherever she liked. More restraint on my part resulted in more liberty being taken by her and in my getting more and more cross. Refusal to speak to one another thus became the order of the day with us, married children".[20]

It is clear that Kasturba confronted him and waged a *satyagraha* to protect her liberty. Gandhi later on saw this. He wrote, " If I have the right to impose restrictions on her, had not she also a similar right"?[21]

Gandhi's authoritarianism was also bomout of his passionate love for her. Kasturba's faithfulness and love are unquestioned. But her ways of actualising them and expressing were quite different. Gandhi tended to imagine that his passions were rather one sided. Gandhi was never overtly violent towards her but his passions and authoritarianism led to implicit violence. However Kasturba could digest them with tears in her eyes driving Gandhi to shame. These became transformation experiences.

The sexual desires and passions burned Gandhi. He writes, "Even at school I used to think of her, and the thought of nightfall and our subsequent meeting was ever haunting me. Separation was unbearable. I used to keep her awake till late in the night with my idle-talk. If with this devouring passion there had not been in me a burning attachment to duty, I should either have fallen a prey to disease and premature death, or have sunk into burdensome existence. But the appointed tasks has to be gone through every morning, and lying to anyone was out of the question,"[22]

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20. CWMG. xxxix p.14
21. Ibid. p.15'
22. Ibid. p.15

They had practically no chance to meet and talk during the day time. For the newly weds to speak to one another in the presence of elders was considered immodest in those days. In physical courage she was superior to him. She was innocent, courageous and fearless and had a strong will. He cannot bind her to his will.[23] Kasturba was illiterate but had profound wisdom and common sense. Gandhi felt that he should teach her. He became a self-styled teacher but he failed in this mission. The primary reason was his lust. He, with his passionate love, could not teach her properly in the limited time available for their private life in the setting of a vast Hindu joint family and traditional restraints. She was also not interested in studies. Another problem for Gandhi was she had to spend alternatively time in her parents house. Probably 'this was a native devise to reduce the "burden" of "Child marriage". Probably in the first six years of married life before his departure to England in 1888, they might have stayed together only for three years. The three year period (of course not at one stretch) provided him the needed time for studies, reflection and refinement and also possibilities for deviations. Literacy education is one important form of education which Gandhi failed to give to her. But she was a teacher to him in more informal ways. Gandhi was quite open to her influences. In this way his love for her overwhelmed his authoritarianism.

Gandhi could have easily imported her literacy by engaging private tutors. This he did not do. This is also partly due to his authoritarianism made him to think that he alone should teach her. Or the family custom might not have allowed a new person to teach. As already mentioned Kasturba was more courageous than Gandhi and this made him rather self-conscious. He writes, "Moreover I was a coward, I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts and serpents. I did not dare to stir out of doors at night. Darkness was a terror to me. It was almost impossible for me to sleep in the dark, and I would imagine ghosts coming from one direction, thieves from another and serpents from a third. I could not therefore bear to sleep without a light in the room. How could I disclose my fears to my wife, no child, but already at the threshold of youth, sleeping by my side? I knew that she had more courage than I, and I felt ashamed of myself. She knew no fear of serpents and ghosts. She could go out anywhere in the dark."[25] Self-consciousness of this fear and a quest for mother country's freedom made him to listen to his school friend Sheikh Mehtab's advice that one should take to meat eating to grow stronger. He started implementing it. But this experiment stopped since he cannot be untruthful and also he continued to have a sensitivity to other lives. Further probably he also felt that meat did not make him strong anyway. Then he consulted Rambha, his nurse and a old servant of the family, about his fear. She suggested an immediate remedy for this fear, the repetition of *Ramanama*. Gandhi reacted thus:

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23. Pyarelal, *Op.cit.*. p.204
24. *Ibid.* p.205
25. *CWMG.* vol. XXXIX, pp.21-22

"I had more faith in her than in her remedy".[26] However, this seed, sown worked slowly and ultimately it became his central spiritual way.

Kasturba's intelligence is evident from the fact that she advised Gandhi about his bad friend Sheikh Mehtab but he was too proud to heed his wife's warning, Gandhi was then confident of himself assuring that he knew the weaknesses and virtues of his friend and he could not be misled. But later on he had to lament for this miscalculatione.[27]

This bad friend not only led him to meat eating with a reason that he would become strong like the British but also took him to a brothel. Gandhi narrates this thus: "He sent me in with the necessary instructions. It was all prearranged, The bill had already been paid. I went into the jaws of sin, but God in His infinite mercy protected me against myself. I was almost struck blind and dumb in this den of vice. I sat near the women on her bed, but I was tongue-tied. She naturally lost patience with me, and showed me the door, with abuses and insults. I then felt as though my manhood had been injured and wished to sink into the ground for shame. But I have ever since given thanks to God for having saved me. I can recall four more similar incidents in my life, and in most of them my good fortune, rather than any effort on my part, saved me. From a strictly ethical point of view, all these occasions must be regarded as moral lapses; for the Carnal desire was there, and it was as good as the act. But from the ordinary point of view, a man who is saved from physically committing sin is regarded as saved. And I was saved only in that sense."[28] This implied that Gandhi tended to be faithless to his wife and he tended to act untruthfully. This had created a powerful feeling of guilt (sin) in him and his attitude towards sex tended to become biased.

Gandhi's guilt consciousness was built on the grounds. As pointed out above, he wanted to be a far and truthful husband. But he failed in- this atleast partially on more than one occasion", This is one source of guilt. Other two sources of guilt will be explained now, Inspite of his moral lapses on the one hand, instigated by Shiekh Mehtab, his jealousy increased and he attempted to control Kasturba more and more. But inspite of severe odds she remained steadfast. He had the sensitivity to see this and this became another source of guilt, He himself writes thus: "I was both a devoted and a jealous husband, and this friend fanned the flame of my suspicions about my wife. I never could doubt his veracity. And I never have forgiven myself the violence of which I have been guilty in often having pained my wife by acting on his information. Perhaps only a Hindu wife would tolerate these hardships, and that is why I have regarded women as an incarnation of tolerance, A servant wrongly suspected may throw up his job, a son in the same case may leave his father's roof, and a friend may put an end to the friendship. The wife, if she suspects her husband, will keep

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26. *Ibid.* p.31
27. *Ibid.* p.20
28. *Ibid.* p.24

quiet, but if the husband suspects her, she is ruined. Where is she to go? A Hindu wife may not seek divorce in a law-court. Law has no remedy for her. And I can never forget or forgive myself for having driven my wife to that disperation."[29]

The third source of his guilt is driven from an incident which took place at his sixteenth year. Gandhi was then attending his ailing bed-ridden father along with his mother and an old servant alternatively. His duties mainly included dressing the wound, giving medicine, compounding drugs whenever they had to be made up at home and massaging his legs at night until he goes to sleep. Gandhi quite enjoyed this service. At that time Kasturba was at an advanced stage of pregnancy. His father's health went down

Gandhi writes, "Every night whilst my hands were busy massaging my father's legs, my mind was hovering about the bed-room and that too at a time when religion, medical science and common sense alike forbade sexual intercourse. I was always glad to be relieved from my duty, and went straight to the bed-room after doing obeisance to my father".[30] At the dreadful night, his uncle relieved him from his duty of massaging. His father was almost near termination at that time, Gandhi writes thus: "It was 10-30, or 11 p.m. I was giving the massage. My uncle offered to relieve me I was glad and went straight to the bed-room. My wife, poor thing was fast asleep. But how could she sleep when I was there! I waked her up. In five or six minutes, however, the servant knocked at the door. I started with alarm. 'Get up', he said, Father is very ill' I knew of course that he was very ill, and so, I guessed what "very ill meant at that moment, I sprang out of bed'...[31]

Gandhi felt guilty. He lost the opportunity to nurse his father in his last moments. He felt his lust had prevented him from his holy duties. His guilt was further deepened when the poor mite that was born to Kasturba scarcely breathed for more than three or four days.[32] He felt that he was, due to his lust, responsible for this, Though this may not be scientifically true, he felt like that. All these three sources of his guilt (sin) remained active till his last days. His extraordinary sensitivity and courage to take up the responsibilities voluntarily for acts of commission and omission are rather deep rooted in him.

The first son, Hariial Gandhi, Was born by the middle of 1888. The child was only a few months old when Gandhi left for London for higher education on 4th September 1888. While making the decision to go to London, there is no reference that he consulted Kasturba. But there is indirect evidence that she was willing for this. Gandhi mentions in his *Autobiography* that he thought of using his wife's jewels for his educational and travel expenses[33] But his elder

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29. *Ibid. p.25*
30. *Ibid.* p.29
31. *Ibid* p.30
32. *Ibid.* p.31
33. *Ibid.* p.37

brother arranged money from his own sources. His mother was quite unwilling to allow him to go to London. He writes, "She did began making minute inquiries. Someone had told her that young men got lost in England. Someone had told her that they took to meat; and yet another that they could not live there without liquor. 'How about all this?' she asked me. I said, 'will you not trust me? I shall not lie to you. I swear that I shall not touch any of those things. If there were any such danger, would Joshiji let me go?

'I can trust you' she said. 'But how can I trust you in a distant land? I am gazed and know not what to do. I will ask Becharji Swami1.... He came to my help and said: 'I shall get the boy solemnly to take the three vows, and then he can be allowed to go'[34] He administered the oath and I vowed not to touch wine, woman and meat, Then his mother gave her permission.

The voice of Kasturba might have been embedded in the opposing voice of Puthilibai. The latter knew Gandhi's limitations and she was demanding a way out. Until that was achieved, she won't give him the needed permission to go to London.

One gets the impression that Gandhi in his great enthusiasm to go to London against odds and challenges, perhaps had no time to think about Kasturba and her new born baby. Sushila Nayyar writes, "There is no reference to Gandhiji's fondling the child before he left India or inquiring about him in his letters afterwards. Perhaps this was because in those days young parents were not expected to show an obvious interest in their children, or perhaps because the parents were too young to be interested in their off-spring. At any rate, this seeming neglect could lead a child lacking in parental warmth which is so necessary for its normal emotional development.[35] Harilal Gandhi's ruined life needs explanation from this perspective as well.

It should be noted that Gandhi did not write to Kasturba when he was in London for three years. There is also no mention about her in the letters he wrote to others. This may be very shocking to a modern onlooker. Of course he cannot write to her because she was an illiterate. But one should note that she can read simple Gujarati and she can always get the others help to read. Gandhiji later on wrote letters to her. There are as many as seventy letters are now available written by him to Kasturba.[36] The first letter of Gandhi to Kasturba was on April 23, 1918 [37] and last letter was on 11th May 1942.[38] One cannot deny the possibility that some letters might have been lost forever. But there is not even slightest evidence to think he would have written to her from London then. As pointed out, it is rather shocking to note that he did not make any enquiries about her and his son even in any letter he wrote to others. One may

34. Ibid. p.37
35. Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar; *Op.cit.*, p.76
36. See Appendix for a full listing of them.
37. *CWMG*, vol.XIV, pp.367-68
38. *CWMG*. vol.LXXVI, p.100

argue that it was the then prevailing custom not to speak openly to one's own young wife and write to others about that. The impression one gets here is that there was no free and adequate communication between the couples. Perhaps these are the limitations of our culture and this prevented healthy growth of inter-personal relationship between the couples. Women, in spite of their rootedness in a glorious civilization and noble characters, tended to remain with stunned growth, Gandhi, though late, provided Kasturba the needed environment and energy to grow fully. But though the Same was provided, of course late, to Harilal, he could not take that nourishment. He Was damaged early in his years and this could not be remedied later on. Kasturba could keep herself alive inspite of odds.

Here one should also remember the emotional scene of Gandhi's departure from Kasturba. Gandhi himself records thus::. "She of course, had begun soffing long before. I went to her and stood like a dumb statue for a moment, I kissed her, and she said, 'Don't go'. What followed I need not describe".[39] The passionate love of Gandhi to Kasturba undergoes a shift during his stay in England. His passion seems to be missing, as per the available sources,

In London, he felt home sick. He writes thus, " ... I would continuously think of my home and country. My mother's love always haunted me. At night the tears would stream down by cheeks and home memories of all sorts made sleep out of the question..."[40] It is surprising that he did not mention his wife here. He is in some ways different from his high school days when in the class he used to dream about Kasturba.

Gandhi made most honest efforts under very difficult circumstances to keep up the three vows he had given to his mother. He successfully managed his vow of not touching meat. In fact he became a convinced vegetarian only in London. He became a campaigner for vegetarianism, He contributed nine articles on Hindu customs and diet to the magazine, *Vegetarian* [41] He became the executive committee member of the London Vegetarian. Society and he became a founder secretary of a new vegetarian club of Bayawater.[42] He was without any major problem, firmly wedded to non-drinking.

The other problem was how to move with girls and women. His fidelity to his wife and to the vow added strength to his firmness. Yet there were testing times. For economy he was boarding in a landlady who received paying guest. The lady was very kind, caring and affectionate. As was usual in the English society the Indian students could get a companionship of girls, whether bachelor or married which prove to be disastrous very often to them. Gandhi was also taken for a bachelor. Anyhow he did not reveal his status of a husband and father of a son, though he was not happy about this. His reserve and

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39. CWMG, vol.1, p.45
40. CWMG, vol. XXXIX, p.42
41. D.G. Tenduikar, Mahatma. vol.1, p.31
42. CWMG. vol,XXXIX, p.53 .

shyness did not attract a companion. Landlady's daughter was used to meet the guest outside. Gandhi was also taken outside by her several times. She was a smart girl and could make Gandhi speak and move with her without much of reservation.

Another incident happened in Brighton when he was not able to make out anything from menu-card of the Hotel because it was in French. An old lady who sat at the same table helped him to choose his dish. This acquaintance developed into a food relationship as she was a London resident. She would invite him very often to her house for dinner and these visits were enjoyed by Gandhi, She was very helpful to him to conquer his bashfulness and move with young ladies their. The old lady would arrange programmes in such a way that Gandhi and young lady who stayed there would be left alone. The conversation between them on every Sunday was quiet interesting to Gandhi. In course of time Gandhi suspected that this was a plot for capturing Gandhi in her net for proposing Gandhi in Marriage to her. Gandhi wrote to the old woman a very appealing, letter informing of his status of being father a son. The landlady understood him and requested to continue his visits on Sundays. That the youthful Gandhi remind truthfully to his wife inspite of the favourable situation in London far away from his wife Kasturbai might not have any trace of it. The letter says, "Ever since we met at Brighton you have been kind to me. You have taken care of me even as a mother of her son. You also think that I should get married and with that view you have been introducing me to young ladies. Rather than allow matters to go further, I must confess to you that I have been unworthy of your affection. I should have told you when I began my visits to you that I was married. I knew that Indian students in England dissembled the fact of their marriage and I followed suit. I now see that I should not have done so. I must also add that I was married while yet a boy, and am the father of a son. I am pained that I should have kept this knowledge from you so long. But I am glad God has now given me the courage to speak out the truth, Will you forgive me? I assure you I have taken no improper liberties with the young lady you were good enough to introduce to me. I knew my limits. You, not knowing that I was married, naturally desired that we should be engaged. In order that things should not go beyond the present stage, I must tell you the truth".[43]

Gandhi succeeded in keeping up his brahmacharya vow, in England. It was a fine victory. His non-drinking and vegetarianism led him to contact with some of the finest types of Englishmen. He shifted from an effort to become an "English Gentleman" in externals to that of internalizing a civilization and seeing his own in new perspective and clarity, London was the real capital of the world at that time. It was the centre of intellectual and scientific activities. Gandhi who wanted to die revolting against a lack of freedom in his younger days, enjoyed the freedom of London with self-control. He was not drowned by materialism and meaningless consumerism and extravagance. Instead he began and expanded his deep spiritual quest. Deeply and firmly rooted in his

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43. *Ibid.* p.59

ancient spiritual tradition, he could, with confidence, learn and nourish the wonderful modern developments and could separate and reject evils both modern and ancient. This inner development and self-controlled life style led him to new visions and growth. Naturally this will have impact in his family life as well sooner or later. The carnal desires were still active but he was definitely moving ahead. All the fancies and fashions of London did not diminish his love and passion for Kasturba and it remained as central in his. His love for his mother and all his relatives and friends remained in tact. He was not at all alienated.

Completing his studies, Gandhi returned to India as a bar-at-law, On arrival he was shocked to know that he had lost his beloved mother. News of her death was kept away from him since it would disturb his studies.

For Kasturbai it seems that it was not important that her husband had returned from England with a degree which was going to raise his status in the society and add dignity to him. To her he was only a beloved husband to continue the old relationship. Gandhi was also a youthful and vigorous husband to her. Above all, his love and affection for her urged him to raise her quality of that of equal mate capable of sharing his ideas and the importance of the new life style he had Imbibed during his stay in London. Though at the beginning stay in London was testing due to his vow, after he overcame the difficulties regarding his food and was able to cope up with hurdles in moving with others he had developed an affection for London. So many things of English way of living seem to his healthy and good. His experiments in vegetarian diet taught him the importance of keeping the body strong and healthy. Therefore his enthusiasm for a better life as conceived by him made him to be meticulous in changing the style of food and dress and keeping everything tidy and cleans In this effort he had to encounter his wife's protest and murmur who could not adjust with the new taste of her husband. With his brother's cooperation he wanted to keep in good humour the English educated younger brother. Gandhi was successful in introducing European dress and the style of eating with spoons and using crockery. But with regard to his wife his ambition was frustrated. He could not create taste for reading and writing and the curiosity to learn. His burning desire for her disturbed his effort. Though he had brought in many reforms in the home he still remained as the same old jealous husband. His reforms seem to Kasturbai as a new fangled joke and submitted to it, but she could not bare the jealousy. Once Gandhi Was mad to send her to home in rage and make her miserable. All these things never impressed the ignorant Kasturbai about the nobility and dignity the sort of education he had in London. All his earnest effort to educate her failed but he succeeded only in giving her a new child.

Without any practical knowledge of the .business of being an advocate in his native place, he realized all his expertise about the law was only theoretical. Actual practice of law demanded understanding of realities and compromises. His utter failure contributed to the disappointment of his brother who had built high hope on him. Without having any perception of the truth of the

quality of Gandhi, friends and relatives suggested he could try it in Bombay as the local society could not give due importance to the highly qualified Gandhi. Even in Bombay Gandhi was the same old idealist who refused to have touts for his business nor could adjust with the practices of the court. He realized that his knowledge was academic and his nature was unsuitable for this profession. His shyness and stage fear failed him at the first appearance in the small cause court in Bombay and convinced that he could not be a lawyer. He sought a job of a teacher which was also refused to him as he was not a graduate. Returning home he could not succeed in the court of native state which was full of squabbles and bickerings. Much rejected he settled down satisfied with the monthly earning of Rs.300/= by preparing petitions and appeals. He was efficient in writing. But he was a constant disturbance for his elders as he was not suitably placed in life. Hence when an offer came from a rich merchant in South Africa for a job of functioning as an interpreter between the client and the English lawyer, Gandhi also jumped at the suggestion as he also felt sitting on the fire on remaining in the native place. The foreign journey cited the young Gandhi, who was unaware of the hidden design of the destiny and ambush laid before him.

Leaving home did not give Gandhi so much pain as it did when he left for London for his studies. As he wanted somehow to leave India to escape from the irksome atmosphere in his native town, the separation was easy. But parting with his wife did disturb him a lot. Another boy had also been born to him since he returned from England. His concern for the betterment of his wife and the efforts he had taken to reform her made him desire to be together but the attraction of South Africa won him and the pang of separation from his wife was smoothened, He consoled her saying after all he was going to return in a year. Though the intensity of separation was not felt so deeply as it did when ha left for London yet Kasturbai' silently bore the pain as she had grown in dignity and demeanour being a mother of two children. She controlled her anxiety for the welfare of the husband who had embarked for a strange country and accepted a job only to make a living. The sacrifices she had made for the sake of his high hopes seem to her to have gone in vain. Much were not known about her life in India during the three years she had to live alone with her two children. She might have been imagining returning of a successful husband after a year, she did not know that the conspiracy of the destiny which made her husband remain in South Africa for two more years.

Within a week Gandhi had to think of Kasturbai when he was thrown out of the train in Maritzburg to be exposed to the cold whether and suffer the excruciating pain of shame and his pitiable condition churned his mind which tossed in the whirlpool of confusion and fear, Gandhi thought of returning home and seek solace and comfort In confessing his failure to Kasturbai. No other relative so near to him as his wife came to his mind as it Was natural for a man to be confined to his wife. Records show that later on Gandhi sent his photograph which was taken in London as a souvenir to Kasturbai, Amidst the tur-

moil of suffering and steep adventure he had undertaken in South Africa, Gandhi could remember Kasturbai In moments of peace and intensity.

The identification of Gandhi with the fate of the Indians in South Africa obliged him to accept their request to stay on and help them find themselves. Hence the chance for Kasturbai to come to South Africa and make a home foi fulfilling her desire and rearing up her children with sumptuous income was opened up when Gandhi came to India to fetch the family to South Africa

As soon as Gandhi arrived home he had to prepare for setting up of a family in South Africa, Before that he was busy informing the public of India through meetings, newspapers and the distribution of the 'Green Pamphlet", During his campaign in India he received a telegram from South Africa. So he has to hurriedly prepare for the journey. During his stay in India he tried to discipline, his wife and children according to the fashion in South Africa so that his family could command respect among the elite to which Gandhi belong. First he persuaded all of them to change their dress to European style failing to succeed he struck a via media. Next to Europeans Parsees were respected as equal to Europeans. As a compromise Kasturbai accepted to adopt parsee dress though she was not comfortable. The children were obliged to wear shoes and stockings, Gandhi in his autobiography remarks, "It was long before my wife and children could get used to them. The shoes cramped their feet and the stockings stunk with perspiration. The toes often got for sore".[44]

Tearfully Kasturba bade friends and kid and kins at Rajkot 'Good Bye'. She found herself not alone since a number of relatives were also coming along to South Africa for making their fortunes. Kasturba was shocked to find Sheik Mehtab to be one' of the interments. Hipe in pregnancy Kasturbai found herself wretched in a setting on the sea with frequent storms. After 18 days of travel on the sea Gandhi family arrived in Durban on 18th December 1896, Kasturba could not find a pleasant reception there for the ship was not allowed into the port and was kept in quarntine for 23 days. And more to her discomfort the family had to escape a danger by secretly moving to Rustomji's house. To add coal to the fire her husband was caught in a danger, had to be rescued by Mrs. Alexander and her husband Mr. Alexender, the police Commissioner, who with his genius tricked to turn off tumultuous mob from attacking the Rustomji's house where it was suspected Gandhi was kept. With the advice of Mr. Alexender, Gandhi Was taken away in a contable's dress to the police station. In an unimaginable circumstances Gandhi family was caught one could imagine the state of Kasturbai's mind being in a terror-sticken condition and the feeling of anxiety about the husband's state in the police station. First experience of Kasturbai, ought to have been frustrating, could have lost all hope of comfortable and happy home.

Before the shock, of the precarious landing in Durban could subside Gandhi could find a house for settling down. Kasturba breathed the sign of relief to

44. Ibid. p.150

enter an independent home for which she had been hankering after. Hereafter she would cherish it as her greatest pride and joy, though her husband would not leave her alone to manage everything at home as other Hindu wives do» Gandhi was nearly an autocrat with regard to his near and dear ones. He was a type of a person who assumed the cloak of responsibility for the physical, mental and moral welfare of every member of the family. Therefore he never hesitated to thrust on others his fancies and fads which he expected to be accepted and adopted by them cheerfully. He could strike a balance between the simple and vegetarian principles and set a standard respected by the Europeans living there. As the leader of the community he wanted to maintain a status. Mainly Kasturba became the victim of his whims and fancies.

"I have no distinction between relatives and strangers and foreigners, white and coloured, Hindus and Indians of other faiths, whether Musalmans, Parsis, Christians or Jews". [45] With regard to Gandhi this was the noblest ideal for him to follow, then what about his wife? Her aim is to be a good wife and mother. She was willing and happy to serve her husband. Therefore the contrast between the husband's and wife's approaches came into clash very often and gave room for invitation for quarrel. Gandhi in his enthusiasm for practicing his heart's desire multiplied his responsibilities by adopting his office clerks as members of the family. It was not that Gandhi was quiet indifferent to wife's hard labour, he would join and helping her in doing all the house-hold chores. He would have also invited all the inmatess in his assisting his wife that it could not be said the burden of Kasturbai was shared equally. The psychological difference in the make up of the husband and wife will always remain unmadeup. It should not mean that Gandhi was not conscious of this. He was doing the best to keep her comfortable though he would not leave his experiments in humanism and community living. As a traditional wife Kasturbai would bare all the brunts and would not dare to complain. As soon as they arrived in South Africa the third child, Ramdas was born in 1897, The next child Devadas in the mother's womb Gandhi had to meet a new situation. "The birth of the last child put me to the severest test. The travail came on suddenly. The doctor was not immediately available, and sometime was lost in fetching the midwife. Even if she had been on the spot, she could not have helped delivery. I had to see through the safe delivery of the baby. My careful study of the subject in Dr. Tribhuvandas work was of inestimable help, I was not nervous". [46]

As against this his concern for others urged him, according to his universal love, he invited his assistance and clerks to live in his house. A new admission was a Christian untouchable. It was usual that every member of the household would clean the chamber-pot. This new member was not instructed properly, therefore he left his pot unclean. In general Kasturbai looked after the cleaning of every room. If necessary she would not hesitate to clean the champer-pots. This was her first experience that an untouchable lived in her home. To

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45. *Ibid.* p.221
46. *Ibid.* p.165

clean his pot was detesting. When she came to know of this he insisted on cleaning it Kasturbai unaccustomed to move with untouchables, naturally refused to do it. But Gandhi was adamont, she had to obey him relectantly. Vivid recollection of this episode by Gandhi is memorable. "Even today I can recall the picture of her chiding me, her eyes red with anger, and pearl-drops steaming down her cheeks, as she descended the ladder, pot in hand. But I was a cruelly kind husband, I regarded myself as her teacher and so harassed her out of my blind love for her.

"I was far from being satisfied by her merely carrying the pot. I would have her do it cheerfully. So I Said, raising my voice; 'I will not stand this nonsense in my house'. The words pierced her like an arrow. She shouted back, 'Keep your house to yourself and let me go" . I forgot myself, and the spring of compassion dried up in me. I caught her by the hand, dragged the helpless woman to the gate, which was just opposite the ladder, and proceeded to open it with the intention of pushing her out. The tears were running down her cheeks in torrents and she cried 'Have you no sense of shame? Must you so far forget yourself? Where am I to go? I have no parents or relatives here to harbour me. Being your wife, you think I must put up with your cuffs and kicks? For Heaven's sake behave yourself, and shut the gate. Let us not be found making scenes this'..

"I put on a brave face, but was really ashamed and shut the gate. If my wife could not leave me, neither could I leave her. We have had numerous bickerings, but the end has always been peace between us. The wife, with her matchless powers of endurance, has always been the victor".[47]

From Rajkot to Durban the shift was not better for Kasturbai Gandhi. The loneliness she would have suffered was indeed mitigated but she had to meet every moment new situations that demanded extraordinary skills, as a result of being a wife of a man who could not be contained in the narrow walls of household.

Kasturba was conscious of her historical role» It is evident from her remark while arguing to retain some of the costly gifts given to Gandhi for his work in South Africa (Gandhi was of the opinion that such gifts should not be accepted. He persuaded his children to the view to form a trust using the costly gifts as the serve the community) She wanted to retain s for her future daughter-in-law. "I mildly put in;' The children have yet to get married. We do not want to see them married young. When they are grown up, they can take care of themselves. And surely we shall not have, for our sons, brides who are fond of ornaments. And if after all, we need to provide them with ornaments. I am there. You will ask me then'.

"Ask you? I know you by this time. You deprived me of my ornaments, you would not leave me in peace with them. Fancy you offering to get orna-

47. *Ibid.* pp.221-222

ments for the daughters-in-law! You who are trying to make sadhus of my boys from today; No, the ornaments will not be returned. And pray what right have you to my necklace?'

'But', I rejoined, 'is the necklace given you for your service or for my service?'

"I agree. But service rendered by you is as good as rendered by me. I have toiled and moiled for you day and night. Is that no service? You forced all and sundry on me, making me weep bitter tears, and I slaved for them:"[48] Kasturba was toiling so that Gandhi can shine vision and realisation certainly gave Kasturba identity, courage, self-confidence and energy. But the remarkable thing about her was, this consciousness did not enlarge her ego and pride. She could maintain her innocence and humility to the end. And that is her real greatness.

Note : For more informations on Kasturba Gandhi refer to Paper I relevant lessons. Also see Appendix - 1 which follow this.

48. *Ibid.* pp. 178-7

APPENDIX - I

After sixty years of constant companionship

I cannot imagine life without her

- Gandhi

BA AND BAPU

Sushila Nayar

Kasturba passed away on the 22nd of February, 1944 in Bapu's lap. She had been ailing for months. She was a patient of chronic bronchitis with asthuma. It had weakened her heart. In Aga Khan palace detention camp at poona, she started getting attacks of paroxysmal tachycardia. A terminal bronchopneumonia and failing of kidney function put out the flame of life in her frail body. She had been her husband's constant companion for more than sixty years. The two, while they were still children, had been married and had grown up together to become husband and wife, had produced and reared four sons and had takes a vow of celibacy by the age of thirty, when many young men and women today have still to chose their life's partners.

Bapu had seen many deaths. But, I think Kasturba's death hit him the hardest.

He had been, on that fateful day, delayed for his evening walk because of an argument whether Ba should be given penicillin injections or not, He decided against it and went for a wash before going down for a stroll in the compound of the detention camp. Just then Ba called out to him. He came and sat down on her bed. She was restless.., He asked her to lie down. She lad her head on his lap and her breathing changed. In less than five minutes she passed into eternal peace. A tear stood on his check as he gently laid her head on the pillow.

He kept the vigil for hours sitting by her side, reading the *Gita*. The next morning the body was battled, decked with bangles and Kumkum and taken out for cremation on the ground of the detention camp.. The Government were afraid to let the cremation take place outside. Her body had become water logged due to cardiac and reneal failure and it looks a long time for the flames consume it. Solicitous friends asked Bapu to retire. He was not very strong physically and at 74 having taken his due share of night-nursing during her illness, he was physically and emotionally quite exhausted. But he refused to budge from the cremation ground till the whole thing was over.

Late that night as he lay down to sleep, his pent up agony was expressed in one sentence; " After sixty years of constant companionship, I cannot imagine life without her"

The vacuum created by her death was painful not only for him but also for all of us-the inmates of the Ashram and even to the casual visitors who used to find solace in meeting her when they could not see Bapu.

An Ideal Hindu Wife

Kasturba was an ideal Hindu wife, she had tried to lose herself in him and his work. And yet she was not without a will of her own. She had a powerful personality and a strong will which could be neither bent nor broken. Bapu called her his teacher in Satyagraha, she refused to do what her heart and head did not accept. In the early days of their married life, it caused many a quarrel. The young husband soon learnt that he could not just order her about. He had to convince her of the correctness of a particular step but once that was done, she would go with him whole hog. This was Satyagraha. To try to touch the opponent's heart and convince him of the corrections a your own thinking of your own own step. It required bond by love absence of anger or ill-will towards the opponent. If the opponent would not give you even an opportunity to convince him, you tried to get it by touching his heart through self-suffering. You never thought in terms of defeating your opponent. Your only thought of converting him to your way of thinking and you went as far as possible to meet his point of view so long as there was no compromise on principle.

Thus out of an experience which must have come the way of most husbands. Bapu discovered the mighty weapon of Satyagraha which led India to freedom.

Kasturba was his constant companion in his quest. After his return from England, he tried to westernize her and in South Africa barrister Gandhi and his family lived in the style of English aristocracy. Later, when the policies of racial discrimination practised by the while rulers of South Africa made him stand up against the injustice of racial discrimination, he decided to change his way of life. The circle of his family began to expand, He took the vow of Brahmacharya so that the sex could be sublimated into the powerful force of creative altruism or Ahimsa which could overcome hatred and bring about a change of heart in the opponent.

His wife faithfully followed him and became the mother to his ever-widening family. He looked after all those who came to live with him and work with him. Their personal and private family life came to an end. Everything that she did was before the public eye and she could not give more affection or care to her own children in preference to other children in the Ashram without being exposed to criticism.

It was difficult for her to give untouchability. Bapu told us once during an evening walk in the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp to mix with untouchables was against the orthodox Hindu practice, and when in India Bapu admitted a Harijan family to come and live in the Ashram, almost all the women inmates prepared to leave the ashram, which regarded it as sin to touch an untouchable, had also enjoined upon the wife the duty to follow her husband and held that in so doing no sin could attach to her. So they all stayed. Not only Kasturba mixed with the Harijan family. But she even adopted their daughter and brought

her up by the hand as her own child. Years later when I visited Gandhiji's Ashram during my vacations, I met this girl and several other children. I never could tell whether there were any untrouchable among them. All were equal in the Ashram. They were allotted duties, according to their aptitude and each one took just what he or she needed. A friend of mine communistically minded in later years once remarked. "The communists would call it a commune and make it a complex structure Bapu just calls it she common kitchen. It works much more busy and is more efficient.

She had a Great Affection for all

Bapu was able to run the common kitchen with Ba's help. She took part in all the Ashram activities besides such as cleaning grain cutting vegetables, making chapathi, etc., She and other ladies in the ashram cooked with care and affection. The food was simple but Bapu saw to it that it was nutritious and well-balanced.

Ba had a little kitchen of her own in Sabarmati where she make a cup of coffee for herself and such guests who stayed with Bapu. It was the last word in neatness and cleanliness. My brother Pyarelalji told me how he was posted to help her in the kitchen soon after he joined the Ashram. He found her a hard taskmaster and he learnt many things from her which he taught me and which I have always found most useful.

Later when I joined the Sevagram Ashram, I saw how he managed to keep her own belonging tidlly and those of her little grandsons and several girls like myself in one small room without overcrowding.

She was a regular spinner. In Aga Khan Palace,, after she stated getting heart attracks, I though the exertion of spinning was not good for her. I had a hard time in dissuading her form spinning her full quota.

She was deeply religious woman. She would read *Ramayana* and *Gita* regularly in the Ashram or in the jail. In Aga Khan Palace detention camp, Bapu started making selected passages of Tulsi Ramayana for her reading and asked my brother to translate them in Gujarati, I wished that work had been completed. But alas, other things intervened and interrupted the work.

She was always keen on learning new things. In Aga Khan Palace she took to regular studies. She tried to learn to play badminton and ping-pong. She became an expert in carrom.

With all her activities and interests, the centre of all her thoughts was Bapu. She saw to his smallest needs. She knew several girls and boys were anxious to serve Bapu. So she took their help. But she supervised them when they cleaned his utensils, cooked his food or made his bed.

In Bapu's fasts she always had fruit diet and that too once a day only. She wanted to remain fit to serve him and yet share his penance. She was proud of her husband and she was convinced that he was right and he would win.

She participated in all the Satayagraha movements and ultimately passed away in detention. Mahadev Bhai had passed away on the 15th of August, 1942, less than a week after the mass arrests on the 9th of August. Ba was very upset. He was cremated within the compound of detention camp under her very eyes. Thereafter she want to the cremation ground regularly so long as her health permitted it to offer homage to the memory of a faithful follower of her husband who had served him with his last breath and whom Ba and Bapu had come to regard as more than a son..

She begun to call it Mahadev's temple. One day as I was lighting candles on Diwali day, she called out to me." Sushila, have you lighted a candle in Shankar's temple? I was puzzled. Then it drowned on me "You mean Mahadevabhai's Samadhi,Ba", I asked. "yes" , She replied and handed me a light to be placed there.

In the end her ashes also rested there by the side of Mahadevabhal's. An ideal mother, she could not, as it were, beset the thought of leaving Mahadev all by herself. As ideal wife, she served her husband till the end and breathed her last with her head on his lap. As ideal patriot, she laid down her life on the alter of freedom. Her death in detention inspired many to better their best in the service of the mother land and her memory will continue to inspire the youth of our country for generations to come.

Lessons - 2 & 3

GANDHI AND ANNIE BESANT, SAROJINI NAIDU KAMALA DEVI CHATTROPADHYAYA, ASHA DEVI ARYANAYAKAM, MIRABEN, SUSHILA NAYYAR

Introduction

The India's road to Independence has started from Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) the first comprehensive man that India had produced. He was the Father of Indian Renaissance. Since his days India has had an almost a continuous history of strife of various kinds. This road to Independence had run ırough an intricate chequered and often painful route.

Gandhi did not work for India's Independence in isolation. There were a galaxy of his contemporaries who had served mother India in different ways. India was fortunate that at the turn of this century till Gandhi died they had given their great contributions for the same cause, Many of Gandhiji's contemporaries and close followers have fundamental differences with him over his ideology, methods and strategy as to the concrete result.

Gandhi and Annie Besant

Born on October 1, 1847 in London, Annie Besant came of an Irish Family. In 1866 she married a young clergyman Rev. Frank Besant, a young cambridge Don. Even before her marriage she tried to break off the engagement. The marriage tles wore out very soon and were finally broken in 1873.

Annie Besant had turned to atheism even when she was the wife of a clergyman. As a member of the Free Thought Society she came in contact with Charles Bradlaugh and an intimate friendship grew between them which lasted till the death of Bradlaugh severed the bond. Both Bradlaugh and Besant had the mental strength to scoff at the illustrators hurdled at them. In all the political and social struggles of Bradlaugh from 1874, Annie Besant stood steadfast by him. Both of them after careful deliberation published a book on Family planning which had been published much earlier, advocating conjugal responsibility and prudence against reproduction. A Bristol book seller added some obscene pictures to the book for which he was prosecuted and convicted. Bradlaugh and Besant republished the pamphlet as they thought there was a right of free discussion on the population question. This led to their prosecution and Annie Besant's pleading was held to the magnificent. A sentence of six months' imprisonment and a fine were imposed but in the higher court the sentence was quashed.

Annie Besant came under the influence of Bradlaugh. She was one of the pioneers of socialistic, women and labour welfare work in England. Her contribution to the Fabian Society from 1885 onwards was remarkable.

Later Annie Besant became a very intimate friend of the great journalist, William Steads. A strange combination of a Christian and an atheist but the common bond was passion for progress and hatred against oppression. Her Zeal for journalism, writing and publishing received a very great encouragement from stead, she worked hard during this period against sweating labour. Starvation wages, amenities for the dockers and the children in the slums. For years she was the Secretary of one of the strongest women's Trade Unions in England.

Then this lady came under the influence of Madame Blavatsky and Col Olcott and spoke and wrote on "Why I became a Theosophist, " The conversion of Annie Besant, an atheist, to the fold of Theosophy, stirred up a furore but she was undaunted. Annie Besant as a thinker was, by now, 'an inspired genius and her public addresses, writings and social and political work received a much more dedicated slant. She was by then one of the best creators in England who could keep the audience spellbound. With this as her background she had come to India.

Gandhi's first contact with Annie Besant was in England through his love of Theosophy. On his admission Gandhiji had crossed the "Sahara of Atheism" when he was in England as a student and had turned to Theosophy. Mrs. Annie Besant was then very much in the limelight and had turned to theism from atheism and Gandhiji had read her book " How I become a Theosophist". Annie Besant was at that time attached to Charles Bradlaugh. Once Gandhiji had been taken to the Blavansky Lodge and was introduced to Annie Besant. Gandhiji had followed with great interest the controversy about Annie Besant's Conversion.

When Charles Bradlaugh was buried in the working cemetry he had attended the funeral and had again a glimpse of Annie Besant there.

Gandhiji's regard for Annie Besant was great and when he once came to India from South Africa in 1901 he planned to go to Benaras to pay his respects to Mrs. Besant who was then ill, By then Mrs, Besant had settled in Benaras and was already a prominent figure both in the whole of theosophists and in that of the politicians who help advanced views about India's future. Gandhiji saw Annie Besant but the interview was brief as Gandhiji did not want to prolong his visit because of Annie Besant's Delicate health.

The next phase of Gandhiji's relationship with Annie Besant was when Gandhiji had come back to India permanently in 1915. At Nellore on May 5, 1915, a reception was given to Gandhiji and his wife. As this meeting Annie Besant paid a great compliment to Gandhiji for his self-sacrificing spirit to a great ideal and for under scoring that there was no dishonour in counting imprisonments for an ideal. Mrs. Besant and also participated in a public recep-

tion in honour of Gandhiji at Madras a few day later. Here also Annie Besant paid a compliment to Gandhiji. But rift was in the offing as Mrs. Besant was not very sure of Gandhiji.

It appears that Gandhiji's career in South Africa had given rise to a certain amount of misgivings in the stalwarts in Indian politics as they held that Gandhiji was more or less, unpredictable. To some extent this was the view of Annie Besant and even Gopala Krishna Gokhale who was Gandhiji's political Guru. Tilak also did not take very kindly to Gandhiji at the beginning. Surendranath Banarjee was also not very affable. Gokale wanted Gandhiji to join the servants of India Society and then Gandhiji's application for membership was turned down by him.

This is one of the reasons why Gandhiji had met with a cold reception at various places in the course of his tours to different places in India in 1915. Gokhale had advised Gandhiji not to open his lips quickly but to go round India, meet leaders and form his own opinion before he spoke or decided on any definite political issue.

On February 6, 1916 Gandhiji spoke on the occasion of the opening of the Banaras Hindu University. This was due to the untiring efforts of Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malasiya and a few others. Lord Hardinge was present to inaugurate and the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga was the Chairman. There was a brilliant gathering of princes and zamindars in their costly robes and jewellery. A sight of all this had filled Gandhiji with misgivings and he made no secret of them when he was called upon to speak immediately after Annie Besant. In his speech he reflected to "the matchless eloquence" of Besant but immediately after twisted at the solitude of the Maharaja President who spoke about the poverty of India. He referred to the gilttering jewellery that he saw before him and the right security forces for giving protection to the viceroy. In his speech Gandhiji referred to the anarchists, and their bomb cult, when Mrs. Besant intervened and blurred out " please stop it". The chairman however, allowed him to continue, but the speech had to end abruptly as there was a movement on the platform to leave. This was followed by an acrimonious and probably avoidable newspaper controversy in which both Gandhiji and Annie Besant took part. Letters 'were published in Annie Besant' New India and other papers. The rift had began.

For sometime both Gandhiji and Annie Besant brooked each other. Gandhiji had approached Annie Besant for help in his work of recruitment. On My 14 1917 Annie Besant had sought help from Gandhiji in formulating a comprehensive scheme of education which would be a substance for the Government Educational Service which was crushing out patriotism and a sense of pride in the country. Mrs, Besant wanted an alternative to train Indian Students "to look forward to a life honourable to themselves and useful to the country". She wanted G.S. Arundale to be the Honorary Registrar of the Board which will be under the theosophical Educational Trust.

It appears that Gandhiji had refused to agree to sole suggestions of Annie Besant; On June 7, 1917 Annie Besant had written to Gandhiji : " Thank you for your letter. None of us can wholly understand each other, but we can trust to purity of motive and willingness to sacrifice all. God needs many workers on different lines. Knowing this, I can myself always work with such people on any line on which we agree, and leave the disagreement on other lines. But I do not ask others to share this feeling. God be with you".

On Annie Besant's birthday in 1919 Gandhiji paid a homage to her and described his feelings when he saw her first in 1889, and mentioned this place from he had followed her career with unabated interest. He observed therein, "I have sharp differences of opinion with her as to the methods of work. I have also been hurt to feel at times that she has lost her robust independence of 1888... But I have never wasted to my belief in her great devotion to India. I have no doubt that she has popularised Home Rule in a manner no other person has".

The real rift began because of Annie Besant's's attitude towards Non-co-operation. She did not like the negative side of the Non-co-operation movement and this idea that the Muslims should join the non-cooperation movement and that the khilafat questions should be tired up with the non-co-operations move. She wrote and spoke increasingly against the techniques of non-cooperation. On May 2, 1920 Gandhiji observed in Navajivan.

"Mrs. Besant has pushed strong structure against non-cooperation. Her services to India have been so invaluable her industry so great and her love for India so fine a thing that I can not but hesitate to criticise her statements or express my differences with her".

The rift continued to be more acute. Annie Beasant who was at one time the ideal of the political platform in India and had provided over the Congress Sessions in Calcutta in 1917 was very badly heckled in the same city in 1920 Sessions of the Congress. The audience will not hear her and Gandhiji had to intervene and ask the audience to listen to her. But Gandhiji also gave vent to lie own personal feelings when he said she had taken up", position which is wilfully initial to the interests of the country'. He wanted however, the audience to have respect for her and remember her magnificent services to India"

The Political friends of Annie Besant started dwindling away. There was a certain amount of controversy over S. Subramania Iyer, a Home Rule League when he joined the Swaraj Movement of Gandhiji. It may be recalled that Gandhiji definitely refused to join Annie Besant's Home Rule Movement. Annie Besant held that . S.Subramania Iyer had being 'over -persuaded". On May 10, 1919 Gandhiji replied to Annie Besant refusing this allegation and mentioned;

It saddens me to see in your writing a new Mrs. Besant and not the old Mrs. Besant who in utter disregard of man - made laws whether should or

political, stood for truth against the whole world. It is tragic to think that you should now turn back upon your teachings and accuse me of "leading young men of good impuse to break their most solemn pledges'. I can not accept the charge but I would certainly advice everyone to trust. You deprive a fellow being of his or her human dignity when you interpose between him and his conscience. An outsider, no matter how high placed in spirituality he may appear to be . These of your followers who obey the voice of conscience in preference even to your own instructions are loyal to you or truly as Prahlad was to his father... I shall continue to think of Mrs. Besant whom from my youth I had come to regard at a great and living illustration of fearlessness courage and Truth.

You have written your note in grief, you do not know that greater grief you have caused and are causing to those who know your services to India and who love you for them".

Annie Besant who had started taking active share in Indian politics and had become one of the foremost fighters. In India's freedom, by 1915 stood eclipsed by Gandhiji. Her Home Rule Movement sponsored in 1914 had spread to almost every major Indian town. Her weekly paper, *"Common wealth"* and the English daily *"New India"* with the caption "For God, Crown and Country" are appreciated by the Indian intelligentsia at one of the foremost newspapers. Her words from the political platform use to be treated as gospel truth. That such a lastly should be isolated and comparatively friendless by Gandhiji is an unfortunate fact but this was due to the tidal wave of non co-operation that was released by Gandhiji, and Annie Besant's constitutuionalism was drowned. Annie Besant wanted to fight the British Government through constitutional ways and she thoroughly disliked the Civil Disobedience movement and the aftermath in the shape of communal strifes, shooting and arrests. The political upheaval that was brought about by the Non co-operation Movements was taken largely by Annie Besant and people of her thought, to be the very negative contribution towards India's freedom. The throbbing reverberation in the country that Annie Besant along with a few others had brought is was lost in the nation wide upheaval due to Gandhiji.

The two again met on the question of the All parties Conference in 1928. In this case Gandhiji was extremely anxious to enlist her support. But it was a different and disgruntted Annie Besant now who and once helped Gandhiji in raising a national memorial in Jallianwala Bagh and had observed that in that project there was "so feeling of hatred for the slayers but only of love for the slain." She had definitely become cool rewards Gandhiji. Gandhiji who had written on October 5, 1919 in Navajivan " It is indisputable that the service rendered to India by Annie Besant will ever remain memorable in the country's history" also lost that enthusiasm for Annie-Besant in her inter years.

Did Gandhiji still remember the episode of the Benares. Hindu University in 1916 when he had to conclude his speech abruptly due to the intervention

of Annie Besant and had written a letter in *The Hindu* on February 17 1916 which ended on follows;

"But for Mrs. Besants interumption, I would have concluded my speech within a few minutes and no, possible misconception about my views on anarchism would have arisen".

It will be recalled that on Annie Besant's birthday in 1919 Gandhiji had paid a warm tribute to her. He wrote:

" It was in 1889 that I first paid my respects in Mrs. Besant writes I was studying as a lad in London. I was privileged to do so by the courtesy of two English friends whoever at the time ardent Theosophic... students. She had only just joined the Theosophtical Society there. Not much impression was created on my mind then. I really want not to have impressions but out of mere curiosity to see what this lady who was once an atheist looked like. My friends had told me that she was the best among the living women orators in the world and that madame Blavatsky was in great joy over this big "capture". But when immediately after, I went to Queens Hall, I went not to look at Mrs. Besant but to listen to her. And the words she uttered then as she rose to answer the charge of inconsistency have never faded from my memory. She said as she wound up her great speech, which hold her audience spell found that she would be quite satisfied to have the epitaph written on her tomb that she lived for truth and she died for truth. I had from my childhood an instinctive passion for truth. The utter sincerity with which I felt she spoke these words captivated me and ever since I followed her carrier with unabated interest and always with admiration for her boundless energy, her great organizing ability and her devotion to the work she might have made her own for the moment. I have sharp differences of opinion with her as to methods of work. I have also been hurt to feel at times that she has lost her robust independence of 1889, and her uncompromising search after and adherence to truth at all costs. But in the midst of all my doubts, I have never wavered in my belief in her great devotion to India. It is no small gain for India to have her many gifts dedicated to her cause with the a single-mindedness few of her naturai born sons and daughters can claim. I have no doubt that she had popularized Home Rule in a manner no other persons has. May she be spared for many a long year to serve the country. She has made her one".

For the same birthday Gandhiji had written also very warmly in *Gujarathi Navajivan* on October 5, 1919. In that article he had particularly mentioned:

"She has had a great share in the political education of India. Even in England Mrs Besant is agitating for Home Rule for India. She is using all her resources for the cause of Home Rule. There may be differences of opinion about Mrs. Besant's Ideas and her methods of work, but there can be none about her service to India. Not only is she considered the best women speaker in the world, very few event among men could remove her eloquence. Her pen has great force. For many years this lady has been using all these great powers in the service of India, and for this the country will ever remain grateful to her.

And so for the prayer,"Long live Mrs. Besant is really speaking, a prayer for our benefit".

The result of Gandhiji's later attacks on her was that Annie Besant lost completely help hold on Indian politics. She turned more and more to Theosdophy and her brother Theosophists. In the last two years of her life she led a secluded and most undisturbed life in the campus of the Theosophical Halls at Adayar in Madras. Exactly to the minute at 4 p.m. on September 20, 1933 she passed away.

Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949)

Sarojini Naidu was born in 1879, but she might well have lived in another century from Kasturba Gandhi. Her father, a cosmopolitan, had brushed aside tradition to study medicine in Germany. He became physician to the Nijam of Hydrabad, perhaps the richest potentate on earth. The girls parents were both Bengali Brahamins, of a ancient lineage, yet that daughter was educated by the best tours and, at twelve matriculated in the University of Madras, an unprecedented step. Next, she was sent for further study to King's college in London, on a scholarship provided by the Nijam himself.But it was not only for education that her parents wished her to go abroad. She had fallen in love with a medical student Govidarajulu Naidu who, though also of a fine old family, was a member of the bania or third cast. His people opposed a marriage between the two young lovers no less unyieldingly than did Sarojini's own father-there must be no marriage outside the caste, both families pronounced.

Sarojini Naidu, once called, The Nightingale of India and India's unofficial Peace Ambassador, met Gandhiji for the first time as a social worker in London. In 1914 at the Lyceum, a ladies club which had volunteered to make clothes for soldiers in the First World War. As a volunteer of the Indian Ambulance Corps when Gandhiji visited that centre, Sarojiini have him a heap of clothes which had been cut to pattern and asked him to get them all suwn up.

At the age of thirteen she wrote *Lady of The Lake* in 1300 lines. Some of her brilliant poems in her teens were published in an English weekly of Cuttack, *The Star of Utkal.* When in England, Edmund Gosse, a notable critic of poetry " showed her the way to the golden threshold of poetry". Her first volume of poetry in 1905 *Golden Threshold* created a stir and Gosse remarked that "her spirit although it employs the English language as its vehicle has no other tie with the West".

She maintained her reputation as a poet through her other volumes of poetry, *The Bird of Time, The Feather of The Dove and The Broken Wing.* Indian themes were her forte in poetry.

At the call of politics she gave up writing poems. She had brilliant and scintillating imagination, bubbling humour and a pragmatic approach to solve tangled problems. The human touch she had shown in her poetry contained

even when she gave up writing poetry. She knew to crack a joke at her own cost. She never lost an opportunity to pull other peoples leg, particularly Gandhiji.

Sorojini in her early thirties and a friend of Gokhale was keen to get acquainted with Gandhiji. When she learned that he was stopping in England on his way to India from Africa, she went to see him in Kensington. She saw a small man with a shaven head seated on the floor on a blanket and eating a squashed and merry meal. She bursted into laughter. Gandhiji responded with a grin saying: "Ah, you must be Madam Naidu, come in and share my meal." "No! Thanks", she answered, "what an abominable mess it is", That was the beginning of a warm relationship which lasted till Gandhiji predeceased her. They talked for some time. She left Gandhiji realising the truth of Gokhale's estimate that Gandhiji could make heroes out of clay.

In December 1904 she attended the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress. Ramabai Ranade's appeal to women to throw off the shackles of somnolence and social backwardness touched her inner core. A brilliant reciter, she recited a patriotic poem *Ode To India* in the Congress session. She was drawn to the women's Movement in India and retained her interest in this to the last. Sarojini was one of the pioneers of the Woman Emancipation Movement in India. She was a member of the enlightened Brahmo Samai and her parents had initiated the move in her.

She spoke in the Congress sessions on different topics in different years. She spoke very feelingly at the Calcutta Session in 1906 at the height of Swadeshi Movement. She spoke on a different theme in the Theistic Conference same year in Calculate In 1916 She spoke in the Congress on the Arms Act and Self - Government for India. In 1917 Sarojini vehemently advocated the immediate implementation of the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms in the Congress.

She gladly put aside her literary and domestic activities and literally plunged in the bid for India's Independence. She never spared herself although she started suffering from heart troubles quite early. She was in Bombay for some years and was very close to Jinnah and Umar Sobani. Both were ardent Congressmen then. Sobani was a prince among men', as she described him in a letter to Gandhiji after Sobani's death. There was a warm friendship of mutual admiration between her and Jinnah but when the time came she put aside her personal feelings and opposed Jinnah in the political arena. Gandhiji had completely influenced her and by 1917 she was one of the chief confidants of Gandhiji.

An impassioned public speaker, she was an invaluable asset to Gandhiji in the Congress Movement she was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1925. She particularly concentrated on Bengal which had been left very much poorer by the death of C.R.Das. In some of her frank and touching letters from Bengal to Gandhiji while on tour as the President of the Congress, she deplored the backwash that had spread over Bengal after the death of C.R.Das. She took a prominent part in the struggle for the removal untouchability. Gandhiji relied on her judgement and often commissioned her for different tasks. In

all the phases of Gandhiji's Congress Movement she stood as a rock beside him and courted imprisonment a number of times. She attended the Round Table Conference and made her mark in to various political meetings abroad. Her flawless English, grasp of the subject oratory interlined with brilliant flashes of wit and humour and the human approach won her applause and warm admiration wherever she spoke. She had sterling independence of mind and never stooped to conquer. She was a co-prisoner with Gandhiji in the Aga Khan Palace at Poona and was a great comfort to Gandhiji when Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary and Kasturba passed away while prisoners there, She brough warmth and cheer to the co-prisoners. She even induced Kasturba to play carrom and would purposely lose the game to cheer her up.

She was not an *Ashramite* believing in austerities. She loved good food, attractive dress, good company if possible and both light and serious talk. One of her crack jokes to Gandhiji was that he did not know how much the country had to spend to keep him poor. With a broken health and bad heart she was toiling in India's political and social work till independence came in 1947. She was the Governor of Uttar Pradesh and passed away in 1949. Gandhiji's death and the consequences of Pakistan weighted heavily on her. She died with a broken spirit and her later poems are tinged with frustration of the unattainable quest of spirit. She was unfortunately, in very poor health in the last few years of her life.

As a Congressite she normally followed Gandhiji and did not often go against him. But she did not mind speaking her mind openly, if she differed from him.

It was Gandhiji's judgement that she trusted; it was his vision that she always had followed, since accepting him as her leader in 1914. She was only another voice, another pair of hands, to express what the believed and wished done. A journalist was to say of her, some years later :

"In her home it is possible to learn more about Indian leaders and the party's inner politics... Than could be learned in month of arduous travel and interviews..... Whether about the Congress programme, or the Mahatma himself.

She fought for Gandhi, in every way she could find. In ensuing months, her battle for him gave her a strength she had not revealed earlier, as her speaking for *Satyagraha* had revealed in her an eloquence as speaker which she had not shown before.

She gave Gandhi the best of her mind, her physical strength, to further his vision, asking only privilege of aiding him. If astonished her genuinely that he had designated her as his successor. She spoke of and to Gandhi, with undisguised reverence, but also with a charming, teasing lightness. She had not lost her wit over the years. 'My little old man' she sometimes called him, with loving laughter. On a tour to raise funds for the khadi work, she signed: "It takes a great deal of money to keep Bapu living in poverty! But she saw to it that her

friends and her husband's friends helped provide that money. She gave her heart to Gandhi's life-task. Yet the centre of her existence was always her own home, her husband and children.

In an article for one of the American newspapers John Haynes Holmes, writing of the 'ten leading women of the world' did not mention Mrs. Besant, but among the first on his list was Sarojini Naidu.

The great bond that existed between Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu is fully illustrated in the beautiful letters she wrote to Gandhiji. In one letter she wrote describing herself as the "wandering singer writing to the Spinner-stay-at Home". Her long letters in poetic language and beautiful calligraphy, gushing with feelings was in great contrast to Gandhiji's prosaic and precise but loving letters of a few lines to her. Gandhiji fully reciprocated her feelings when she wrote once from the boat journey to England on June 14, 1919:

"The further I go away from India, the more my heart is there... I should love to have been there with you through every stage of the battle and to have shared every difficulty and danger... I carry your benediction with me as a talisman."

In another letter while touring the villages of Bengal on July 20, 1926 she wrote:

"Always on my wandering mission of peace I feel your spirit journeys with me to the little green villages?

On December 16, 1928 from abroad she confided in Gandhiji:

"Whatever they hear that I know you, my value goes up a hundredfold apparently and instantly".

Sarojini Naidu literally consecrated her talent, her songs, her speeches, her thought, her charm and her life to the motherland.

Gandhi and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was born in 1903 in a wealthy Saraswati family of South Karnataka. Her father held a high post in the Madras Civil Service and her uncle was a leading lawyer. She had her education at a Catholic Convent and St. Mary's College, Mangalore, and later at Bedford College and London school of Economics. She was married young and was a widow while at school; but she broke from orthodoxy to assert her individuality when she next married Harin Chattopadhyaya, a man of her choice'

She travelled with her husband widely in Europe, meeting artists, studying theatre and learning play production. On return to India she worked with her husband in producing artistic plays, herself taking the lending roles, a pioneering work on the stage.

She was greatly influenced by Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu and Kasturba. She participated actively in freedom struggle. She even left her collegiate education in England to join the Non-cooperation Movement and served her first three terms of imprisonment at Terawada, Belgaum and Vellore Jails, and since then she had been to jail several *times.* She aoused the spirit of national service and sacrifice among the youths of Karnataka. She took keen interest in agrarian problem and felt that the solution of the agrarian problem was an essential condition for India getting out of a vicious rut. She wanted the feudalistic system to give place to a more just equitable system of land tenure. She was dissatisfied with the land reforms introduced and joined the Congress Socialist party in 1948. She said,

"Socialism is not a mere negative pretext against poverty. It is much more, the positive passion for happy human relations." She asked the people to rally round the Congress and make it the organ of the anti-imperialistic struggle. She soon became an all India figure by expousing the cause of Socialism. She actively worked for the cause of labour organizations and ably organized their forces in addition to giving powerful stimulus to many proletarian movements.

She was a front-rank leader in the women's movement in India, With pioneering zeal, she set about travelling, lecturing and inspiring the younger generation of women, which resulted in the growth of All India Women's conference. Speaking about the Women's movement, she said "it is essentially a social movement... It is in the nature of our society which is at fault and our drive has to be directed against false social institutions..

She imparted beauty into the white Khaddar and took a keen interest in the dying crafts of India; she reviewed them by herself becoming a connoisseur and by writing about them.

She had held many distinguished positions in public life, in both political and socio-cultural spheres. She was a member of the All India Congress Committee and also of the Working Committee; Organizing Secretary, President and Vice-President, All India Women's Conference; President; Indian Cooperative Union; and Chairman, All India Handicrafts Board. She was Chairman, All India Design Centres, and Vice-President, World Crafts Council. She has written ten books.

She has travelled widely all over the world. She was the recipient of the Watumull Award (1962) and of the Magasayay Award for community leadership (1966).

Gandhi and Asha Devi Aryanayakam

Mrs. Ashadevei Aryanayakam came from a noble family in Bengal. Her father was a reputed philosopher. She had a brilliant academic career and became a renowned teacher of philosophy at the Benaras Hindu University.

Aryanayakam was a Christian and a Tamilian. He was from Sri Lanka.

He was well educated and served as the Secretary of London Y.M.C.A. He joined Rabindranath Tagore as his secretary.

Ashadevi was drawn towards Mahatma Gandhi. Ashadevi and Aryanayakam fell in deep love with each other and they married. Aryanayakam passed away in Sri Lanka. Ashadevi spent her time in specializing Basic Education. She gained international reputation served UNESCO as a consultant , She died in Wardha.

Like many others, Gandhiji had been dissatisfied with the present system of education. He felt that if education was to be linked with the living needs of the masses inhabiting the villages of India, it ought to be imparted through a basic craft. The idea appealed to Shri Aryanayakam, Shrimati Asha Devi and Dr. Zakir Hussain and through their efforts the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was founded,

Gandhiji said,

"The Secretaries of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh are Aryanayakam and his wife. They too are votaries of truth and non-violence. They are the moving spirit behind Nayee Talim. It is not even Zakir Saheb. He is only the President. If Aryanayakam and Asha Devi abandoned it the scheme would collapse".

Gandhiji observed that it had become clear to him that the scope of education had to be extended. He added,

"Again, I must have my eye on the children, right from their birth. I will go a step further and say that the work of the educationist beings even before that. For instance, if a woman becomes pregnant, Ashadevi will go to her and tell her, "I am a mother as you will be. I can tell you from my experience what you should do to ensure the health of your unborn baby and your own'. She will tell the husband what his duty towards his wife is and about his share in the care of their expected baby. Thus the basic school teacher will cover the entire system of life. Naturally his activity will cover adult education."

While a Conference of the representatives of the local bodies in the Central Provinces and Berar was held, they invited Gandhiji to address them, Gandhiji did so confining himself to a general question put to him by one of the members, viz. How was the Basic Education scheme calculated to contribute to the economic and political advance ment of the country?

Gandhiji answered

"The question that you have asked me, therefore, really does not arise. But the new scheme is claimed to be based on sound economics, for all education will be through the medium of a craft. It is not education plus training in a craft, but it is all education by means of a craft. Therefore a boy who receives education, say that a weaver is an economic waster. This weaver will know the various tools and the techniques of all the processes, and will produce better results than a weaver craftsman. The economic results of the system as it has

been carried out during the past few months had better be studied in the facts and figures collected by Shrimati Ashadevi. They have gone far beyond our expectations. That is what I mean by self supporting education. When I used the word self-supporting I did not mean that all the capital expenditure would be defrayed from it, but that atleast the salary of the teacher would be found out of the proceeds of the articles made by the pupils. The economic aspect of the basic system of education is thus self-evident'.

Shrimati Ashadevi sends the following interesting figures

The 27 basic schools in the small compact area in the Bettiah Thana, District Champaran, Bihar, completed three years of work in April 1942. The annual economic chart of Grade I, II It and III of these schools for the year 1941-1942 makes encouraging study for all workers of basic education. The chart will be published in detail in *'Nai Talim'*, the monthly organ of basic education. Here we give a brief summary of the principal facts for all who are interested in the progress of basic education . the average attendance for these 27 schools is 70% in Grade I, 76% in Grade II and 79% in Grade III; the average individual earning is 0-11-1 in Grade I, Rs.2-4.2 in Grade II and Rs. 6-1-1 in Grade III. The total earning of 390 (number based on average attendance) children of 10,262 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs.267-8-6 in Grade I, of 356 (number based on average attendance) children of 14,082 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 804-13-8 in Grade II and of 319 (number based on average attendance) children of 14,362 total hours of work in all the schools is Rs, 1935-14-11 in Grade III, i.e, the total earning of 1,065 children in Rs.3008 2-1 for the whole year. The average maximum individual earning of these schools is Rs 15-12-0 in Grade III, Rs. 6-2-0 in Grade II and Rs. 2-0-1 in Grade I. the average maximum speed is 480 rounds per hour on the *takli* for Grade III; 350 rounds per hour on the charkha and 281 rounds per hour on the *takli* for Grade II: and 164 rounds per hour on the *takli* for Grade I.

These figures are not given to show the output and the income, inportant as they are in their place. The output and the income have a secodnary place in an education chart. But they are given to demonstrate the high educational value of handicrafts as a means of training the yourth. It is clear that without industry, care and attention to detail the work could not have been done.

Harijan, 21-6-1942

During a discussion with teacher trainees Shrimati Asha Devi asked Gandhiji to explain to them how the mind could be trained through the hands.

The old idea was to add a handicraft to the ordinary curriculum of education followed in the schools. That is to say, the craft was to be taken in hand wholly separately from education. To me that seems a fatal mistake. The

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1. This appeared under the heading "Notes".
2. The Hindi translationof this appeared in Harijan Sevak is dated June II.

teacher must learn the craft and correlate his knowledge to the crafts, so that he will impart all that knowledge to his pupils through the medium of the particular craft that he chooses.

Take the instance of spinning. Unless I know arithmetic I cannot report how many yards of yarn I have produced on the *takli,* or how many standard rounds it will make, or what is the count of the yarn that I have spun. I must learn figures to be able to do so, and I also must learn addition and subtraction and multiplication and division. In dealing with complicated sums I shall have to use symbols and so I get my algebra. Even here, I would insist on the use of Hindustani letters instead of Roman.

Take geometry next. What can be a better demonstration of a circle that the disc of the *takli?* I can teach all about circles in this way, without even mentioning the name of Euclid.

Again, you may ask how I can teach my child geography and history through spinning. Some time ago I came across a book called *Cotton-the Story of Mankind.* It thrilled me. It read like a romance. It began with the history of ancient times, how and when cotton was first grown, the stages its development, the cotton trade between the different countries, and so on. As I mention the different countries to the child, I shall naturally tell him samething about the history and geography of these countries. Under whose reign the different commercial treaties were signed during the different period? Why has cotton to be imported by some cc ntries and cloth by others? Why can every country not grow the cotton it requires? That will lead me into economics and elements of agriculture. I shall teach him to know the different varieties of cotton, in what kind of soil they grow, how to grow them, from where to get them, and so on. Thus *takli*-spinning leads me into the whole history of the East India Company, what brought them here, how they destroyed our spinning industry, how the economic motive that brought them to India led them later to entertain political aspirations, how it became a causative factor in the downfall of the Moguls and the Marathas, in the establishment of the English Raj, and then again in the awakening of the masses in our times. There is thus no end to the educative possibilities of this new scheme. And how much quicker the child will learn all that, putting an unnecessary tax on his mind and memory.

Let me further elaborate the idea. Just as a biologist, in order to become a good biologist, must learn many other sciences besides biology, the basic education, if it is treated as a science, takes us into interminable channels of learning. To extend the example of the takli, a pupil teacher, who rivets his attention not merely on the mechanical process of spinning, which of course he must master, but on the spirit of the thing, will concentrate on the takli and various aspects. He will ask himself why the takli is made out of a brass disc and has a steel spindle. The original *takli* has its disc made anyhow. The still more primitive takli consisted of a wooden spindle with a disc of slate or clay. The *takli* has been developed scientifically, and there is a reason for making the disc out of brass and the spindle out of steel. He must find out that reason.

Then, the teacher must ask himself why the disc has that particular diameter, no more and no less. When he has solved these questions satisfactorily and has gone into the mathematics of the thing, your pupil becomes a good engineer. The *takli* becomes his *Kamadhenu* the "cow of plenty'. There is no limit to the possibilities to knowledge that can be imparted through this medium. It will be limited only by the energy and conviction with which you work. You have been here for three weeks. You will have spent them usefully it has enabled you to take to this scheme seriously, so that you will say to yourself, 'I shall either do or die.'

I am elaborating the instance of spinning because I know it. If I were a carpenter, I would teach my child all these things through carpentry, or through cardboard work if I were a worker in cardboard,

What we need is educationist with originality, fired with true zeal, who will think out from day to day what they are going to teach their pupils. The teacher cannot get this knowledge through his lips with the help of a craft. This means a revolution in the method of teaching, a revolution in the teacher's outlook. Up till now you have been guided by inspector's reports. You wanted to do what the inspector might like, so that you might get more money yet for your institutions or higher salaries for yourselves. But the new teacher will not care for all that. He will say' 'I have done my duty for my pupil if I have made him a better man and in doing so I have used all my resources'. That is enough for me.

Being a born teacher, Vinobaji has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadevi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts.

Gandhiji wrote,

"I have before me two neatly bound volumes in English and Hindustani, being a report of the first conference of Basic National education held at Poona in October 1939. The English volume is entitled "One Step Forward." It covers 292 pages in English and 290 in Hindustani. The price is Rs.1/4 per volume. Besides instructive introductory ages the report is divided into three parts. The first contains general speeches and discussions. The second is devoted to various interpretations of basic education, and the third part is devoted to a description of the exhibition of basic education for which Srimati Ashadevi made herself mainly responsible.

Mira had gone to stay with Asha Devi in order to revise with her assistance the English rendering of her selections from vedic hymns.

In Harijan dated 1-9-46, Gandhiji wrote,

"Being engrossed in her work and being considerate of my time, Ashadevi never takes it unnecessarily. She did however came to me for five minutes, the day before my departure for Delhi, ask whether, in my opinion, there was need for teachers in the Talimi Sangh to study medicine and whether she herself should have the same four or five years course that doctors have.

I at once realized that in spite of utmost trying, it is difficult for one like Asha devi who has taken her M.A. under the old system of education to break away completely from its influence.

"You say that the first lesson our children have to learn is how to keep fit and how to keep themselves and their surroundings, clean in every respect. I say to you that all the medical knowledge you require comes into this. Our education is conceived for the crores of villagers, it is for their benefit. They live close to nature, but even so they do not know the laws of nature. What little they know they do not carry out. Nai Talim is derived from our knowledge of the piteous condition of the villages. We cannot, therefore, know much about this Nai Talim from books. What we have hither to acquired from the book of nature. In the same way, we have to learn village doctoring from nature too. The essence of nature cure is that we learn the principles of hygiene and sanitation and abide by those laws as well as the laws relating to proper nutrition. Thus does everyone became his own doctor. The man who eats to live, who is friend with the five powers, earth , water, ether, sun and air, and who is a servant of God, the Creator, of all these, ought not to fall ill. If he does, he will remain calm relying on God and die in peace, if need be. If there are any medical herbs in the fields of this village he may make use of them. Crores live and die like this without a murmur. They have not so much as heard of a doctor, much less seen one face to face. Let us become really village-minded. Village children and adults come to us. Let us teach them how to live truly. More that 99 percent of the patients suffer from disease due to insanitation, eating the wrong food and undernourishment. If we can teach this 99 percent the art of living, we can affort to forget the 1 percent. They may find a philanthropic doctor like. Dr. Sushila Nayyar to look after them. We need not worry about them. Today pure water, good earth, fresh air, are unknown to us. We do not know the inestimable value of earth and the sun. If we make wise use of these five powers and if we eat the proper and balanced diet, we shall have done the work of ages. For acquiring this knowledge, we need neither degrees nor money. What we need are a living faith in God, a zeal for service, an acquaintance with the five powers of nature and knowledge of dietetics. All this can be acquired without wasting time in schools and colleges".

Ashadevei Aryanayakam was the Editor, Nayi Taleem, the chief organ of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. Ashadevi with the dilruba (A stringed musical instrument) led the recitations from the Ramayana and the bhajans during prayer. Asha Devi went out for collection and prayer in Wardha.

On January 4, 1940 Gandhiji wrote a letter to Dr. Bareto, a dentist from wardha.

Dear Dr. Bareto

I sent you the message that Asha Devi, being a member of my growing family of national beggars, was not to pay for your services. But I have discov-

ered that not to pay would be an injustice to you. You will therefore please hold me responsible for your fees on the poor man's scale if you have two scales. Upto now I have carried the impression that you belong to that class of doctors who pay persons like me for ending them beggar patients.

Yours sincerely

M.K. Gandhi.

A camp was organized by the All-India Talimi Sangh to prepare teachers under the Wardha Scheme of Education. In that camp some exhibition was organized by Ashadevi Aryanayakam to demonstrate the various aspects of basic education. On seeing the exhibition Gandhiji said,

"I should like to tell you what I saw today. First I visited the exhibition. It is very good. They say in size it is one forth of the Tripuri exhibition. The one fourth that I saw pleased me immensely. It does not mean that my happiness would have been four times as much if I had seen the whole exhibition. In the Tripuri exhibition, the major contribution was from the Jania Millia of Delhi, while here they have contributed nothing. Their contribution was indeed very large. I was able to visit the exhibition today only for a few minutes. It is certainly very large. If I had a whole day I would have seen the whole of it and could have gained much. I would have seen to what point they have taken basic education, how much they have succeeded in planning education through a craft and how they correlate the craft with other subjects.

I would like you to study this exhibition. Observe everything very carefully. Let me give you only one example. We did not know that a carding-bow made from *munj* grass can be so efficient. It is so good that in some respects it is even better than the bow made of catgut, For fine carding it is excellent. Every fibre of the cotton is separated. Besides it is not harmful to health. Even a person like me whose heart has become weak can comfortably card his cotton with it. It is also nice to look at. No effort is required in a plying it. One derives only pleasure. This is just an example to show what progress we can make in such small things. It is the invention of some one who has devoted all his mind and inventive genius to it.

I should like to study and assess the exhibition from this point of view. There is no limit to the progress we can make. We are not good teachers if we are not able to develop originality in us through this kind of education. Education through a craft is the pivot of basic education. You must cultivate your creative instinct to be able to develop your mind through various crafts and teach innumerable things by putting your creative genius and resourcefulness to use and discover new things.

Today we are dependent on only two crafts. Let us take these. We have found two men who could develop their minds through these crafts. That is why Ashadevi and Aryanayakam could carry on their work. We found Vinoba for the *takli*. And we have found another gentleman to show us how one can

develop one's mind through card-board-making. These two men showed us how full of possibilities the two crafts are. If you cannot do as they did you will never develop creative instinct. If such men were not there neither Zakir Saheb not Ashadevi could have achieved anything. I would like you to see the exhibition with a view to developing creative instinct through this system of education. It is not our aim to teach industry and handicraft in the traditional way. We want to make a crafts a living medium of education"

On May 27, 1944 Gandhiji wrote a letter to E.W. Aryanayakam:

My dear Aryanayakam,

I think God and his instrument Asha that you are alive. She has been your Savitri to deliver you from the jaws of death. God bless you both. Don't do it again. Even a Savitri has her limits. I see you are in harness again I am wrong. You were in harness even in your sick-bed. Don't waste your time in answering this.

Love to you.

Asha Devi Aryanayakam's three lectures on Gandhiji entitled "Gandhi the Teacher" was published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in the form of book. It is included in the Appendix.

Gandhi and Miraben

Miracles do still come up in mysterious ways. An aristocratic young English lady, Miss. Madeline Slade, daughter of a British Admiral whose father once lived in India enjoying a very high military office was drawn towards Romain Rolland. She had read Jean Christophe and had a great unresisiable urge to meet the writer. She learnt French to read the book and to meet the author. She wrote Romain Rolland that she wanted to see him and was invited to tea. The first meeting was rather of a halting nature. But in the second meeting this young girl and the great old servant struck a closer unity of heat. The barricades of language, age and disparity of thoughts did not matter. They talked as if they had always known each other. Romain Rolland advised her to travel and spoke of Austria and other places. Then he mentioned India in connection with a small book he had written named Mahatma Gandhi and that it was still in the press. Miss. Slade told him that she had never heard of Gandhi. Romain Rolland told her who he was and added "He is another Christ".

The book, when published, fascinated her. She heard the call-she knew that she must go and live with this strange little man called Gandhiji and satisfy herself in doing his work. There was no way out and she immediately booked a berth. Then she remembered that Gandhiji was a hard task-matter and without a proper training she should not go to his Ashram. For full one year she prepared herself by living an austere life, eating vegetarian food and sleeping on the ground. The parents never interfered with her decision. They knew that she was meant for higher things than marrying in the high society and lead a comfortable life of a rich English woman. With trepidation of heart she wrote

to Gandhiji that she wanted to come to India and that Romain Rolland's book was the eye-opener. She also wrote that for full one year she had been preparing herself for Gandhiji's work. The reply came not too quickly. Was this also providential? Was it a deliberate act on Gandhiji's part to test, the sincerity of the aspirant? Gandhiji replied that after one year's test if she still wants to come, she will probably be right in coming to India.

Miss Slade came to Gandhiji's Sabarmathi Ashram and the first work assigned to her was to clean the latrine. The daughter of an aristocratic father holding a very high military position, clad in Khadi and cleaning the lavatory did not stir a single leaf of the ashram or the **asharmites.** After that began the gruelling period of training and Miss Slade now called Mira Ben (sister), was deeply fixed in Gandhiji. But Gandhiji thought that she should not lose her individuality and that she should develop her own entity by having a variety of experiences so that the seeker after truth could turn every one of them to good account. She was sent to different ashrams where she underwent varied experiences. It is at this stage that she was undergoing a transition of soul that she got the following letter from Romain Rolland.

Villeneuve,

December 17, 1925.

My dear daughter,

How happy we have been with all your letters which tell of your great joy, superior to your expectations-joy to have found the Master of goodness, of love and of truth-joy to have entered at last on the good and just way for which you have hunted so long and where your energies will best deploy themselves.

You remember the word which embodies wisdom in the third Act of Parsiful: "Dieven" (to serve) But in Parsiful it appears to be above all the mission of the woman and it is-which ought to be.....your....lot. Every being conscious of his responsibilities feels himself joined to other things, and endeavours to serve them with the best that is in him. Of all the paths of service that of the Mahatma is one of straights and most illuminous. It leads to the peace of the soul. May you taste of it. When you have gathered it, distribute to us a few pieces of the delicious fruit.

Do not forget the light of Europe upon the roads of Asia. Make those around you enjoy it. Take and give!

I can see you out there, in the morning before dawn, on the noeturnal roads around sabarmati, by the side of the Mahatma, singing to yourself the divine melody of the Hymn of joy. There, it would be not out of its element.

I do not know how to thank you and enough for the trouble that you took in noting down for us in detail all the days of your voyage. To us they are and will remain a unique testimony of your March to the Star-of this new pilgrimage of the shepherds, who go towards the torch of the orient.

We are keeping fairly well...kept up by incessant occupation and the passion of work, which is as necessary to me as the air which breathe. Long since I should have fallen by the way, if the creative fire and the mission of work had not carried me on!

Tell the Mahatma how much I thank him for the letter which he has written to me, in spite of his immense activity and how much I rejoice to know of his being near to you, and of your being near him! In this old Europe so full of genius, but at the moment covered as it where with a cloud-in my beloved land of France, where still there blossom so many souls, simple and pure, courageous and charming, but who live apart leaving the government of the world and the guidance of nation to the worst I fight alone without the hope of saving those who do not wish to be saved. But I sow for the future the corn that will when we shall be no more. The grain does not come from me: I have searched it out through all the world. The most beautiful is that which my bird spirit has brought back from the Orient-the grain of the Great Soul.....which itself has gathered grain from the sacred Books of Asia (and we have recognized there, mixed with Hinduism, the Saviour of the Gospel. All the seeds of life came from the same divine granary.)

We are a handful of religious souls in Europe who thank the Mahatma fo rendering to us the good pure corn separated from the tares.

My daughter it will now be for you to bless us. You are giving of yourself for us, and you are at the source of benedictions. Will you ask once of your great friend and Master to offer up with you a brief and silent prayer for us, for our peace, for the salvation, of ours, so that we may know to the last how to be vanquished without bending.

Mira, I embrace you. A happy Christmas and New Year from the lands of snow and the cradle of the Epiphany.

Your friend,

Romain Rolland.

But could she win the hermitage within for which she came to Gandhi? Could she share her bread of peace of mind with Romain Rolland and others?

Instensely devoted to Gandhiji and his work, she went to the different corners of India founding Ashrams, and devoting herself to *Swadharma* (service to others). She was very fond of outdoor life and birds, animals and trees. At one place her friend was a toad and his family. Her favourite pony would walk up and share her chapati (bread). She tried to find the hermitage within as Gandhiji wanted her to do in prayer, in service to mankind and to the animal world. She had regular correspondence with Gandhiji who wrote to her that probably she would have to retire to her Ashram. Fondly she dreamt of it.

It was on the friendliest terms that the negotiations had continued be-

tween Irwin and Gandhi; among the objects of the talk was arrangement for a second Round Table Conference, to be held in London in 1931.

Because their talks usually continued through Gandhi's lunch hour, food was brought to him from the Birla Family's house, which was used by his followers when in Bombay. Mira would arrive with the vegetables and fruit for Gandhi. As Lord Irwin watched, the stately spinster of forty sank to her knees, offering the dishes she had prepared for the Mahatma. What Irwin later Lord Halifax, thought was not said. He had known her as a belle of London society. This was the first time they had met in India.

The Vicetroy could not but have remembered that London thought Miss. Slade insane for becoming a follower of her 'Indian Swami'. With her mother she had retained a tender loving relationship, even across the thousands of miles dividing them. But her mother too had lately died.

Gandhi himself know that the death of her mother had stunned Mira. She could not be comforted. Very gentle letters were sent to her now. When he left for Bombay he sent a note:

You are on the brain... I look about me and miss you. I open the *Charkha* (spinning wheel) and miss you .... You have done the right thing. You have left your home, your people, all that people prize, not to serve me personally, but to serve the cause I stand for.

All the time you were squandering your love on me personally. I felt guilty of misappropriation, and I exploded at the slightest pretext.

What importunities had never accomplished, her sorrow did. She was admitted into the close circle of his personal interest and concern. She was permitted to serve him, since this was what she longed to do. That was the part assigned her during his negotiations upon the pact with Irwin.

A writer described her, incredulously as kneeling in her long khadi gown, 'serving' Gandhi as if he were a king ... and touching his feet with her hand, before rising from her knees' before him. Perhaps the Viceroy understood that in India women paid this obeisance to men they revered, and loved, that even men made the gesture in token of honour and respect. At the ashram, maidens and older women both greeted Gandhi in this way; he did not deny them the privilege of doing so, if they desired it. Irwin, who had found in Gandhi a brilliant statesman, knew him also as a man utterly sensitive, deeply and intuitively responsive to others. Indeed, the title of Mahatma, much as he disliked it, he permitted others to use if they found comfort in doing so.

Lady and Lord Irwin were honoured by the Indian High Commission with a great tea. Mira was invited; she replied that she could not come, because her 'chores were in arrears', she must stay at the settlement house to do her own and the Mahatma's washing.

All that she said, all that she did for Gandhi, became subjects of amused scrutiny, of mocking conversation in the high and low places of London and in cities reading accounts of them both. Sometimes the accounts became all but hilarious. Perhaps there was reflected in the mockery an attitude toward Gandhi and what he was struggling to accomplish in London.

On the return to Bombay, reporters still pursued her. Asked what she thought of the Mahatma's concept of celibacy, she replied, in her low clipped voice, that 'there must be continence not only sexually, but in eating pleasure and all things ... if there is to be preparation for a higher incarnation in the next life'.

Miraben, after finishing a khadi tour, returned to Bombay, August 1932. She had been warned never to reenter the city. She was arrested on the platform as her train entered the station. After a week under trial, she was sentenced to a year in gaol. Gandhi sent her charming fatherly letters. He insisted she must not 'bother if you get no permission either to receive visitors or even to write letter'. He could not but realize that what he advised was impossible for her. The prison rules permitted either a letter or a visitor, monthly. She immediately chose the farmer. No visitor could mean as much as a letter from Bapu', she knew.

Kasturba was also arrested again, as was sarojini Naidu. The three women were housed in the same institution. They made a curious trio; the nationally famed poet, previous president of the Indian National Congress and head of the salt-tax campaign in place of Gandhi; the aristocratic, fine - strung English spinster; and the unworldly, artless, unlettered wife of Gandhi. But all were gentle women. All acceptance of suffering expressed the unstained devotion which Gandhi evoked in women of many kinds, even the most sheltered a devotion wholly sacrificial and unselfish.

Gandhi wrote to Miraben: 'I am glad Ba is prospering with you. And learning Hindi. And making you sing hymns.'

As to her religion? She answered questioners : 'I follow Gandhi's religion of service. But I am not a Hindu. I think it is very difficult to describe the God of the Hindus. Nonetheless, she added very simply, very openly: 'There was Christ and Buddha, and now there is Gandhi'.

She had come, she explained, 'for a fortnight's lecturing to explain the Mahatma and his work' and 'to correct mis-statements made by the press'. She described, in the lectures she gave, her ashram life.

We lead an absolutely simple existence, with no servants to wait on us. When we aren't studying, we are being taught some useful craft.....instead of empty leisure, there is necessary material training whenever ashram work does not need to be done.

She spoke of her two terms in prison, one extending for year and a half:

Both times were for sending accurate information to friends in the United States and England.....I read Hindu scriptures, books on Buddhism and the *koran* from cover to cover.

She proved an excellent speaker. She told her audience without a shadow of emotion, as if she were stating matters only of objective meaning to herself:

Gandhi is retiring from leadership of the Congress to be more free serving the people not officially as one connected with the organization... He offered the ashram to the Government and received only an acknowledgment of his letter... He has decided to make it a centre of educational and vocational training for Harijans, as he had named the untouchables.

She met not only audience and the press, but Government leaders. To them also she presented the case of India, as Gandhi saw it.

December 1938, Gandhi had written Miraben that her daily letter was 'an eagerly awaited event' for him now; she must keep her health and therefore live away from Wardha: 'I am prepared to risk you death... Rather than you should return to Sageon to live'. It meant, 'never returning to live near Bapu', a 'nightmare' for her. But she went to the Frontier Province to work as he wished: He came to visit the Frontier; she missed his visit and knew 'the sorrow in my heart became further accentuated'. His Rajkot Fast had been a profound anxiety to her. Gandhi wrote to her, late in 1940 that he was glad she had come to a 'new abode', a solitary little hut on the mountain side. Since, he wished her to 'work independently', she did so, however, lonely she was, 22 May, 1941, however, he wrote to her amazed and amused:

Your letter, an enquiry has come from London whether the report is true that you have severed all connection with me and are, living from me! How wish is father to the thought!

As you say if something drastic has to happen, it will do so even on some pretext...altogether flimsy.

War news continuous to be sensational. The news about the destruction in England is heart-rending.

June 1941, she had returned to live about a half mile from his ashram at last. From Bardoli, he wrote to her in December, 1941, "This is just to tell you that you are never out of my mind...I hope you are getting stranger and having greater inner peace.

25 January 1941, she saw him, but did not have opportunity to say good-bye, She was desolated because 'never in all these years had I not touched Bapu's feet before he left for a journey', as she explained later in her book of his letters. He however told her, as so often he had doner. 'You should be now above these outward manifestations.

Let your work be your sole absorption! But he assured her gently he was all right, and that he was glad she was keeping fit'.

In April, 1942, he was writing his leader for *Harijan,* 'Foreign Soldiers'. Later she thought it 'must have been practically the same hour when I wrote Babu a long letter expressing almost exactly the same sentiments'. She added that, if he would agree, she 'would like to go to the All India Congress Committee' to the Japanese'. He wired her to come at once.

She had served Gandhiji as best as she could by prayers and by personal services. She was the silent supporter of Gandhiji in his period of stress and strain in the Round Table Conference days in London, looking after his food and drink and helping him to keep to his engagements. The best part of her life with Gandhiji was when she was also a co-prisoner with him, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu, Sushila Nayyar and others. She shared the intense sorrow, of Gandhiji in the death of Mahadev Desai and then Kasturba at Agha Khan Palace turned into a prison.

But destiny had not willed that she could have Gandhiji in her ashram. Gandhiji was in a dejected mood when he wrote that sad letter to Mira Ben. The thick shadow of Pakistan had spread over India and Gandhiji had to agree to the partition of India. Gandhiji felt for-Iron and shelved. He devoted himself to the rehabilitation problem.

While fulfilling her evening duty in the Ashram in the lap of the Kumayun hills, a jeep - load of men came tearing through the road and told her that Gandhiji had fallen to the bullets of a man in Delhi. Mira was stunned. Others asked her to accompany them to Delhi to be present at the cremation. She remembered that Gandhiji had once written to her that whatever might happen to him she should continue her work. The dazed devotee of Gandhiji said she would not go to Delhi.

She continued working in India for sometime more. But the star that was guiding her through darkness as gleam of light was gone. The longdrawn - out crucification of Gandhiji's immortal soul was over and to Mira Ben the yesterdays were years away. But she took solace in Gandhiji's letters. In one from Noakhali in Bengal where Gandhiji had gone to give hope to the uprooted humanity he had written to her;

"If I succeed in emptying myself utterly, God will possess me. Then I know that everything will come true, but it is a serious question when I shall have reduced myself to Zero".

Rabindranath Tagore had written to her on January 20, 1929 that human life has two aspect - one is the discipline of truth and the other is the fullness or expression. Inner misery and outer - aim - lessness again possessed Mira Ben and she left India for other lands in quest of the hermitage within.

Gandhi and Sushila Nayyar

Sushila Nayyar is the sister of late Pyarelal who was one of the closest and devoted secretaries of Mahatma Gandhi. She is a Hindu from the undivided and composite Punjab. She is a highly intelligent and integrated personality. She is a medical doctor with total dedication and devotion to service. She joined Mahatma's Ashram and she had the fortune of serving both Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba as a medical doctor as well as a disciple. *Key to health* written by Gandhiji in Gujarati was translated by Dr. Sushila Nayyar into English under his own guidance. She served as a minister of state for health in Nehru Ministry. She has been consistently working for prohibition. As Chairman of the prohibition Council, she had led several compaigna for prohibition. Her work in the field of women's development and population control are remarkable. She is currently the president of the Kasturba Medical College, Wardha and Chair person, All India Prohibition Council.

Kasturba went with Gandhiji on a khadi tour through Bihar. Kasturba accompanied Gandhi only when he was not well and then simply to see that he had proper food and took enough rest, whether he wished or not.

Madeleine was at the ashram when they returned. Also waiting for then was Pyarelal Nayyar's fifteen-year-old sister, Sushila, who had come to spend a two - week vacation. A bookish, shy young creature, she had lately matriculated at college. She was much younger than her two brothers and her fashionable very pretty sister. This was the first time in all her life that she had gone from home without her mother.

She had come, 'tremendously excited ... as if learning for some heaven on earth', for her brother had promised she would be with the gods on earth' his accounts of ashram children and the ashram school made Sushila' see them as an illustrious company'. In order to shield her from appearing 'foolish' by not knowing how to pronounce the *shlokas*' at her first evening during prayers. Pyarelal had made her sit beside him on the train while he coached her until she was quite certain she 'had the lesson by heart'.

But when he brought her at last to the ashram, he was called away immediately. The Mahatma needed him, to take dictation on some very important matter. The young girl felt lost, 'miserable at the thought of staying from home so long; she wanted to go straight back to her mother. She had grown from a withdrawn child into an equally withdrawn adolescent. Her heart-shaped face, framed in silky black hair parted Madonna-fashion, was dominated by grave, large eyes. She showed that combination of social immaturity and intellectual, capability not uncommon in brilliant, precocious children. She did not know what to do with herself, alone in the ashram where she had anticipated such wonder, such splendid companionship.

Then Kasturba Gandhi came back. She had not forgotten the girl. Although able to speak only broken Hindustani, she took Sushila at once under her wing. She drew her into the circle of ashram maidens, who were cooking,

sewing, spinning. In the ashram school, which aimed to 'develop the complete man or woman; household chores were part of the curriculum, added to academic subjects Among the maidens stiching away; spinning, cutting vegetables for supper, chipping wood, Sushila found that one of the most popular was Lakshmi, the adopted daughter of Kasturba and Mohandas Gandhi. Kasturba herself did not disguise her own special fondness for this child.

Pyarelal appeared, very briefly arranging for his sister to sleep in Ba's hut, with the two other girls also there. Then he disappeared again into Gandhiji's study. During the rest of her vacation Sushila barely had more than a glimpse of him. But she did not mind in the least, now.

She worked with the rest and loved it. She washed her clothes, but because Pyarelal was not available to show her how to get water from the well - it was in the Sabarmati that she did the laundry. Her clothes came out mud - coloured. Kasturba, however, promptly showed her how to make them clean and white again, and thereafter 'someone always seemed to be about' when she needed water from ashram well. Sushila had 'a suspicion it was by Ba's arrangement'.

Ba seemed 'to be everywhere at the same time', she 'missed nothing that was done on needed during or was left undone! One day, Sushila saw her hurrying toward the communal kitchen, despite the burning mid day sun. She had just come from Gandhiji's hut where she had rubbed his feet until he feel asleep. She had showed away some ashram youngsters, lest they disturbed his nap. Now, she was cooking for Pyarelal, who had left Gandhi when she came.

'Should I call him' volunteered Sushila.

Kasturba's rapid voice returned : 'Yes. He won't like to miss working with Bapu. You call him. But, she added quickly 'If he's having his meal, don't say anything'.

Sushila, learning to find her brother, thought how like Ba the answer was. She did not see her brother except fornicated moments now and again, when he emerged from work with the Mahatma. But as the vacation came to an end, Sushila realized it had been 'a heavenly visit', as he had promised she had not minded at all being wakened before dawn by the changing, bell; she had slept like a top on the matters spread upon the floor, and when she rose it had seemed as if she had 'just lain down, the moment before; She had spent every night in Ba's hut, as guest.

Sometimes, she knew, she meant to become one of the ashram membership.

Before leaving home she had promised her mother 'not to take vows of any kind', it was 'bad enough' that Pyarelal was dedicated to Gandhi, never wearing a civilized garment, either British of Indian. Sushila took no vows. But when she came back home she felt she never wanted to wear any but khadi clothes, that 'other things seemed artificial now'.

It had been Kasturba who-by example-made a convert of the thoughtful little girls.

Madam Nayyar would not wear of khadi clothing however. She had indeed that 'no more clothes would be made until all the ward robe is used up'. Susila did not argue. She only washed her three or four 'changes of apparel', as Ba had taught her to do. It was impressive to find that even 'with a limited wardrobe one could be clean and tidy'. But at last her mother yielded; khadi clothes were to be made for the girl.

Guiltily, Sushila told hers if; 'If she had not opposed me, I might not have stick to khadi'. From now on, she meant to 'stick; to home spun alone'. There was not a mere ;victory over her mother in this-it was an acceptance of some great symbol. The khadi garments worn be spoke unity with those who stood for India's struggle to be free. To this degree, Susila Nayyar had already become part of Gandhi's work. It had been Kasturba, not the Mahatma who had led her as far as she had come.

Her sister quarreled tauntingly: 'Well, did you make friend with the sweeper's child?

Sushila looked at her, puzzled She had 'met neither sweepers nor sweeper's children' at the ashram.

Her sister tittered. 'Hasn't Gandhiji adopted a sweeper's child as his daughter?'

Then only did Sushila realize, 'Lakshmi is not Ba's daughter, but a sweeper's child'. Before, it would have seemed monstrous to play and work and sleep in the same room with a pariah's daughter for it was forbidden by religion. The young girl knew that she would never again consider outcastes strange or really different from herself.

She had even with people who were unbelievers. There had been a Jew at the ashram. There had been Christians. There was an English woman. But they were all as members of one family. Pyarelal, Sushila's brother, lived as brother to them all. And, to the girl, it all seemed wonderful and right. She also would be one of the family of people of many kinds, some day.

Sushila Nayyar was studying medicine at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and public Health. She received a message from Kasturba: Could she come for a little time, for Gandhi was quite sick?

Immediately, the young medical student asked for a month's leave of absence from college, though she was preparing for examinations. She knew Kasturba would ask her for help only after the native Auyurvedic physicians, the priest, had failed. She found Gandhi very ill. The fast and over work, together with the cold season that had arrived-and which was particularly better in damp and cold at sevagram -had raised his blood pressure to the danger mark.

The month's leave of absence lengthened into a half year. Gandhi still remained very sick. The charts Sushila prepared showed that his blood pressure rose dangerously whenever he was tired, and sick though be he did not spare himself. Returnining to medical college was impossible, and girl knew, until Gandhi should recover. Then Gandhi became so ill that she dared not trust her incomplete medical knowledge . She called in a doctor. He ordered the invalid to be taken, at once, to another climatic- the seashore at Juju, preferably. She had become one of Gandhi's followers at last. And it had begun when she discovered Kasturba as a friend, in a young girlhood. They stay at Savagram had lenghtened to two years. But it was safe to leave Bapu to Kasturba. Sushila returned to college. She plunged into study, in order to prepare for an internal course at the Lady Harding Hospital.

One day she made a visit to the ashram. A cholera epidemic had broken out in the village, she was told. Because the peasants were constantly coming to Sevagram she offered to innoculate the members Gandhi approved, but nobody else Kasturba announced after a moment 'I am not going to the injection, come what may'.

'Those who will not', Gandhi said, 'may have to go into quarantine'.

She would not change her mind; Because of her, very few would accept inoculations, and only because Sushila persuaded all the villagers to be inoculated, was the ashram prevented from being wiped out.

Sushila had been asked by Gandhi himself to write a little biography, during the lifeless prison days, of Kasturba. Gandhi himself had established a time-clock of activity, he tried to work out a daily routine for the others. to keep them so occupied that gloom would not occupy them. Even for Kasturba a programme was arranged- breakfast, prayer, message by Sushila and then lesson given by Gandhi, lessons in reading and geography and the Gita.

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Lesson 4 & 5

FORERUNNERS

Forerunners of Mahatma Gandhi, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chander Vidyasagar , Kesab Chandra Sen, Dayananda Saraswathi. Sri Ramakrshna, Vivekanda, Ranade, Virasalingam Panthulu, Narayana Guru, Vallalar Ramalingam, Dadabhai Naorojiu.

Having reached the Zenith of cultural development by the third and fourth millennium B.C. India had already put our forebears in the forefront of the cultured people of the world. Civilization that had flourished in India in ancient times show our deep intellectual and religious background. India had experienced countless foreign invasions. But the invaders could able to concentrate on some of the places in India. All such invaders Aryans, yueh chis and Husans, Huns and more generally all those barbarians who brought no culture of their own with them- all were eventually absorbed into Hindu society. Thus came the Muslims who retained upto their point a separate identity, But, for the first time in the history, an entirely different type of invader arrived from the sea.

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese enjoyed the monopoly of trade with the east. The Dutch and the English coming next broke the monopoly of the Portuguese. The East-India companies of the two nations were founded within a few years of each other. The company was established all over India. The French established factories at Surat. Massoulipatnam, Pondichery and Chandernagore, between the years 1668-92. But the British, with mighty power, emerged as victors and by the middle of eighteenth century attained an unchallengeable supremacy over all their European rivals.

Following the disintegration of the Mughal empire, India became weak politically and economically. This situation helped the British to establish their rule in India with their antiquated armies and equipment.

The result was India's four-fold ruin-economic, political, cultural and spiritual. Her indigenous; crafts and Industries were killed, her agriculture was ruined. It became on land of exploitation for the Biritish. The amount of treasure transformed from India to English banks, during 57 years between Plassy and Waterloo has been computed at 9500,000,000 to 91,000,000,000.

For centuries prior to British rule law and justice had been administered solely by Indians through their own indigenous institutions like *Panchayat* system.

The judiciary system introduced by the British inadequate and complicated. British courts, as a result, came to be detested by the people as nothing else. Such a court was so absence to the helpful only for rich people.

The administrative system of British became hurdle to the progress of Indians and affected the every aspects of Indians system. The cultural assault was paralleled by the missionary offensive against the religious beliefs of the people. Thus the people had suffered in silence.

The proverbial worm turned at last. In 1857 came the great Revolt, touched off by the refusal of Indian sepoys at Meerat to handle cartridges released with the animal fat, forbidden by their religion.

Following the suppression of the 1857 Rising, a bill was introduced in the British Parliament for the abolition of the East India company's rule and for direct assumption by the crown of the Government of Britain. Thus India came under the direct rule of British in 1856.

Many centuries of alien domination had but all wiped out the old political structures of a once-free India. What distinguished British regime from all previous regimes was that the British never settled down in India. They never made India their home. They came as foreigners and stayed as foreigners till the very last. Defeated and suffered with alien domination, India with its vast cultural and religious backgrounds, fell back upon that silent inner reservoir of vitality for a renewal of her strength. In less than thirty years of the great revolt had ruthlessly been put down, she was once again headed for national resurgence, which with many a setback went on gathering volume and strength till she was once again a free country. The resulting inner transformation manifested itself in a sudden burst of reinstallation in the later half of the nineteenth century in all walks of her national life-religion, culture, art, science literature, social reform and finally, political activity.

The Galaxy of shining lights that adored the Indian firmament this period arose in the Indian scene. The Hindus were for more open to be Europeans influence. In this the great awakening was launched by Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy: (1772-1833)

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's fantastic knowledge and amusing life symbolized this very synthesis for which he laboured all his life: steeped into both Muslim and Hindu cultures, fluent in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, English, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, expelled for a time by caste and family, having lived for years thereafter in Benares and Tibet, he finally returned home in 1796 and set about his life's work.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, the society of Believers in God. He was the morning star of the Indian Renaissance movement. He was born in 1772 in a Brahmin Zemindar family in the Burdwan district of Bengal, fifteen years after the battle of Plassey. He was the product of combined Muslim and Hindu cultures.

At sixteen he wrote a book on Persian attacking the idol worship of Hinduism. Thereafter for four years he wondered in the interior of India and

Tibet and studied Buddhism. He studied the original text of the Bible along with the upanishads, the Tandras and Islamic philosophy of the sufi mystics.

1803 to 1815 he worked in the East India Company and then retired from the service. Then he spent the rest of the life to purify the Hinduism. He attacked the superstitious beliefs and evil social customs and practices that prevailed among the peoples of Hinduism. He denounced the barbarious practice of the burning of widows. His contribution in the field of social reform in India was great and this paved the way for renaissance. He was also the pioneer of public life in India.

He founded two weekly journals, one in Persian and the other in Bengal for the study of Vedic science. He was the great champion of the freedom of the press. He cooperated with the government in abolishing and advocated the remarriage of widows, friendship between Hindus and Muslims, education on modern lines, women's education, liberty of thought, legal reforms and political equality. His publications, in 1830 of *The precepts of Jesus, the guide to peace and happiness* in which he gave higher moral values to Jesus and attacked other matters involved him into controversy with Baptist missionaries of Calcutta. In a reply to them, he wrote three letteres to the missionaries, explaining his views. He was also an intellectual giant as well as spiritual genius.

When he went to England in 1830, he got the opportunity to meet many celebrities like william Roscoe the historian and Jeremy Bentham the philosopher, Lord Brougham and several members of the royalty.

He was a passionate lover of liberty. But at the same time he supported the western system of education and technology that he believed will provided golden opportunity to the development of Indians.

However, he was a great man. His thinking was in terms of humanity as a whole. His was an attitude of universalism, which is watched in the teachings of Prophets of modern India. He stands as the embodiment of the synthesis of the cultures of the East and West. He was the first to emphasis the Importance of Indian languages during the time of British rule. He died in 1833 at Bristol.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar: (1820-81)

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar was born and flourished in the nineteenth century. It was critical period in the history of India and particularly of Bengal. The forefathers of Iswarchandra originally belonged to a village Banamalipur of Bengal. Iswarchandra was born on 26th September 1820. After his school education he was admitted to Sanskrit college in 1829. He studied English and Hindu Law.

After his study he hold the administrative charge of Sanskrit College for sometime. During this time he prepared textbooks in Sanskrit and Bengal to easy the task of the students.

One of the most important activities of his life was his campaign for inducting the Government to pass a law to villages about widow remarriage among Hindus. Inspite of his deep attachment to the cause of liberation, be found himself involved in other pursuits. He continuously, worked to improve the status of the women in Hindu society by fighting for their just rights. He dealt with the problem of polygamy among Bengal Brahmins

Throughout his life he worked for the welfare of women and tried to reform the educational system. Recognition for the excellent service rendered by him in different walks of life came his way one by one. July 1864, the Royal Asiatic Society of London elected him as its honorary member. He died on 29th July. 1891.

Kesab Chander Sen : (1838-84)

RajaRam Mohan Roy's approach to the question of reform has been that of a parrot and practical statesmen.. But after him things changed. Next, Debendrananth Tagore, father of Rabindrananth Tagore succeeded as the leader of Brahmo Samaj. After him Kesab Chander sen (1838-84) became the next leader of the Brahma Samaj in 1862. But these leaders broke the path of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and did not favour inter-caste marriage and the marriage of widows in the matter of reform. But in 1864, when Kesab Chandra Sen visited Bombay some of the earnest members gathered together and decided to form a new association for the purpose of introducing such reforms as marriage of widows, abolition of child marriage, disapproval of caste and propagation of women's education. To distinguish itself from the Brahmo Samaj, with its unseemly dissensions, the Samaj the adopted the name *"Prarthana Samaj".*

Dayananda Saraswathi : (1825-1883)

In contrast with the reformist Brahmo Samaj was the Arya samaj founded by Swami Dyananda Saraswathi. It was a revivalist movement having its goal to return to pure ancient Vedic faiths, culture and institutions. The country was attracted by the western education. Christian schools and colleges were opened in large number throughout the country. Missionaries travelled throghtout the country spreading the Christian religion and establishing institutions. The country was covered under this kind of network. Therefore the goal Arya Samaj was to revive Hinduism by returning to the pure understanding reaching of the Vedas-whatever that meant. It was the first outstanding revolt against the invasion of western in ideas and western form of Christianity.

Its founder was a remarkable Brahmin from Gujarat by the name of Dayananda Saraswathi. He was born in 1825 in Morvi State in Kathiawad. In his early days he was a devout worshipper of Shiva. Before he became a Sannyasin his name was Mula Shanker.

At an impressionable age, Dayananda was very shocked at the sight of a mouse, running over a Sivan icon and eating the offerings dedicated to "God". He first refused to accept child marriage and then marriage itself. He broke

away from his father on this issue in 1847. For more than twenty years he was in quest of knowledge.

In 1872 he came to Calcutta and met Maharishi Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen the leaders of Brahma samaj. He established the first Arya Samaj in Bombay in 1875.

He started thundering against the monstrous excresscences that had warped Hinduism for thousands of years. He condemned caste without slightest hesitation and advocated full equality for men and women. The Arya Samaj believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas. The Arya Samaj rendered a yeoman service especially in Northern India in ridding popular Hinduism of some of its worst superstitions. Arya Samaj kept aloof from politics. The new nationalism germinated in such educational institutions as the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic college of Lahore and the Gurukul of Kagri, where the technical knowledge of the west was put at the disposal of an awakening Hinduism. During 1878 some correspondence passed between Dayananda Saraswathi and the leaders of the Theosophical Movement. Madame Blavatsky and col. Olcott, In October, 1883, Swami Dayananda died, it is believed, through poisoning by a concubine of a Maharaja whose immoral life he had criticized.

It is also clear that, in spite of their doctrinal divergences the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj were both complementary; both symbols of an awakening of the head, one through an attempted synthesis with western Christianity, the other through an attempted return to the Vedic tradition of India. The first one operated in Bengal and the second one operated in the Punjab and united provinces.

Dayananda rejected idol worship as anti-vedic. He mocked at astrology. He objected child-marriage and favoured a national education.

The greatest innovation of Swami Dayanand is to reform Hindu society from within and he did this by careful study and reinterpretation of Vedas.

But along side them, a number of other movements started and began to operate with far-ranging interests.

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa: (1836-1886)

The foundation of a foresaid movements were men of scholarship and learning. But a different type of man Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and unlettered, rose to become a one of the few authentic saints of the nineteenth century, and possibly the greatest.

Sri Ramakrishna was born in 1836 in a family of poor Brahmin priests in Bengal. He became a priest in a kali temple at Dakshineswar. From his early life he had a deep and passionate longing for God. He always later on used to insist this as an essential condition of realization. He used to ask. "Have you wept for God? Have you shed tears for Him?" He used to meditate for long

hours in the jungle during night to be brought to the world only by sun. He was longing for the vision of the mother. He achieved inner experience and light. He achieved awakening and mystical and peak experiences.

Sri. Ramakrishna's vision of God has an inseparable feminine component. He saw God as "Mother". This is a fresh departure. He considered all as equal and rejected money and wealth as of no use for spirituality. Sri Ramakrishna's spiritual quest was perceived as "madness". In his spiritual journey, he was eclectic, and experimented the various approaches. His spirituality was holistic. He considered his wife Sarada Devi as "Mother". This was a very powerful challenge to the Hindu notion of "pollution" and consequent discrimination of women as "impure".

Sri Ramakrishna gave primary importance to the *realization of God* and thus he rejects all institutional and superficial aspects of religion. Today often religion is Identified with its institution and rituals. For Sri Ramakrishna religion means realising God. He declared that those who cannot realize God, should not reach religion. He saw the essential unity of different religions as the different paths leading to God. He stressed the need for bhakti yoga for our times. He, in a characteristic simple style, explains this thus; "As long as a child is busy playing with his toys, his mother will be attending to her duties of cooking and washing inside the house. But when the child is tired of his play and throws away his toys and cries loudly for his mother, she leaves all her duties and rushes to her child and takes him in her arms". For Sri Ramakrishna God was no mere abstraction or hypothecate but a living and loving mother-a much greater and grand Reality than a mother in flesh and blood. For him God was a living Reality. To the question "Is God with form or without form" he gave the repeated answer, "Both with form and without form". As Brahman, the Absolute, He is formless. But the absolute expressed in terms of the relative is my Divine Mother. And she has form. He stressed love of God is more important than the theoretical knowledge of God.

Sri Ramakrishna saw social service as part of divine service. He preached ethical values as basic to human life. He called people to get rid of their lust and greed. Sri Ramakrishna rejected rather dark picture of Human life and world. Swamy Vivekananda became his chief disciple and established the Ramakrishna order and spread his guru's vision and message. Sri Ramakrishna represents Hindu values at its best and firmly believed in the vast resources of Hinduism for our times. The Ramakrishna order imbibed with deep devotion and service is a new breakthrough for Hinduism.

Swami Vivekananda

Narendranath Datta (later known as Swami Vivekananda) was born on 12th January 1863 in Calcutta in a upper middle class Kayastha family. His father, Viswanath Datta, was an attorney at the Calcutta High court and he represented modernists and his mother Bhuvaneswari represented orthodoxy. She believed that Narendranath was born through the Grace of Shiva. He was

given a modern western education. After graduation in 1884, he started studying law. He was a brilliant and vibrant person from the beginning. His primary energy was then directed, towards a quest for God, the absolute Truth. He tried various methods such as extensive reading, discussion with experts, meditation and concentration. He was in search of a person who has seen God. After a long search without any fruits, he met Sri. Ramakrishna at Dakishineswar in 1882. That was a turning point in his life. It was an encounter of timeless value. Naren who was deeply embradded in western philosophy and scientific outlook took a few years before he could surrender fully to his master. His selfless quests for God yielded fruit. Sri Ramakrishna, before passing away on 16th August 1886, entrusted the responsibility of carrying out his work, to Naren. The disciples of Sri. Ramakrishna along with Naren became ascetics and assumed new names. Narendras assumed the name Vivekananda. He travelled throughout India for more than three years. Finally arriving at Kanyakumari in the last week by December 1892.

Urged by an inner call and supported by many, Swami Vivekananda sailed to USA to participate in the World Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in Sept. 1893. His short, lecture there revealed him to the world. Then followed a tight programme for him in USA. He also visited England. He returned to India and toured throughout the country. During all his tours he was giving discourses which set in motion a new awakening and continued his spiritual practice, met persons of excellence. A close circle of disciples who gathered around him including Sister Nivedita (Miss. Margaret Noble). He also wrote extensively. He returned to Belur near Calcutta and established it as the Head Quarters of Ramakrishna Mission. In 1899 Asharam Advaita was founded in Almora. Then again he visited USA and Europe and strengthened the work. He returned to Belur by the end of 1900. He undertook his last tour in early. 1901. He passed away on 4th July 1902 at Belur. *The Complete works of Swami Vivekananda is* in eight volumes contain all his works including poems and letters and available speeches. Some of the speeches have been lost. His works include *Karma Yoga, Raja Yoga and Bhakti yoga.*

Swami Vivekananda presented Hinduism freely and meaningfully taking into consideration the needs of his times. He challenged the evils of our system such as poverty, inequality, injustice and imprisonment. He called for the combination of active spirituality with the uplift of the people from their suffering and difficulties. He dealt with all the problems of modern India and called for true patriotism to liberate the people from all chains. The recent nationalization of India deceived a great momentousness from the life and activities of Swami vivekananda. R.C. Mujumdar, the celebrated Indian histories calls him as "the father of modern Indian national action".

Swami Vivekananda reinterpreted Hinduism and placed it on a strong base on the eve of powerful challenges from different religions and forces of modernism. He had no hesitation in rejecting the age long corruptions of Hinduism and welcomed fresh air from all possible sources and directions.

Karma Yoga was the need of the hour. He wanted to wake up Indians from their "long sleep". For Vivekananda, Karma -yoga is not duty done and or compulsion but it is the work of a free being, unattached, and considers his duties as God's duties. He was for liberation through work. Vivekananda rejected the dehumanizing varna and caste system and suppression of women. Bhakti Yoga is a genuine search after God. A search beginning, continuing and ending in love. Vivekananda revolutionized Bhakti when he interpreted things like this. One may invent an image to worship God, but the living human is an already existing better image. One may build a temple to worship God, but a better, higher one that already exists is the human body. The moment a human sees God in the temple of every human body, he/she is free of bondage. Other forms of worship do not occur but stages in the journey from lower truth to higher truth. Raja Yoga, according to Vivekananda, is the method of realization through the mystic union of the lower self with the higher self. Gnana Yoga is the supreme knowledge of God and understanding the meaning of "Thou art that".

Swami Vivekananda was an exponent of Advaida. T.M.P Mahadevan writes " The essence of Advaida can be set down in three places. The ultimate reality *(Brahman)* is non-dual, the world of plurality is non-real and the so called individual soul is not different from the ultimate reality. 'This is the corner stone of the Vedanta philosophy, the Alpha and the Omega'. The Advaida vision a perception of underlying unity beneath the surface of differences brings peace and contentment. Vivekananda said." What our country wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel; gigantic wills which nothing can resist, which can penetrate, into the mysteries and secrets of the universe and will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it means going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face. This is what we want, and that can only be created. Contributed and strengthened by understanding and releasing the deal of the Advaida, that ideal of oneness of all". He added "realization of Divinity in humanity leaves no room for egotism. By realizing it human cannot have any jealousy or pity for any other being". Vivekananda's insistence on service is quite significant. He says, "If you ask why should I love neighbour as myself, the answer is not to be found in the New Testament but in the Upanishads. Because thy neighbour is thyself.

" He says in another place.... "if you want peace of mind, you shall have to serve to the best of your ability.

Swami Vivekananda is directly forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi. He prepared India for the coming of the Mahatma Gandhi's attempt to meet him, unfortunately failed. It would certainly have been a wonderful encounter. Let us give here three extracts from the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.*

Vivekananda and spinning

by M.K. Gandhi

A correspondent sends the interesting extracts from Vivekananda's answer to his American questions. I take the following from them on spinning.

Speaking of Indian village life he says. "In some places the common village girl with her spinning wheel says: 'Do not talk to me of dualism, my spinning wheel says, Soham, Soham, I am He, I am He. What is the value of these machines and sciences. They have only one result, they spread knowledge. You have not solved the problem of want, but only made it keener. Machines do not solve the poverty problem; they simply make men struggle the more. Competition gets keener. The value of everything is to be decided by how far it is a manifestation of God.

Young India, 26-5-1927

C.W.M.G. vol.33
p-372

Harijan and Vivekananda

by M.K. Gandhi

I hope that Gujaratis will heartily respond to the appeal made by Shri Vallabhbhai Patel on behalf of the Gujarat Provincial Congress committee in connection with the National Week. One can say that collecting a sum of Rs.1 lakh is child's play for Gujarat. This amount, moreover is required for work among the suppressed classes, which include *Antyajas* and the Rani paraj community. From now on, we will describe *Antyajas* too as *dalit.* The term was first used by Swami Shraddhanand. Swami Vivekanada chose an English word having the same meaning. He described the untouchable not as "depressed" but as "suppressed" and quite rightly. They became, and remain, what they are because they were suppressed by the so-called upper classes. The Hindi word for this is *dalit.* Among all the suppressed classes, the untouchables are the most suppressed. The Rani (Kali) paraj community is also suppressed, and so are other communities, like Oghra etc. It is the object of the provincial committee to serve all these communities to the best of its resources. This is constructive work which will win swaraj; it is a philanthropic activity and is a part of dharma. I hope, therefore, that everyone will enthusiastically respond to this appeal and the sum of one lakh will be collected in no time, and also that honest people will come forward and enroll themselves, immediately as volunteers for this work.

(From Gujarati)
Navajivan, 27-3-1927

C.W.M.G. Vol. 33
p. 196.

Vivekananda and Hinduism

by M.K. Gandhi

It is good to see ourselves as others see us. Try as we may. We are never able to know ourselves fully as we are, especially the evil side of us. This we can do only if we are not angry with our critics but will take in good part whatever they might have to say. Anyway, I propose to examine the foregoing criticism as-dispassionately as I can. The grave limitations of Hinduism as it is seen today in practice must be admitted. Many mutts and their administration are undoubtedly a disgrace to Hinduism. The money that is poured into some of them does not return to the worshippers in the form of service. This state of things must be ended or mended.

Humanitarian work done by Christian missions must also be admitted.

But these admissions of mine must not be interpreted to mean endorsement of the deductions of the writen. Economic and educational relief is required by most poor Indians in common with *Harijans.* But the latter suffer from special disabilities. It is not a question of what disabilities they resent. It is the duty of the so-called superior Hindus to break the chains that bind the Harijans even though they may hug them. The admission by the writer of the sublimity of Hinduism as expounded by Vivekananda and Radhakrishnan should have led to his discovery of its percolation down to the masses. I make bold to say that in spite of the crudeness which one sees among the villagers, class considered, in all that is good in human nature they compare favourably with any villagers in the world. This testimony is borne out by the majority of travellers who from the times of Huen Tsang down to the present times have recorded their impressions. The innate culture that the villagers of India show, the art which one sees in the homes of the poor, the restraint with which the villagers conduct themselves are surely due to the religion that has bound them together from time immemorial.

In his zeal tobe little Hinduism the writer ignores the broad fact that Hinduism has produced a race of reformers who have successfully combated prejudices, superstitions and abuses. Without any drumbeating Hinduism has devised a system of relief of the poor which has been the envy of many foreign admirers. I myself feel that it leaves much to be desired. It has its evil side. But from the philanthropic standpoint it has wholly justified itself. It is not the Indian habit to advertise charities through printed reports and the like. But he who runs may see the free kitchens and free medical relief given along indigenous lines.

The writer belittles village work. It betrays gross ignorance. If the mutts and the revenue offices were extinguished and free schools were opened, the people would not be cured of their inertia. Mutts must be reformed, the revenue system must be overhauled, free primary schools must be established in every village. But starvation will not disappear because people pay no revenue and mutts are destroyed and schools spring up in every village. The

greatest education in the villages consists in the villagers being taught or induced to work methodically and profitably all the year round whether it be on the land or at industries connected with the villages.

Lastly my correspondent seems to resent acceptance by us of humanitarian services by missionaries. Will he have an agitation led against these missionary institutions?". Why should they have non Christian aid? They are established with the view of weaning Indians from their ancestral faith even as expounded by Vivekanand and Radhakrishnan. Let them isolate the institution from the double purpose. It will be time enough then to except non-Christian aid. The critic must be aware of the fact that even as it is some of these institutions do get non-Christians aid. My point is that there should be no complaint if they do not receive such aid so long as they have an aim which is repugnant to the non-Christian sentiment.

Harijan, 6.3.1937

C.W.M.G. Vol 64
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Ranade : (1842-1902)

The Religious reformists did not represent politics. In contrast, the congress movement began to represent politics without religion. First among the Congress Patriarchs was Mahadev Govinda Ranade. A man of lofty patriotism massive intellect, and saintly character he was a many sided genius. His greatest gift to India was Gopal Krishna Gokhale the economist. Born in 1842 in The Nasik district of Maharastra, Ranade had a brilliant academic career. He graduated from the Bombay University and took his degree in 1862 in the first class at its first convocation. In 1871 he joined the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona. In 1885 he became judge of the Bombay High Court. He was the ardent advocator of receiving the indigenous resources to the developing of India. He was a great social reformist. He had a lofty conception of India's destiny.

Dadabhai Naoroji : (1825-1917)

Journalist, economist and a passionate advocate of education for women was Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) first and foremost among Congress Patriarchs. An ardent social reformer and supporter of the temperance movement he had led an uncompromising crusade against the immoral opinion trade and tirelessly laboured to create originated public life in India for forty years before the birth of Congress. He was thrice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress.

Beginning as 'Head native Assistant master' of the Eliphinstone school, Bombay where he later became Assistant Professor of mathematics and natural History, he in 1855 joined as a partner in the firm of Camas, the pioneer Indian business concern in England. In 1874 he was appointed minister in the Baroda State and in 1885 was nominated as an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council . He was rocketted into fame while he was elected as liberal candidate for parliament from the central Finsbury constituency in

England in 1892. In 1901 appeared his monumental work- The poverty and UN-British Rule In India. He lived to the ripe age of ninety two. Gopala Krishna Gohale eulogized him as like foremost Indian of our times, a mass without self and without strain, our aged child give boars on his heard the show of years but carries in his heart the fire of youth.

Narayana Guru: (1856-1928)

Sri. Narayana guru (1856-1928), a great social reformer and a saint, was born in Chempazhanthi village near Trivandrum in Kerala. Inspired by himself by the background of a most depressed caste of Kerala *(Ezhava)* with the age long suppressions, he had a brilliant beginning. He came into the world without crying and mastered. He grew in the midst of the realities of rural poverty, Social injustice and colonial exploitations. He mastered Sanskrit, Malyalam and Tamil classics. His boyhood days was marked by a logical mind and a questioning mind. He enjoyed silence to silly conversation. He should deep interest in highly physiological and truth seeking conversation. He lost his mother at the age of fifteen. At that age of thirty he married Kaliamma in 1882. Like Suddhartha he left the home early decreasing, "we are all born in this world to serve some purpose. I have my work to do and you have yours. Let me go my way, You go your own way". Though he studied from some good teachers, he was essentially a self-made scholars. He was a born genius indeed.

Narayana Guru from mystical visions, meditation and intense intellectual quest rooted in the contemporary realities of life in and around him developed the Advaita Vedanta to unite human kind. He began by challenging the caste-ridden and discriminatory Hinduism of Kerala. The lower castes were denied entry into the temples. On a *Sivaratri* day, he installed an idol of Siva at Aruvippuram and opened this Siva temple to worship to all. When, the orthodox Brahmins opposed this, he humourously remarked that it was only an Ezhava Siva! It marked the beginning of a new social revolution within the Hindu religion. He declared that religion need to get rid of its distortions and it should become instrument in achieving human excellence. Soon came monastry around this temple and a new society was established to manage it in 1899 (Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam S.N.D.P. yogam).

Sri Narayana Guru constructed a temple at Sivagiri (Varkala Hills, 20 miles north of Trivandrum) in 1904. A religious mutt was also established here. It became a centre of his activities. He established an Advaita Ashram in Alwaye in 1913 in memory of Sankara. He declared that the experience of non-dual reality-advaita - is without any discrimination of caste or creed.

The S.N.D.P yogam's main thrust was the uplift of humanity with an emphasis on removal of untouchability and all forms of discrimination. He wanted to achieve human rights through education and awareness building. He combined spirituality and social change. He used advaita as a powerful resource for building up communal unity. He did not resort to hatred, revenge

and violence. Narayana Guru's social reform did not destroy the core of Hinduisms. It was a brilliant attempt at synthesis.

Sri Narayana worked on a whole range of social issues. He realised that the colonialists corrupted the Indian with drinking. He declared "Liquor is prison" It should not brewed, served or drank.

His religious vision may be summarized in one of his celebrated phrase, "One caste, One religion, One God for Humanity". He rejected Orthodox Hindu notion of "many castes and many Gods".

Sri Narayana Guru and Mahatma Gandhi met at Sivagiri in 1925 and had a detailed exchange on caste and Varna system. Narayana Guru rejected the so called differences between humen based on caste and Varna. The differences between the humen, according to him were marginal and superficial. Though human may appear to belong to different categories, they were basically the manifestation of the same essence, i.e., *Brahman-atman.*

Mahatma Gandhi did not reject the varna system in total during his early phase. Of course, all along he was worked for the removal of untouchability, equality and social justice. He was a rebel against castism from his early days. He tried to explain varna system of the ancient times as "pure and uncorrupt". But in his later phase Mahatma Gandhi totally rejected the varna system as an evil, an incurable disease, a sin and a crime. (Here one should be aware of the conservative and orthodox Gandhian misrepresentations as well as the misunderstandings of some of the "caste oriented social rebels".) Narayana Guru-Mahatma Gandhi interaction played a significant role in this transformation or evolution. This relationship is as important as that of "Leo Tolstoy-Mahatma Gandhi contacts". Sri Narayana Guru advised the people to implement the Gandhian call for truth and nonviolence.

Sri Narayana Guru gives a vibrant new expression of service to humanity as service of the self, i.e. God. He says,

> "What here we view as this man or that, reflection reveals to be Self's prime form; That conduct adopted for one's self-happiness, another's happiness must also secure at once". Compare this with Gandhi's words,
>
> "A friend once inquired of Gandhi's aim in setling in the village and serving the villagers at best he could was purely humanitarian. Gandhi replied, "I am here to serve no one else but myself, to find my own self-realization through the service of these village folks".

Kandukurl Veeresalingam Pantulu (1848-1919)

Sri Veeresalingam Pantulu was one of the earliest pioneers in South India to demand and work for radical changes in our society. Like all pioneers who are ahead of their time, he suffered misunderstanding and persecution. Andhra

Pradesh and Andhra people could not be what they are if Veeresalingam had not arrived to vitalise them. He was one of the great men of India, of keen insight great courage and dynamic energy. He fought against untruth and championed the cause of progress with Herculean vigour. Andhra is legitimately proud of him. So should all people in South India who know his work very well. His greatness rests on its own strength.

Sri Veeresalingam Pantulu was both a scholar and a social reformer. He worked for the child widow remarriage. For this purpose, he devoted his life and property.

As a great writer, his works embrace a bewildering variety of literary forms and themes. Swimming against times current Veeresalingam changed the current of life in Andhra, with no predecessor in his line and no successor of equal statue.

His versality was hardly surpassed while as a writer of prose he was unequalled. Later day trends, developments in Telugu literature have failed to dislodge him from the peaks on which he stood a class apart.

The most courageous and human thing which he did in life the reintroduction and legislation of the remarriage of child widows. He is also known as south India's Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Veeresalingam Pantulu's wife Rajprakshmana's cooperation and contribution towards the uplift of womanhood is also equally familiar.

The couple were known for their courage and humanity.

Veeresalingam was born on 16th April 1848 at Eluru.

Veeresalingam introduced to the Telugu literary field various forms of literary works like novel autobiography comedy, one act plays etc. He influenced many Telugu writers.

Veeresalingam was well known religious and social reformer and was the author of several works in Telugu both in verse and prose. Andhra lost by his death (27-5-1919) both a poet and patron.

Ramalinga Vallalar (1823-1874)

Ramalinga Vallalar was born to Ramaiah Pillai and Chinnammal (his sixth wife) as a fifth child on 5th October 1823 in Marudhur, a small village in South Arcot district of Tamilnadu. Ramalingam had two elder sisters, Sundaram and Unnamalai. Ramaiah Pillai and Chinnammal were traditional Saivites and belong to kanakkar (maniyakkarar) caste.

Ramalingam had a high spiritual experience at the very tender age of five months. Ramalingam's father Ramaiah Pillai passed away when he was an infant. Then his family moved to Ponneri, near Madras. He came under the

direct control of his eldest brother Sabapathy Pillai who earned his livelihood by oral exposition of the puranas to the public.

Ramalingam did not like formal schooling but was attracted towards temples, lakes, fields etc. His brother Sabapathy Pillai thought that he had become a spoilt child and was terribly angry with him; so Ramalingam was driven away from the home. It seems that he wandered in the streets of Madras and experienced great difficulties including starving.

His intense experiences of starvation and poverty at an early age due to his separation from his family and his brother's wife showing him mercy by offering him food, although secretly, seems to have played a significant role in moulding his later mission of removing hunger.

His teacher, Mahavidwan Kancheepuram Sabapathy Mudaliar could realize of course rather vaguely, his inborn genius and that he did not need any formal schooling.

One day Ramalingam gave a discourse on Tiruvilayadal Puranam in the place of his brother at Muthialpet, Madras. Everyone was astonished at his erudite scholarship at such an early age. Later during a subsequent discourse his brother Sabapathy Pillai listened to him without his knowledge and only then realized the inborn genius in him. Ramalingam frequently resorted to solitude. He probably developed introspection and visions and started composing poems. It seems he had a mystic vision of Lord Muruga. His first literary works were 41 poems dedicated to Lord Muruga of Kandhakottom, Park Towm, Madras and they were composed before he reached his twelfth year.

Ramalingam used to visit daily the Thiyagesa Temple at Tiruvortriyur, Madras. Ramalingam spent almost the whole of every day there. This he did from his twelfth to his thirty fifth year. Gradually people began to recognize his mystic genius and many came to him in their religious quest for guidance and education. A band of devoted students surrounded him. He taught them grammar, philosophy and morals.

His relatives insisted that he should marry but he persistantly refused. At last persuaded by a Sivayogi in 1850, he married Dhanammal, the daughter of his own sister, Unnamulai. On the first night, he read Manickavasagar's *Tiruvashagam.* They never had sexual contact and this is revealed from his own verse. Dhanammal died within a few months after marriage.

Ramalingam published three works namely Kannudaiya Vallalar's *Ozhuvilodukkam*, Padikasu Pulavar's *Thonda Mandala Chatakam* and anonymous writer's *Chinmayathipikai* in 1854, 1855, and 1857 respectively and in 1854 he wrote *Manumurai Kanda Vashagam,* one of his prose works, with his intense internal development, he began to reject Madras and its value such as urbanism and industrialism of the west European colonialist model. This means he rejected "Modern western civilization" and wanted to live in the rural areas which are untouched by modern civilization and were still in tune with nature.

He left Madras in 1858 and started his journey towards Chidambaram to have a 'dharsan' of Lord Nataraja. While Ramalingam was in Chidambaram, Vengada Reddiyar, the Munsiff of Karunkuzhi, met him and requested him to come to stay with him. Ramalingam accepted this invitation and stayed at Karunkuzhi in Vengada Reddiyar's house for nearly 9 years. The fourth "Tirumurai" of book of *Tiruarutpa* and some poems in the sixth Tirumurai were composed during this period. This nine year period at Karunkuzhi was an important phase in the life of Ramalingam. His meditative spirit intensified. During the Madras phase his main focus was on Saivism, worship and visits to temples. Now his poetry is on the one hand full of mysticism and rich symbolism and on the other hand full of ideas of social reform and humanitarianism. All the first five books. (Thirumurais) of *Tiruarutpa* were completed during his Madras and Karunkuzhi phases. The onward march of Vallalar canbe seen from his writings. One clear manifestation of this shift is the increasing criticism of superstitions, meaningless traditions and dogmatism.

Ramalinga Vallalar realized that he became a **Sanmargi,** one who realizes the underlying truth of all religions. Ramalingam went much beyond his individual spiritual evolution and profound compassion which led him to active service. He was envisaging a new order on the basis of his new realization. Samarasa Sanmarga Sangam was established in 1865.

Then Ramalingam began to settle at Vadaloor. (It is situated in the northern side of Chidambaram). His action programmes were initiated only at vadaloor. Though he stayed there for a brief period of only four years, he established his new institutions during this period.

He wrote a prose book namely *Jeevakarunya ozhukkam,* which expounds his profound philosophy of non-violence, universal love and compassion. In 1867, he started *Sanmarga Bothini* to give education in all, from children to adults. Ramalingam was the first man to start adult education in Tamilnadu. Also he started a journal, Sanmarga Viveka Virudhi for propagating his ideas. He preferred the active life of compassion and service to the rural poor.

Ramalingam moved to a small hamlet namely Mettukkuppam which is two and a half miles south west of Vadaloor. He lived in a small hut and called it "Chittivalakam" which means a place of attainment or "realization"

In Mettukkuppam phase he established Satya Gnana Saba and developed the worship of light. He wrote the verses of the sixth book of *Tiruarutpa* which is of greatest significance during the Vadaloor and Mettukkuppam phases.

Increasingly Ramalingam spoke more about "immortal (deathless) profound life". He was preparing for his final departure. He disappeared on 30-1-1874. Disciples and admirers of Ramalingam believe that he disappeared with the material body. Some believe that this was possible by the practice of traditional Indian mysticism and yoga. Some would cautiously investigate the whole thing suspecting even suicide or murder.

St. Ramalingam left behind him his writings and institutions. *Tiruarutpa* is evidently his magnum opus and his small prose treatise, *Jeevakarunya Ozhukkam,* is a classic, Ramalingam combined mysticism social reform and active service to the poor. The life story of Ramalingam is partly history and partly legend. Ramalingam acquired mythical significance in his own life-time and this process continues with vigour even today.

Ramalinga swamigal is a saint of universal love who explained the mission of man and his destiny within the mystery of creation. He was not an iconoclast but a very firm believer in the equality of man and man's birthright to work for maintaining the kingdom of God on earth. He was the harbinger of a new movement for a casteless society, a common altar for worship with no rituals and a basic duty to ward off poverty and hunger in the world by human action and divine grace.

His gospel of grace calls upon all to love and serve one another. It is the only grand key to salvation and life eternal as the unique achievement. This new gospel of Suddha Sanmargam is both immanent and trancendental in terms of love and service. Vallalar's mission in life was to work for all classes of beings in this world and other parts of the Universe. He requests God in all earnestness to grant him the boon of serving all souls in every nook and corner of this vast Universe. He got this grand boon by virtue of his passionate service to all souls.

All men have the right to live maintaining their individuality and at the same time loving each other. This Universal brotherhood and world fraternity are stressed by Ramalinga Vallalar as the chief ideal of the religion he preached, for the ultimate Reality, the Supreme Lord, is One and He is the Father of all.

Combining in a triangular relation, the ideas of devotion, spirituality and service, he experienced communion with the Lord and thereby attained supernal powers and embodied immortality. He proposed to displace the rule of power with the Rule of Grace, a remarkable change indeed, making it felt through a zeleous mission of spreading the religion of 'spirituality and service' which would render possible coexistence of all religions despite their obvious differences-ritual and philosophical letting thereby the people in the world at large live in peace and unity, finding enough time and a conductive atmosphere to fulfil their higher spiritual needs.

Vallalar calls this transformation, the Rule of Grace Light (Arul - Jyothi). Everyman can be made to embody the manifestation of Grace in his personality i.e., his mind, intellect and body. Once manifested, the Grace is experienced by him as Light. This means an increased amount of mental, intellectual, physical and spiritual power for sustaining and acting the power not to destroy and disintegrate but to construct, preserve and unity. Hence the path shown by Vallalar is known as the path of Light'.

Sambandhar Mutt, Madurai, Ramalingamurthigal and Tukkudi Adur Sabapathi Sivachariar. Of these, Chidambara Swamigal was held by Vallalar in high esteem. He praised him as the great soul who even enlightened him and who was empowered to give his disciples the power of doing the eight 'siddhis'.

During the short span of his life. Ramalingam initiated and carried out several activities towards building a Social order based on Satya and Jeeva Karunyam. In a way these have prepared the soil for Gandhi to spread the message of truth and non-violence during the first half of twentieth century.

There is no direct evidence to show that Gandhiji knew or read Ramalingam. But there are remarkable similarities between Ramalinga Vallalar and Mahatma Gandhi, both in their life style and their teachings. Both Ramalingam and Mahatma Gandhi seem to have been practical philosophers. Human is the centre of their philosophies.

There was a remarkable harmony between their thoughts, words and actions. Their life styles were both original creations yet there were many things in common. Satya and Karunya were inseparable from their life styles. Their goals in life were similar; both wished to see and have a union with God. They were men of compassion and dedicated their lives for universal brotherhood. Their philosophies were simple as their lives, and even a common man could understand their teachings and follow the same. Certainly their life-styles were models to others. Ramalingam was a highly spiritual man but made people understand the purpose behind life, preparing the soil spiritually. Gandhi also did similar things enriching people's minds.

It is one of the important aspects in both `Ramalingam and Mahatma Gandhi that they touched all the spheres of life-social, political, economic religious, spiritual, educational, etc. Similarly they left behind some organizations also. All these aspects seem to spring from common basic desires of the two sages to do good to mankind.

Books for Further Reading

1. Romesh Dutt, **The Economic History of British India** (under Early British Rule)
2. Romain Rolland, **Prophets of the New India.**
3. Dhirendranath Chowdhury : **Ram Mohan Roy, the Devotee**
4. D.S.Sarma : **Studies in the Renaissance of Hinduism**
5. M.K.Gandhi : **Brahmo Samaj's Contributions to Hinduism**
6. Ramakrishna Mission Publication; **Gospel of Ramakrishna**
7. Vivekananda : **Complete Works**
8. 1915 Edition : **Life of Vivekananda**
9. Amaury de Riencourt : **The Soul of India**
10. Pyarelal : **Mahatma Gandhi Vol. 1. The Early phase.**
11. M.Mallammal : **St.Ramalingam and Mahatma Gandhi.**
12. Jeyapragasam and H.Holloway : **The yoga of Compassion.**

Lesson : 6

GOKHALE AND THE MODERATES

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a Marathi Brahmin, was born on 9th May 1866 at Kotluk, a small Village in Ratnagiri District. Poverty and tragedy were his constant companions during his early days. At the age of thirteen, he lost his father but could continue his studies with the help of his elder brother. He had to cook his meals often and save Kerosene. He read under the street lamp. He was quiet and hard working but his school record was not interesting. His intellectual powers became evident as he grew up.

He, like many of his contemporaries, wanted to pass the ICS examination. But he joined the Engineering college in Bombay and left it within a few weeks. Then he attended the law college in Bombay. Moved by the powerful influence of the patriots, he took up a teaching job at Poona's New English school. Then he moved to Fergusson college as a professor. He could teach any subject, from mathematics to English literature from history to Political economy. He was a painstaking and popular teacher.

Gokhale caught the eye of Ranade and in 1890, at the age of 24, he became the secretary of Sarvajanik Sabha. This is a pioneering political association of Western India. He also served as the editor of its quarterly journal. He continued his close association and political training under for thirteen years until the latter's death. Gokhale remained as a moderate under him the influence of Ranade and Tilak was in the other camp of activists (extremists).

In 1897, Gokhale was sent to London by Ranade to appear before the Welby Commission. His written evidence was an excellent exposition of the Indian case. His oral exposition was still better. The rise of the Tilak supporters in the Congress and his inability to substantiate his allegations against the British soldiers in their plague operation and his subsequent apology in this regard made him a back - bencher in the Congress.

But he had a remarkable come-back by entering the Bombay Council in 1899 and imperial Council in 1901. He made a mark in this forum and came to be known as the leader of the opposition. His parliamentary capacities were admired ever by the British Viceroys. He had then a steady rise in politics. In December 1903, he became the Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

Curzon's political measures created a new temparament among the younger generations. The partition by Bengal led to the weakening of the moderates within the Indian National Congress. In the Benaras Congress of 1905, a head-on clash between the two factions were avoided in a miraculous way. But the Congress split at its Surat session. Though Pherozeshah Mehta

had decisively played the role in leading the moderates and causing the partition Gokhale had to bear the brunt of the schism.

Gokhale's rise in the Congress coincided with a crisis in the Indian National Congress and also coincided with the emergence of the liberal party in England. Gokhale visited several times England and played a significant role in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. He also did his best to make these reforms a success.

The extremist wing was eliminated from the Congress. But the terrorist group grew and the government's counter terrorist moves brought political life to a low ebb. At this stage, Gokhale helped Mahatma Gandhi in his nonviolent struggle in South Africa. Gokhale played a crucial role behind the scenes as the adviser of Gandhi as well of the Viceroy. Gokhale died at the age of forty-eight on 19th Feb 1915.

Gokhale admired the achievements of western civilization. He appreciated the western democracy, educational system, liberal tradition etc.. He rejected the limitations of the Indian civilization. He did not blindly admire Ancient India. He rejected the British colonial rule. But he was for a slow transition to self-rule. He totally rejected the violent and extremist attitudes. He opposed the partition of Bengal but did not approve the agitational methods of the extremists. He was more a parliamentarian and constitutionalist. He loved India. He was a deep patriot but not a violent one.

Gokhale was an idealist. He had firm faith in the future. He believed in the perfection of humanity through education, sharing the vision of truth and socio-economic changes. Whenever he presented the problems before the government, he did it with courtesy and moderation and in a pragmatic way. He worked very hard to gain equal status for Indians with the British. He was honest and sincere to the core. This gentleman politician had great concern for the entire humanity.

B.R. Nanda writes, "The attitude of British statesmen towards Gokhale had a peculiar ambivalence. They admired his encycolopaedic mind; they respected him for his courage and incorruptibility; they appreciated his loyalty to the Empire but they were battled and exasperated by his insistance on Indian claims to self government".

Gokhale's politics were the politics of Dadabhai Naoroji, Allan Hume,William Wedderburn, D.E.Wacha and Surendranath Banerjee. They were the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress who had greater visions, courage and political acumen.

India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant and instant concern to him. "I recognize no limits". Gokhale declared, "to my aspirations of our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are to theirs". He visualized an India "of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity and of more widely distributed comfort and

wealth". "He believed", he said, "in the almost illimitable capacities of his country men". But he did not oversimplify the task of political and economic reconstruction. He was not a simplifier. He wrote in 1909, "Our problem is indeed an enormously difficult one. I sometimes think that no country in the world has ever been called upon to face such a problem as ours. Endless divisions and sub-divisions in the country, the bulk of population ignorant, and clinging with a tenacity of which only those who are of them can have an adequate conception, to old modes of thought and sentiment, which are averse to all change and do not understand changes. Seventy millions of Mohammedans more or less hostile to national aspirations, and all power lodged in the hands of a feeing body of foreign officials, most of whom generally represent Torry principles at their worst this is the situation today. Out of this mass an India has to be evolved, strong free, united, democratic and qualified generally to take her proper place among the nations of the world".

Gokhale firmly felt the violence and extremism will irrepairable damage to Indian civilization. He was for political evolution through constitutional processes. Though a Maratha Brahmin himself, he was remarkably free from sectarian and religious prejudices. He often succeeded in enlisting the support of his Muslim colleagues in the imperial council.

When Sarojini Naidu told Gokhale in 1912 that Hindu-Muslim unity would be achieved in five years. Gokhale replied, "Child, you are a poet' but you hope too much. It will not come in your life-time or mine. But keep your faith and work (for it) if you can".

B.R. Nanda writes, "The problems with which Gokhale grappled, and the controversies in which he wore himself out, have only an academic interest today. But his rational, secular and almost scientific approach to Indian politics and economics, his complete freedom from abscurantism, his relief in the disinterested pursuit of politics and its constitutional democracy have acquired a new relevance in the post-Independence era.

Mahatma Gandhi had great regard and admiration for him. Refer the appendix to get more details. One major limitation of Gokhale is his lack of militancy. One can be militant even if one is nonviolent, Gokhale tended towards political inaction in the process of renouncing violence and extremism.

APPENDIX

Extracts from

Mahatma Gandhi's HIND SWARAJ

THE CONGRESS AND ITS OFFICIALS

Reader : Just at present there is a Home Rule wave passing over India. All our countrymen appear to be pining for National Independence. A similar spirit pervades them even in South Africa. Indians seems to be eager to acquire rights. Will you explain your views in this matter?

Editor : You have put the question well, but the answer is not easy. One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand popular feeling and to give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects. The exercise of all these three functions involved in answering your question. To a certain extent the people's will has to be expressed: certain sentiments will need to be fostered, and defects will have to be brought to light. But, as you have asked the question, it is my duty to answer it.

Reader: Do you then consider that a desire for Home Rule has been created among us?

Editor: That desire gave rise to the National Congress. The choice of the word "National" implies it.

Reader: That surely is not the case. Young India seems to ignore the Congress. It is considered to be an instrument for perpetuating British Rule.

INDIAN HOME RULE

Editor: That opinion is not justified. Had not the Grand Old Man of India prepared the soil, our young men could not have even spoken about Home Rule. How can we forget what Mr.Hume has written, how he has lashed us into action and with what effort he has awakened us, in order to achieve the objects of the Congress? Sir William Wedderburn has given his body, mind and money to the same cause. His writings are worthy of perusal to this day. Professor Gokhale in order to prepare the nation, embraced poverty and gave twenty years of his life. Even now, he is living in poverty. The late Justice Budruddin Tyebji was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. Similarly, in Bengal, Madras the Punjab and other places, there have been lovers of India and members of the Congress, both Indian and English.

Reader : Stay, you are going too far, you are straying away from my question. I have asked you about Home-or Self-Rule, you are discussing foreign rule. I do not desire to hear English names, and you are giving me such names. In these circumstances, I do not think we can ever meet. I shall be pleased if you will confine yourself to Home Rule. All other talk will rot satisfy me.

Editor : You are impatient. I cannot afford to be likewise. If you will bear with me for a while, I think you will find that you will obtain what you want. Remember the old proverb that the tree does not grow in one day. The fact that you have checked me and that you do not want to hear about the well-wishers of India shows that, for you at any rate, Home Rule is yet far away. If we had many like you we would never make any advance. This thought is worthy of your attention.

Reader : It seems to me that you simply want to put me off by talking round and round. Those whom you consider to be well-wishers of India are not such in my estimation. Why, then, should I listen to your discourse on such people? What has he whom you consider to be the Father of the Nation done for it? He says that the English Governors will do justice and that we should co-operate with them.

Editor : I must tell you, with all gentleness, that it must be a matter of shame for us that you should speak about that great man in terms of disrespect. Just look at his work. He was dedicated his life to the service of India. We have learned what we know from him. It was the respected Dadabhai who taught us that the English had sucked our life-blood, What does it matter that today, his trust is still in the English nation? Is Dadabhai less to be honoured because, in the exuberance of youth, we are prepared to go a step further? Are we, on that account, wiser than he? It is a mark of wisdom not to kick away the very step from which we have risen higher. The removal of a step from a staircase brings down the whole of it. When out of infancy, we grow into youth, we do not despise infancy, but, on the contrary, we recall with affection the days of our childhood. If after many years of study, a teacher were to teach me something, and if I were to build a little more on the foundation laid by that teacher. I would not, on that account be considered wiser than the teacher, he would always command my respect. Such is the case with the Grand Old Man of India, we must admit that he is the author of nationalism.

Reader : You have spoken well. I can understand that we must look upon Mr.Dadabhai with respect. Without him and men like him, we should probably not have the spirit that fires us. How can the same be said of Professor Gokhale? He has constituted himself a great friend of the English; he says that we have to learn a great deal from them, that we have to learn their political wisdom, before we can talk of Home Rule. I am tired of reading his speeches.

Editor : If you are tired, it only betrays your impatience. We believe that those, who are discontented with the slowness of their parents and are angry because the parents would not run with their children, are considered disrespectful to their parents. Professor Gokhale occupies the place of a parent. What does it matter if he cannot run with us? A nation that is desirous of securing Home rule cannot afford to despise its ancestors. We shall become useless, if we lack respect for our elders. Only men with mature thoughts are capable of ruling themselves and not the hasty-tempered. Moreever, how many

Indians were there like Professor Gokhale. When he gave himself to indian education? I verily believe that whatever Professor Gokhale does, he does with pure motives and with a view of serving India. His devotion to the Motherland is so great that he would give his life for it, if necessary. Whatever he says is said not to flatter anyone but because he believes it to be true. We are bound, therefore, to entertain the highest regard for him.

Reader : Are we then, to follow him in every respect?

Editor: I never said any such thing. If we conscientiously differed from him the learned Professor himself would advise us to follow the dictates of our conscience rather than him. Our chief purpose is not to decry his work, but to believe that he is infinitely greater than we are, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, ours is infinitesimal. Several newspapers write disrepectfully of him. It is our duty to protest against such writings. We should consider men like Professor Gokhale to be the pillars of Home Rule. It is bad habit to say that another man's thoughts are bad and ours only are good and that those holding different views from ours are the enemies of the country.

Reader : I now begin to understand somewhat your meaning. I shall have to think the matter over. But what you say about Mr. Hume and sir William Wedderburn is beyond my comprehension.

Editor : The same rule holds good for the English as for the Indians. I can never subscribe to the statement that all Englishmen are bad. Many Englishmen desire Home Rule for India. That the English people are somewhat more selfish than others is true, but that does not prove that every Englishmen is bad. We who seek justice will have to do justice to others. Sir William does not wish ill to India, that should be enough for us. As we proceed, you will see that, if we act justly, India will be sooner free. You will see too, that if we shun every English man as an enemy, Home rule will be delayed. But if we are just to them, we shall receive their support in our progress towards the goal.

Reader : All this seems to me at present to be simply nonsensical. English support and the obtaining of Home Rule are two contradictory things. How can the English people tolerate Home Rule for us? But I do not want you to decide this question for me just yet. To spend time over it is useless. When you have shown how we can have Home Rule, perhaps I shall understand your views. You have prejudiced me against you by discoursing on English help. I would, therefore, beseech you not to continue this subject

Editor : I have no desire to do so. That you are prejudiced against me is not a matter for much anxiety. It is well that I should say unpleasant things at the commencement. It is my duty patiently to try to remove your prejudice.

Reader : I like the last statement. It emboldens me to say what I like. One thing still puzzles me, I do not understand how the Congress laid the foundation of Home Rule.

Editor : Let us see. The Congress brought together Indians from different

part of India, and enthused us with the idea of nationality. The Congress has always insisted that Nation should control revenue and expenditure. It has always desired self-government after the Canadian model. Whether we can get it or not, whether we desire it or not, and whether there is not something more desirable, are different questions. All I have to show is that the Congress gave us a foretaste of Home Rule. To deprive it of the honour is not proper, and for us to do so would not only be ungrateful, but retard the fulfilment of our object. To treat the Congress as an institution inimical to our growth as a nation would disable us from using that body.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Reader : Considering the matter as you put it, it seems proper to say that foundation of Home Rule was laid by the Congress. But you will admit that this cannot be considered a real awakening. When and how did the real awakening take place?

Editor : The seed is never seen. It works underneath the ground, is itself destroyed, and the tree which rises above the ground is alone seen. Such is the case with the Congress. Yet, what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon, but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers. He took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and in the teeth of all opposition partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act. This does not mean that the other injustices done to India are less glaring At the time of the Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curbon, than that done by the Partition. The salttax is not a small injustice. We shall see many such things later on. But the people were ready to resist the Partition. At that time feeling ran high. Many leading Bengalis were ready to lose their all. They knew their power; hence the conflagration. It is now well-nigh unquenchable; it is not necessary to quench it either. The Partition will go, Bengal will be reunited, but the rift in the English barque will remain; it must daily widen, India awakened is not likely to fall asleep. The demand for the abrogation of the Partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. Leaders in Bengal know this British officials realize it. That is why the Partition still remains. As time passes, the Nation is being forged. Nations are not formed in a day; the formation requires years.

Reader : What, in your opinion, are the results of the Partition

Editor : Hitherto we have considered that for redress of grievances we must approach the throne, and if we get no redress we must sit still, except that we may still petition. After the Partition, people saw that petitions must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of the Partition. That spirit was seen in the outspoken writings in the Press. That which the people said

tremblingly and in secret began to be said and to be written publicly. The Swadeshi movement was inaugurated. People, young and old, used to run away at the sight of an English face; it now no longer awes them. They do not fear even a row, or being imprisoned. Some of the best sons of India are at present in banishment. This is something different from mere petitioning. Thus are the people moved. The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab, and in the south to Cape Comorin.

Reader : Do you suggest any other striking result?

Editor : The Partition has not only made a rift in the English ship but has made it in ours also. Great events always produce great results. Our leaders are divided into two parties; the moderates and the Extremists. These may be considered as the slow party and the impatient party. Some call the Moderates the timid party, and the Extremists the bold party. All interpret the two words according to their preconceptions. This much is certain-that there has arisen an enmity between the two. The one distrusts the other and imputes motives. At the time of the Surat Congress there was almost a fight. I think that this division is not a good thing for the country, but I think also that such divisions will not last long. It all depends upon the leaders how long they will last.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Indian National Congress met at Lahore hand before it, December 29, 1909, the following resolution with the Indian straggle in South Africa. The resolution ram:

This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriorism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal-Mahomedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian, who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country and are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

This Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M.K. Gandhi and his brave faithful associates and calls upon all Indians, of whatever race or creed, to help them unstintedly with funds; and, in this connection, the congress begs to convey to Mr. R.J. Tata[1] its high appreciation of the patriotic instincts which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian Labour for any portion of the South African Union and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise,

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Sir Raran J, Tata (1871 - 1918), well-known industrialist: took great interest in the problem of Indians in South Africa and made a munificent donation of Rs.25,000 toward their passive resistance struggle there, Gokhale admiringly refers to him in his speech at the Lahore Congress in 1909 and that at the Bankipore Congress in 1912.

and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statement in favour of allowing the self - governing colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

In Moving the resolution, Gokhale spoke as follows:

The first article of our constitution says that the Congress secks to secure for the people of this country, first a system of administration in India itself similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire; and, secondly, a participation for our countrymen not only in the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire but also in its privileges on equal terms with those other members. You will thus see that there are two ideas represented by the aspirations of the efforts of this Congress. One has reference to our status. I mean our political status in our own country. This resolution, that I have just now submitted to you, deals with our political status in the whole of the British Empire. On this account, in the first instance, this question is of great, of supreme, and outstanding importance. But apart from that there are special circumstances which invest this question today with very special importance. You are aware that for many years past Indians in South Africa have had a very difficult time and during the last two years a most acute struggle has been going on in the Transvaal between our countrymen there and the Government of that Colony; but I take it that most of you are familiar with the leading facts of this struggle and yet in commending this resolution for your acceptance I think it is necessary to glance briefly at those facts here.

Facts of the Struggle

For the purpose of this review one many divide the whole period of the struggle into three parts : the period of the Boer Government; the period of the Crown Government; and the present period of self-government for the Transvaal. During the time of the Boer Government our position was not very satisfactory; but in any case emigration into the Colony was perfectly unrestricted; any Indian who chose to go there pounds as registration fee. That is all. As a matter of fact, when the war broke out, there were in the Colony fifteen thousands Indians, that being the male population only, women and children being left out of account.

There was another circumstances in our favour in those days. The strong arm of the British Government was behind us in the struggle that our countrymen were making with the Boer oligarchy at the time. As a matter of fact,

many of you remember that both Lord Lansdowne[1] and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain mentioned the treatment that was sought to be meted out to the Indians in regard to the location laws as the main cause for which the Boer war was undertaken. That was the position under the Boer Government. There was the harsh and degrading law as regards locations, but that was never sought to be rigorously applied.

Then came the war, Then came the five or six years of Crown Government, During this Crown Government, when any one would have thought that the honour of England was committed to the policy of improving the status of Indians, as far as the honour of a country can be said to be committed by its leading statesmen, our countrymen actually found that an attempt was made immediately to render that position worse than it was. The very first thing which the Crown Government sought to do was to enforce that location law even which I need not go into here. But our countrymen saw that for them the war had really made no change and as a matter of fact it had made their status worse. After that for about three to four years both Briton and Boer in the Transvaal, whatever their differences, were of one mind in regard to the treatment of Indians. Both Boer and Briton set up a cry of dishonest influx of Indians into the Colony. It was a perfectly unjust accusation; it was a lying accusation, as was proved by several estimates published by the Government itself. But the cry was found that there were 10,000 Indians in the Colony as against 15,000 men under the Boer Government; these ten thousand included children and women. There was another estimate published by the Registrar for the Asiatic Immigration in 1906 when again he found that there were 10,000 Indians in the Colony. There were two further estimates, one putting the number at 9,000 and another at 8,000. You will thus see that the cry of dishonest influx of Indians into the Colony was an absolutely unjust cry.

New Struggle

This was the beginning of a new struggle. The while colonists were determined to prevent our people from entering and to put out as many possible. Matters ultimately reached a crisis when an attempt was made to legislate in the matter, legislation being undertaken by the old Legislative Council that the Crown Government had given to the Colony. In 1906 an Ordinance called the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council, the object of which was to confine entry into the Transvaal to prewar residents and to compel all Indians in the Transvaal to register themselves with the great humiliation attending such registration. All Indians was naturally protested against this. But in spite of their protest the Ordinance was passed and then the Indians took a step which lies at the commencement of the present struggle that is going on. In September 1906 finding that all their efforts were unavailing and that this Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council, they held a meeting to protest against what was done, and at that meeting they passed their famous resolution - which since then has been known

[1] See foot - note on p.151.

as their Covenant - saying that if the Imperial Government gave their sanction to that legislation, they would not submit to it. They appointed at that meeting a deputation to proceed to England and that deputation was headed by our great and illustrious countryman, Mr. Gandhi.

Fellow-delegates, after the immortal part which Mr. Gandhi has played in this affair, I must say it will not possible for any Indian, at any time, here or in any other assembly of Indians, to mention his name without deep emotion and pride. (Here the huge gathering rose to its feet and accorded three hearty and most enthusiastic cheers for Mr. Gandhi). Gentlemen, it is one of the privileges of mu life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately; and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr.Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austerely simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principle of love of their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot amongst patriot amongst patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humsanity at the present time has really reached its high watermark. Mr. Gandhi headed this deputation which was sent to England and owing to his exertions and owing to the justice of our cause Royal assent was withheld to that Ordinance.

This, however, was followed by the grant of Self-Government to the Colony and the new Colonial Parliament came into existence in February or March of next year, 1907. The very first thing that this Parliament did, as soon as the members were sworn, in was to undertake the passing of this Asiatic Legislation, Brition and Boer being united in that desire. They passed the same Ordinance in a new form. They passed it and called it the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, practically prescribing the very same conditions and provisions keep out of the Colony all Indians that may seek to enter there unless they were pre-war residents, and to compel resident Indians there to register themselves. This had to receive the Royal sanction; but this time, on the plea that it was a self-governing Colony which was legislating like that, the Imperial Government showed weakness and gave Royal sanction to this measure. The regulations that were framed under this law required the Indians to register under the most humiliating circumstances. They were to give a number of details which might well be resented by every self-respecting man. All the Indians were required to register themselves by the end of October 1907. Indians under the leadership of Mr.Gandhi immediately took steps to resist these regulations. They made up their minds that they would not register, no matter what the consequences were. The Government found itself face to face with the resistance of 8,000 had registered themselves the remaining 7,500 declining to register themselves. Then followed a short and sharp struggle. About this time two years ago, Mr. Gandhi and some other leading men were arrested and sent to jail. That however did not last long because in January negotiations were opened by the Boer Government with Mr.Gandhi and a compromise was arrived at. It was a compromise which at that time promised peaceful and honourable settlement to

them. Roughly the terms of the compromise were three. They were not reduced to writing. The first thing was that has since gone on has raged round the repeal repealed. That was quite understood. The second was that the Indians there humiliating conditions. The third was that whatever restrictions he Government wanted to be imposed, were to be imposed under the operation of another law which was perfectly general in its nature and not aimed at the Asiatics- the law named the Immigration Registration Act that applied to everybody. Mr.Gandhi said that any restrictions that the Government wanted must be Gandhi travelled through the country and persuaded his countrymen with the greatest difficulty because you know an attempt was made on his life by some of his followers who were furious that he should have agreed to that compromise and that he had to be put in the hospital. He did his part as well as a man of honour could have done in those circumstances. In the course of three or four months, by may, the entire Indian population with very few exceptions had voluntarily registered themselves.

General Smuts Broke Faith

Having done his part of the compact, Mr. Gandhi expected General Smuts and the Boer Government to do their part of the compact, to carry out the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. There General Smuts broke faith and said that was not so promised. Therefore there was nothing left for our countrymen but to continue the struggle or else to put up with this gross breach of faith. They had registered themselves and the purpose of the Act was quite satisfied. Therefore they took another bold step. A meeting was held of about 2,500 Indians at which they openly and publicly burnt their registration certificates. The value of the certificate is this. You are liable to be challenged by any policeman and liable to be called upon to produce the certificate. If you produce it you go unmolested; otherwise you are arrested and hauled up before a Magistrate. These men therefore voluntarily sacrificed the certificates which secured them against and imprisonments and the Government accepted their challenge. There were arrests and imprisonments and by the time Mr. Polak came to this country and Mr. Gandhi went to England about 2,500 punishments had been suffered by our countrymen mostly with hard labour.

But the suffering endured by our countrymen was not represented by these mere sentences of imprisonment. Thousands had suffered in property. It has been estimated by Mr.Gandhi that between half a crore and one crore in property had been lost by that small handful of Indians there. About one thousand people had been rendered homeless; families had been scattered and had been made wanderers on the face of the earth. Enormous suffering has been endured by women and children of which it is difficult to form an adequate idea. Their husbands, brothers and sons having gone to jail, the women turned vegetables sellers in the streets to maintain themselves and their children somehow. All this time this handful of our countrymen, this small community has carried on the agitation, which is a standing lessons to the people of this country. For three years they have undergone this suffering, fighting with one hand

and with the other hand pushing on their agitation ceaselessly in Southern Africa, in this country, and in England. Well, some time ago our brethren finding that the situation had grown extremely serious and finding also that the four Colonies of South Africa were to be united into a union, sent a deputation to England in order to get the Imperial Government to put pressure upon the Colonial Prime Ministers and this deputation was also headed by Mr. Gandhi. Through Mr. Gandhi's courtesy. I was privileged to see the negotiations between himself and Lord Ampthill on one hand and Lord Morley[1] and Lord Crewe[2] on the other. Mr. Gandhi did all that was possible for a conciliatory man to do in the matter. But the negotiations failed for no fault of ours or of those who stand for us. Roughly, the case may be mentioned in one sentence. General smuts declared to Lord Crewe that he was not prepared to admit even the theoretical equality of the Asiatics with the white people. The negotiations having failed, Mr. Gandhi has gone back to South Africa. Mr. Polak is here to rouse and enlist your sympathy. Gentlemen, it has come to that; he has had to come here in order to enlist your sympathies in this, gram saying that Mr. Gandhi and his second son and several other had gone across the frontier in order to be arrested and to challenge the Government still further. What will happen we have yet to see. I had a short telegram myself a few days ago in which Mr. Gandhi said he expected to be arrested very shortly and very probably in the course of the next two or three days he will be arrested. Now this is struggle and the question before us is : What are we going to do to help our country men in this matter? The resolution that I have read out to you contains three appeals. I will deal with these three appeals in the inverse order

Cause of Right Justice

Before doing that I should like to sum up the struggle very briefly. It is this. There are four facts that stand out prominently in connection with this struggle. First is that the condition of our countrymen has deteriorated steadily from the time of the Boer Government to the Present time; gone from bad to worse. The second is that our cause is a cause of right and justice; our countrymen take their stand on that equality which is promised to us by our Sovereign and Parliament and they insist that equality shall be reality and not a hollow promise. The third is our countrymen have done really nothing un worthy throughout the struggle; on the contrary, they have done everything worthy, so worthy that our hearts must feel a glow of pride and all of us must feel high hopes about the future of our land. The last is that our countrymen are struggling not for themselves but for the honour of India. This is a point that has to be realized. They are not struggling for themselves at all. They had voluntarily registered themselves; they had secured themselves from molestation. But they burnt their certificates because they did not want the bar to be put upon the Indian that he is not equal to the Boer. They did not want this stigma on the Indian name. The struggle therefore is for the honour of India; is in the interests of those of us who may want to go there; and not for the who

[1] See foot - note on p.23.

[2] See foot - note on p.391.

are there. It is therefore our struggle, more than the struggle of that small Colony there.

Appeal to Imperial Parliament

This is the struggle and what are the appeals that we make in this resolution? We will take the appeals in the inverse order. The last in the appeal to the Imperial Parliament; the next one is the appeal to the Indian Government and the first appeal is to the people of this country. The appeal to the Imperial Parliament is this. We say this respectfully to the Members of the Imperial Parliament and Imperial statesmen that the policy that has been often announced by statesmen calling themselves Imperial, namely, that the white Colonies were for the white people only as also the undeveloped tracts suited to white people; that is a policy selfish and unrighteous; that the people of India will never agree to that policy; that the policy is unrighteous because for better or for worse India now forms part of the Empire, in theory at any rate; we have been told that we are the subjects of England and fellow-subjects of the white subjects of the King. We know in practice that we are not the equal subjects of the King but the subjects of our fellow subjects, of the white subjects. Surely we cannot accept this for ourselves. We say that if you understand the true interests of the Empire you must not allow this policy to go on. You must reverse and put an end to it as soon as you can. That is our appeal to the Imperial Government.

Indian Government asked to Retaliate

Our appeal to the Indian Government is this: You are the Government os this country, you are no agents for the Transvaal or for the South African Union. You have to keep the inerests of the people of this country foremost in your mind. I am glad to say it is also the view which the Government of India take in the matter. We say to them that the time has come not merely for making representations; that time is gone. They have made endless representations but so far they have produced no effect. The time has come for retaliation. Happily for us the means for retaliation are in the hands of the Government of India. Natal wants Indian labour. During the last four years the figures available for them show that in 1905, 8,000 Indian were taken there as indentured labourers. In the next year about 7,000 in the third year about 6,000 and in the last year they took 3,000 Indians as labourers. They want indentured labour; they do not want any free Indians there. The Government of India have got to say that they have either to stand the free Indian or do without the indentured labour. This is the position about which there is no mincing words any more. The new Councils give opportunities to our members to bring these questions in the form of motions before the Imperial Council at any rate; and I trust that those who will be in the first Council will realize their duty in the matter and lose no time in bringing forward a motion. We say to the Government: You must discontinue this recruitment of indentured labour. This is the position about which there is no mincing words any more. The new Councils give opportunities to our members to bring these questions in the form of mo-

tions before the Imperial Council at any rate; and I trust that those who will be in the first Council will realize their duty in the matter and lose no time in bringing forward a motion. We say to the Government : You must discontinue this recruitment this recruitment of indentured labour. It is carried on under the authority of the Government; therefore they have it in their power not merely to withdraw but to stop that recruitment. It has been said by a Commission, that was recently appointed to consider the question of emigration, that without this labour many industries that will be so paralysed. The Commission enumerates the industries that will be so paralysed. Therefore the Government of India can well say to Natal and the South African Union that unless the condition of Indians is improved, indentured labour will no more available to South Africa from India. That is our appeal to the Government of India.

Appeal for Funds

Our appeal to our own countrymen is this : a small in Transvaal is doing its duty in the matter. It has done nothing unworthy but everything worthy. It is engaged in what is known as the passive resistance struggle. What is the passive resistance struggle? It is essentially defensive in its nature and it fights with moral and spiritual weapons. A passive resister resists tyranny by undergoing suffering in his own person. He pits soul force against brute force; he pits the divine in man against the brute in man; he pits suffering against oppression, pits conscience against might; he pits faith against injustice; right against wrong. A passive resister deliberately and openly violates the requirements of an unjust law or order for the simple reason that he cannot conscientiously submit to that law or order. He does not seek to evade the consequences of that but invites them and he glories in them. It is a spiritual struggle essentially in keeping with the highest traditions of Indian spirituality. I repeat that our countrymen have done nothing unworthy. On the contrary, everything that they have done is worthy of them. It rests with us now to say whether we shall go to their rescue or not, because this small community is, I have been told, vanishing. Their loss is from half a crore to one crore already You can well imagine what that means. They need funds; they are prepared to carry on the struggle, whether your funds go or not. Men who are going to jail again and again leave their children behind thinking that God will take care of them; if no help goes probably the women and children will perish; if it goes all may yet be well with the struggle. It is our duty to send help. In any case we must support this struggle till the South African Parliament meets in July.

There is some probability of some pressure being put upon the new Parliament when it meets. We must carry on the struggle till them. I do not say it will be given up then. It will depend upon the terms offered by the new Parliament. If they are honourable Mr. Gandhi is not the man to stand in the way of a solution; if they are not, no matter how acute it may be, Mr. Gandhi is not a man to give up the struggle. In any case we are bound to find money for the struggle. We shall be ashamed before the whole of the civilized world if we dc not rise to the responsibility. At least a lakh of rupees must be forth coming by April. Mr. Tata whose name is mentioned in this resolution, a worthy son of a

worthy father, has shed fresh lustre on the great and illustrious name he bears. He has already placed Rs. 25,000 at the disposal of the Colony. In addition to that the country must raise Rs. 1,00,000. I had a talk with Mr. Polak and we though that if Bombay raised Rs. 25,000 in addition to Mr. Tata's subscription and Bengal with its population four times large as Madras and the United Provinces raised another Rs. 25,000, Madras and the United provinces raised each Rs. 15,00 and the Punjab and Behar raised each Rs. 10,000 a lakh of rupees will be forthcoming. What is lakh of rupees compared to the sufferings that they have cheerfully borne for the sake of our country and of our honour?

The appeal that would address to you is this : It is your duty to come to tne assistance of these people. As you do in this trial - you are on your trial, the whole of our nation in this matter is on its trial, our patriotism, public spirit and our sincerity are all of them on their trial before God and man in this matter - as you acquit yourself in this trial so shall it be with your country. If you fail we shall have to hand down our heads in shame and silence till another generation takes our place and renders more faithful service to our motherland. If you, on the other hand, acquit yourself well, if you rise to the height of your duty and responsibility then the struggle will be prolonged and all may yet be well with us. We may have to made through failures and sufferings and difficulties. Spade work may have to be faced still; ultimately it shall be well with us and our countrymen.

On Monday, October 9, 1905 Gokhale delivered an address to the Fabian Society, London on "An Indian View of Indian Affairs, " He then spoke as follows:

Gokhale, after thanking the Fabian Society for allowing him that opportunity of addressing the members, said he had come from India in order to arouse the interest of the people of England in the affairs of India. They were on the eve of a General Election, and consequently their friends in India thought this a fitting opportunity to make a special appeal to the English democracy with a view to inducing them to take some kind of interest in the affairs of that dependency.

India and the Empire

India was regarded as part of the British Empire, but what was the actual relationship between Great Britain and India? Much depended on the meaning attached to the word Empire. If that term meant mere inclusion under one flag, then, no doubt, India was actually a part of the British Empire; but if it were to be taken as meaning ascendency of race, as Lord Rosebery[1] once put it, then India was only a possession of the British Empire, and not part and parcel of it. The position of India in the Empire was, no doubt, an exceptional one. First, they had the United Kingdom, which, as the centre of the Empire, bore the greater part of the responsibility, but at the same time enjoyed to the fullest

1. Earl of Rosebery (1847-1921); Lord Rector, Aberdeen University (1878): Under secretary, Home Office (1881); Foreign Secretary (1886) visited India (1886); Prime Minister of England (1894).

extent the privilages of Empire. Then come the self-governing Colonies, which, while enjoying the privileges, hardly bore share in the responsibilities of Empire. Following these came the Crown Colonies, one section of which were on the road to self-government, while the remainder were intended to be held under the despotic away of England, as India was held today. He would say nothing about the Protectorates, which came within another category, but whould come at once to the position of India, which formed the largest part of the Empire, but which was governed as a mere possession of the British people. Three features showed that it had no part or lot in the Empire. In the first place, the people were kept disarmed; it was thought to be dangerous to allow them to carry arms. Secondly, they had absolutely no voice in the government of their own country; they were expressly disqualified from holding certain high offices, and practically excluded from others. Lastly, they were not allowed a share in the privileges of the Empire in any portion outside British India, except a limited one in the United Kingdom itself.

But there were also some elements of hope for them. The Indians were a civilized race lone before the ancestors of Englishmen know what civilization was. The genius of the race, however, showed itseif in the fields of religion, philosophy, literature, science and art. Their people did not develop a love of free institutions; they paid no attention to political questions, and for that they were now paying the penalty. Their religious ideals had been largely responsible for their having been content to live under the rule of foreigners. Their religion taught them that their existence in this wrold was only a temporary sojourn to qualify them for a better state of things in the next world. Brought up under a teaching like that, it was not surprising that their people had been content to allow the task of government to be undertaken by anyone sufficiently strong to grasp it, provided they were not oppressed too much, and were allowed to have freedom in the exercise of personal and domestic duties. Their great desire, indeed, was to be free to pursue the higher purpose of existence as they understood it. But now they were coming under new influences, for a spirit of nationality had been aroused in India, and it was making steady progress. The more the people came to understand the dignity of free institutions the greater would be their progress in this new direction.

The second element of hope was that the declared policy of British rule in India- a policy not yet wholly repudiated-was one of eventual equality for the two races. From time to time British statesmen had laid down a certain policy regarding British rule in India, thought how far it had been acted upon in practice was quite another story. seventy-five years ago the policy of equality for all races in India was first laid down; there was, they were then told, to be no governing caste in India. The policy thus laid down by statute remained a dead letter, and twenty-five years later the Sovereign of that day again enunciated it, telling them that the Government of England was bound by the same ties towards the people of India as bound it to all other members of the British Empire. It was this declared policy which constituted another element of hope in the situation-the hope that eventually they would be able to enjoy the full

status and full privileges of British citizenship. No doubt, at the present moment, the equality was a legal fiction, but even a legal fiction had its uses; it afforded them some ground for hoping that, in time, their position, unsatisfactory as it was at the present moment, would improve, so that they would eventually become an integral part of the Empire.

Government of the Russian Mode:

Were they on the high road to the attainment of that destiny? What was the nature of the government to which they were subject? The Government of India was a civil and military bureaucracy, at the head of which was an autocracy. It was in 1858 that supreme control over the affairs of India was vested in the British Parliament. The Secretary of State for India-who, as a rule, knew very little about Indian affairs-was advised by a Council composed of ten or twelve retired Anglo-Indian officials. The responsibility, then for Indian affairs in this country rested practically with the Secretary of State and his Council, for in Parliament he had a large party majority at his back. In India itself the head of the Government was the Viceroy, who also had his Council, and, from the Viceroy downwards, the government was in the hands of British officials. In fact, the whole system of government was modelled on Russian methods; it was a system unworthy of five England- unworthy of a country which gloried itself on the possession of constitutional liberty; it was a system of government dependent largely on confidential police reports, on the surveillance of people suspected of entertaining advanced ideas, and hostility towards the educated classes. There was absolutely no popular control in the government of the country. The Collector or District Magistrate was in no way subject to popular influence, and whatever plans were devised for the better government of the people of India were devised in the dark, the people knew nothing about them until they were actually ready to be enforced, and then their protests were practically of no avail. The whole country was thus given over to officialdom; some of the officials, no doubt, were very conscientious men, but the system soon made autocrats of them, and he ventured to think that the resultant evils from such a system would not be avoided even if they could import angels from heaven to fill these offices.

Official Monopoly of Power

British officials in India were, after, all average men with human faults and merits. But the unfortunate tendency of the system was to emphasize the faults, while the merits were compelled to take a back sear. One natural consequence of the system was that the first thought of the official was to protect and guard his own monopoly of power. He resented any criticism of his action, and tried to put down with an iron hand any manifestations of discontent on the part of the people, or any attempt on their part to associate themselves with the government of their own country, and although there might be an appeal to the Secretary of State in this country or to Parliament, the system was such that it was impossible to carry any vote against the Indian Minister, who had his party majority at his back and who also had the further assistance

of a sort of conspiracy between the two front benches to keep India outside the range of party-in other words, to pay no attention to her at all; and though the people of England might be in a position to influence Parliament, they unfortunately knew very little about India, and cared less about it. It was only when there was a dispute between officials like Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchencr[2] that public attention was drawn to India; otherwise nothing was heard of the country, and a province might be partitioned, despite the protents of hundreds of public meetings, without any notice being taken of the matter in this country.

No Responsibility

Now the absence of control involved, of course, an absence of responsibility. The British officials in India often spoke of their responsibiity to England; Lord Curzon, who was a very fine phrase-maker, told them he had the good name of England to guard, and that nowhere else in the world would they find a body of officials animated by such lofty sentiments as characterized the Indian Service. He spoke of them as men spending the best of their lives in voluntary exile-the question of salary was always kept well in the background-working for an ungrateful people, who were constantly denouncing them, and to whose slanders they must remain indifferent. Those who had no actual personal experience of British rule in India might easily be carried away by such language, and might be led to think that the best course for them was to leave the whole matter to the officials, so as not to hamper them in their great work. But he thought they could commit no greater mistake than that. Their responsibility was two-fold; first, to prevent oppression, and secondly, so devise active measures for raising the people to higher level of political and economic life. But for this responsibility there was no scope in the present system of administration. The heads of the Government in India were appointed for only a term of five years. It took them two or three years to understand Indian questions, and when they had accomplished that, it was time for them to begin packing their trunks. They could not, therefore, be expected to promote any large schemes of constructive policy, which would disturb interests, and which they could not remain on the spot to handle. There was every inducement to the officials to continue in the old groove, for they knew that if they suggested anything outside their ordinary duties, it would have cold water thrown upon it by others higher in authority. Hence the necessity for a deliberative assembly in India which could carry on its deliberations from year to year, and which could undertake responsibility which was now neglected.

Wave of Reaction

He had already referred to the policy of equality which had been declared from time to time. The Marquis of Ripon[1] was the first statesman to

1. Lord Kitchchener (1850-1916) : Field-Marshal; Member of a joint English, French and German Commission to delimit the territory of the Sultan Zanzibar (1885); Governor General of Eastern Sudan (1886-88) Commander-in-Chief in India (1900-09); British Agent and Consul-General, Egypt (1911); Secretary for war (1914-1916)

endeavour to give effect to that policy, but his efforts in that direction provoked so much hostlity on the part of the officials, and so much persectuion on the part of his own countrymen, that no subsequent viceroy had ventured to follow his example, and his effort to put the declaration of policy into practice had never since been repeated. On the contrary, there has been a reaction especially within the last two or three years. Grerat Britain had suffered from a wave of Imperalism, that Imperalism had taken its worst form in India. He could understand an Imperialism when would give opportunities to all concerned, but in India they had to face a narrower and lower kind of Imperialism, which was represented by mere racial ascendancy and arrogance, and which looked upon the worked as though it was made for the white races only, the other races being intended by providence simply to be footstools for the white races. That was the kind of Imperialism which had been rampant in India, and surely the people of England did not approve of that. Some people were content to deal with evils as they existed; others tried to look for imaginary evils and to insure their country, so to speak, against the future. Lord Cutzon[1] belonged to the latter class. He saw no disloyalty in India at the present time, but he thought that there was nothing to prevent the people becoming disloyal one day, and therefore his plan was to cripple them once for all, and thus make them incapable of acting disloyally, if ever they inclined to do it.

Lord Curzons Unpopular Acts

His endeavour had been to tighten the grip of the English official on the land; to put more power into his hands, and to make it more and more impossible for the Indian ever to claim equality with the English in his own land. Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty had proved about the most unpopular they had ever had under British rule. What had Lord Curzon done? He had reduced the popular element in local government, which was conceded by Lord Ripon; by his Official Secrets Act he had tried to fetter the Native Press, which had been doing so much to promote and arouse the national spirit; he had circumscribed the scope of University education by dissociating in practice the independent Indian element from the government of the Universities; he had done away with competitive examinations for the higher official appointments for Indians, leaving the nominations or patronage, and thereby enormously increasing the power of the official bureaucracy, as well as tending to make the administration less efficient by depriving it of the services of men of real capacity and independence. These were the measures that had made his administration so extremely unpopular, while the manner in which they had been forced on the people had increased their anger with them. Lord Curzon did not believe in the principle of liberty; he did not believe in the aspirations of the people; had he his way, the government of this country would go back into the hands of the aristocracy, and he would reverse that policy which induced England to help the Greeks and the Italians in their struggles for liberty.

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1. See foot-note on P. 32.

The Partition of Bengal

What was the object of the partition of Bengal? It was to divide into two a homogeneous nation proud of their unity-the Bengalis, who were the most advanced intellectually of the races of India, and who were doing so much to advance the feeling of nationality throughout the country. The partition was being carried out in opposition to the wishes of a united people, and it illustrated the spirit in which India was being governed. The people were absolutely helpless in the matter; they had no remedy, and hence they appealed to the British goods, for while they had no feeling against the English people personally, they had recognized the necessity of attacking the Government at its only vulnerable points - the pockets of its countrymen - and he could assure them that this boycott was a step of which the Government and the merchants were only how beginning to realize the seriousness.

The Economic Situation

As to the economic situation, India had few industries other than the cotton industry. Her village industries had been wiped out by the competition of steam and machinery. She was mainly depended on her agriculture. It was admitted, even by the officials, that she was extremely poor, but an attempt had been made upon most unreliable data to prove that in the last two decades the income per head of population had increased from 27 to 30 rupees per year. But was that born out by the statistics? According of these, the population was not increasing at the rate at which it increased in other parts, and while the income-tax which was paid by the upper and middle classes remained practically stationary, the salt tax-the burden on the poorer classes-had not even shown an increase proportionate to the growth of the population. The area of land under superior crops was diminishing, and that under inferior crops was increasing, because the soil was becoming exhausted, and the people had not the capital with which to improve it. The peasantry were in debt to an extent which was experienced in no other part of the world. Andy why? They were the most frugal, thrifty, and industrious people that could be found anywhere; but they were perpetually in the hands of money lenders, largely due to the system of land administration, which imposed a burden far beyond what the land could bear. No doubt Indian finance in the last few years had shown surpluses, but they had been produced by artificial means, by increasing the gold value of the rupee. There was extraordinary inconsistency in the spectacle of a thriving Treasury and a starving peasantry which surely proved that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark.

The Remedy : Colonial Self-Government

What was the remedy they were seeking for all these evils? The Indian National Congress asked that the people should be associated in larger measure with the government should be attained. Let there be no artificial interference with their growth. Japan had recently shown what could be done in that direction. But the Japanese were not intellectually superior to the people

of India, and, given the same opportunities, there was no reason why equally satisfactory results should not obtain in India, Finally, hew ould like to point out that British and Indian interests were identical. Under a better system of government the Indians would increase in wealth, and British trade would benefit, and he therefore most earnestly appealed to the English people to use whatever influence they had with their Government in favour of gradually liberalizing the foundation of the Government of India, and of placing the people there on a footing of equality with the inhabitants of other parts of the Empire. Let them become in reality part and parcel of the Empire, and hand in hand they could then go forward and prove a source of strength, and not of weakness to that Empire.

Questions Answered

Several members of the audience then put questions to the lecture. Asked if the terrible poverty of India waws solely attributable to the British Government, Gokhale said the responsibility for it undoubted rested very largely with the system of administration maintained, under which between Rupees twenty to thirty millions were annually drained from India, thereby depriving it of that capital which was so necessary for the promotion of industrial development. He did not believe that the present system of caste would militate against the people of India taking a wider view and interest in the government of their country. As a matter of fact, the feeling of nationality was modifying the caste system. They were becoming united in seeking the removal of the disabilities under which they now suffered; they wanted the Colonial type of self-government eventually; as immediate steps they would like an increase in the number of Indian members of the Viceroy's Council; they wouyld like, too, to see the Indian element introduced into the Council of the Secretary of State for India; and finally, they desired to see India directly represented in the British House of Commons.

Lesson : 7

TILAK AND THE EXTREMISTS

Introduction

India had been the cradle of civilizations such as Indus Valley civilization. It shows the influences of Aryan (Vedic), Dravidian, Shramana and folk civilizations. Higher religions such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism originated in India. In the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth century, India represented a spectale of political weakness. Though India was politically weak she was economically still prosperous when the Britishers entered into India. Since the middle of the nineteenth century mind, the will and Soul of India once again awakened. Among the so many great leaders who bore responsibility for this awakening Gokhale, Tilak, stand out with distinct greatness and uniqueness in the closing decades of the XIX century and in the opening decades of the XX century.

Early Years

Tilak was born on July 23, 1856, at Ratnagiri district which is the heart of Konkan region. His proper name was Keshav which was superseded by the nickname Bal or Balvant, which adhered to him through his life. Tilak belonged to middle class family but which had a rich in religion and educational traditions.

Tilak's father Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak was a teacher and a great Sanskrit scholar. Tilak also like his father became a great scholar in Sanskrit and Mathematics. Tilak studied at first in a Marathi institution at Poona. After finishing his studies in the marathi pathshala, Bal was sent to the city school and then to Poona High School.

Tilak was well ahead in his studies. In 1871, while not yet a matriculate, young Balwantrao was married. He was only fifteen then. His wife maiden name was Tapibai. But after the marriage her name was changed as Satyabhamabai. With the death of his father on August 31, 1872, the dark fate eugulfed the family because he was the main prop of the family. At the age of ten he lost his mother, now at the age of sixteen he lost his father. He became totally orphaned. Then his uncle Govindrao took care off him.

In 1873, Tilak joined the Deccan College. While at college Tilak led a very healthy and active life. He had discussions with his friends like Apte, Agarkar, Khare, Kathavte, Gole, Upasani and others. They used to extend the discussions deep into the night. The discussions covered many things including the future plans. Tilak and Agakhan devised many plans about dedicating their lives to service. Though both were good scholars, Tilak did not concentrate on

the techniques of getting more marks in the examination from 1877 to 1879. Tilak studied law. He concentrated on studying the Hind Law. Before studying English books on Hindu Law, Tilak mastered *Viavakaramayukha Mitak Share and manusmriti.* These studies of original Sanskrit texts were of great value to him in the course of his controveries with the social reformers and especially with R.G.Bhandarkar.

Tilak and Agakan did not want to join the Government service and they decided to establish alternative educational institution. They found that the country fully eclipsed by illiteracy and realized that by spreading the right type of education, one can best serve for the emancipation of India. On the 2nd January, 1880 the Poona English School was formally established. The school was a great success and soon it caught the attention of the Maharastra. The school has a new philosophy which was different from British educational system. He felt strongly that the education should be less expensive and the teacher had to imbibe in them some of the old idealism of our Country. But at the sametime Tilak felt the necessity of English education. When he toured the country as the prophet of Swaraj he was candid enough to accept that English educational system had been a factor for political enlightenment in the country

Educational and Journalistic Work

A year after establishing the school, he decided to publish two News papers, one in English and other in Marathi. All the enterprises were started simultaneously. The *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* started publication on the 2nd and 4th January 1881 respectively. For this purpose, the Aryapushana press was bought in 1881. The establishment of the *Kesari* and the *Maharatta* was a literary and political landmark in the history of Maharastra. When the two papers were started, Tilak was incharge of Maharatta and Agarkar was incharge of Kesari . During the decade of his life spent as a teacher and professor (1880-1890). Tilak made a solid and substantial progress in his studies. He held the permanent Chair of Mathematics in Fergusson College. Tilak took lead in the foundation of Deccan Educational Society and latter he resigned from the society. In 1891, there was a split and he got the proprietary control of the two papers the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta.* Thus at the age of thirty-five, he became the declared editor and the sole proprietor of the two papers which were heavily encumbered with a debt or rupees seven thousand as they were not a paying and profitable concern. Therefore he planned to earn money from some independent source. Therefore, a ginning factory was established at Lahur in the state of Hyderabad. But this concern was given up in 1897 at the time of first sedition imprisonment of Tilak. Another source providing additional income was the Law class. It was also started in 1891, It gave an income of about one hundred and fifty rupees. Thus he hardly led the life, supported others and run the two newspapers. He lived like a noble man and contented with his meagre earnings. But self abnegation and a contempt for the accumulation of money were the guiding principles of Tilak's life from the beginning to the end. The decade from 1890 to 1900, marks a period of his

continuous rise as a leader of the masses, a tribute of the people, increasingly trusted and adored until he came to be recognized as Lokamanya Tilak.

Championship of the cause of the aggrieved mamlatders in the Crawford case was the first notable public service which Tilak rendered after he had nearly made up his mind to get out of the cloistered position of professor of Mathematics and Sanskrit in Fergusson college. But even before this remarkable achievement he was being looked up to as the emerging star in Maharashtra next only to Ranade. Although the Mamlatders did not get all that they demanded. Tilak and other associates helped their cause to a considerable extend. In the midst of this kind of work Tilak took keen interest in a different moment of public importance. The congress demanded the inclianization of all services and grant of commissioned ranks to Indians in the army and Ranade and Tilak stressed the latter one.

Public work

Thus Tilak's interest in the congress work increased day by day. Very few among the followers of Tilak remembered that he was a member of the Bombay legislative council. He sat in the Bombay council during the years 1895 and 1896 and among his other elected colleagues were such men as Pherozeshah Mehta, Chimanlal Setalwad and Daji Abaji khare. The originality of his genius did not fail to show itself in his council work. It may also be mentioned that he was an elected Fellow of the University of Bombay and he sat as a member of the municipality of Poona. All of this shows that he considered no vantage ground for public service as in important as some of his followers did.

During his term as a member of Bombay Legislative Council, he raised questions of popular weal. Tilak's party captured Sarvajanik Sabha which was dominated by Ranade. Under the auspices of this Sabha. Tilak organized a well-planned agitation for relief under the Famine Relief Code. This was the beginning of his way of awakening the mass of people for constitutional and lawful yet milliant resistance to Unsympathetic and immobile authority for a socioeconomic end. He expressed his views through his newspaper, 'Kesari". The press and the platform were the chief vehicles of Tilak's educational campaign. Numerous articles appeared in the *'Kesari'* and *'Maharatta'* between September 29, 1896 and May 2, 1897, which called the educated people in the districts and the towns to appeal to the authorities and take lead in forwarding petitions. Thus he worked hard along with his colleagues for this purpose. Tilak was doing everything in essence what Ranade had done in 1876-77. While Ranade relied mainly on the good intentions of the Government, Tilak urged the translation of good intentions into actions and then he began to employ pressure techniques to achieve his goods. The famine relief movement lasted for about 1 1/2 years. It was a fairly systematically organized popular movement which vitally touched the people's daily life and therefore worked great response. Tilak fully utilized this platform also. During this agitation for relief, Tilak's attention was not concentrated only on the peasantry and the

tenantry but on the whole public. Daji Aba khare, Viswanath Kashinath Rajwade, N. C. Kelkar Achyut Sitaram Sathe, Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe, K.P Khadilker and many others toured the Maharastra Districts and addressed public meeting. Tilak understood his own strength and the people's strength. He saw the possibilities of similar movements for bringing pressure on Government for political advancement. He began to stress that Congress should take up such work. It is no worthy that all this work was necessarily of a constructive character, intended to promote the welfare of the people. At the same time, the assertive and militant characters were also present. His newspapers, the *Kesari and maharatta* were the potent instrument for him. Public workers voluntarily enlisted in his camp and with new confidence he moved ahead with future plans of public work in India.

In the *Kesari* dated January 12, 1896 he wrote as follows while referring to the proceedings of the 12th Congress held at Calcutta.

'For the last 12 years, we have been shouting hoarse, desiring that Government should hear us. But our shouting has no more affected Government than the sound of a great. Our rules disbelieve our statements of strong constitutional means. We must give the best political education possible to the ignorant villagers. We must meet them on terms of equality teach them their rights and show how to fight constitutionally. Then will the Government realize that to despise the Congress is to despise the Indian Nation. Then only the efforts of the Congress leaders will be crowned with success such work will require a large body of able and single minded workers to whom politics would not mean some holiday recreation but an everyday duty to be performed with the strictest regularity and utmost sincerity."

Mahatma Gandhi's campaign in Champaran, soon after his arrival in India from South Africa and later in Kheda and Bardoly could be easily compared with Tilak's famine relief Campaign. The latter was described in hostile camps as a "no-tax campaign."

While people were in the midst of the disastrous famine of 1896-97, the bubonic plague also broke out simultaneously. The plague first made its appearance in certain Bombay slum areas of Mandvi early in October 1896. It was noticed that four hundred casualties were registered in that part of Bombay during one month. This led to some auspicious of deadly menance in the minds of people and the municipal authorities. Soon it spread to the other parts of the country soon it took a toll of thousands of lives all over the country. Some articles containing information about the devastating disease written by medical men appeared in the *Kesari* and *mahratta.* Tilak appealed to the people to cooperate with the Government. In their effort to fight against the disease and to give up their slovenliness and indifference. His editorials which were full of suggestion appeals and council to the people appeared continuously in his newspapers. He also suggested to Government some constructive proposals in rooting out the disease from the Country, some people left the job and went away from the city for some time. But Tilak stayed in Poona and involved in

many public activities in order to help the people.

For a long time particularly before he emerged as an all India leader and most trusted representative of the political aspirations of India after his release from Mandela Jail in the middle of 1914. Tilak was regarded in certain circles as much ani Muslim as anti British. His triumph at Lucknow, where the Indian National Congress and the all India Muslim League came together and entered into a part jointly to demand complete self-government for India mainly under his influence, brought him before all his countrymen and other in a correct perspective. Acceptance of Tilak by Ali brothers as a political guru and Jinnah's full confidence in him constituted a demonstration for all to realize that he was as much the leader and spokesman of the Muslims as the Hindus. In 1893, there were very serious Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay. In 1850, there were riots between Parsees and Muslims. All of a sudden, there broke out a big riot in Bombay on August 11, 1893. Tilak wrote a number of articles on the various aspect of this subject. During the period covering the years 1893, 1894 and 1895, Tilak dealt with matters concerning the Hindu - Muslim relations on numerous occasions in the *Kesari* and the *mahratta* and also in his speeches.

The Historic Interview between Tilak and Gandhi (1896)

Gandhi went to South Africa in 1898 as a young barrister of 24 years. There he was drawn deeply into the public activity. He helped the indentured labourers for their liberation. In 1896 he returned to India to take his family with him to South Africa. He used this occasion to bring to the notice of the Indian leaders the South African problem.

He went to Poona to meet the towering figures of Tilak and Gokhale . Gandhi has described the scene of this first and memorable meeting with Tilak

"I had the vivid recollection of my very first meeting with the Lokamanya. This was in 1896 when I was almost totally unknown to India. It was in connection with the cause of Indians in South Africa, that I went to Poona to organize a public meeting. I was an utter stranger in Poona. I knew the public men only by name Mr.Sohoni, whom I knew as my brothers friend and who had given me shelter, took me to the Lokamanya. After putting me at ease, he asked me the cause of my visit. I, at once, told him what my mission was The Lokamanya said I see you are a stranger in Poona. You do not know the publicmen. Nor do you know anything of local differences. I must, however, tell you that there are two political parties here. One is the Deccan Sabha, and the other in the Sarvajanik Sabha. Unfortunately the two bodies do not meet on a common platform. If the meeting is organized by any one body, the other would not attend. Everybody must sympathize with your cause. Therefore, it must not be identified with any one political party. It is well that you have seen me, you must also see Mr. Gokhale who belongs to the Deccan Sabha. I am sure he will give you the same advice that I am giving you, must have a public meeting which is attended by all sections..... you must rely upon full assistance from me. I wish you every success". It was my first meeting with

the Lokamanya. It revealed to me the secret of his unique popularity ..... It was a memborable meeting in my life, and the first impression that Lokamanya gave me of himself persisted throughout the many meetings which I was privileged to have with him.

Young Gandhi was deeply impressed by these noble men as stated. "Sir Pherozeshah had seemed to me like the Himalaya, he Lokamanya like the Ocean. But Gokhale was the Ganges. One could have a refreshing bath in the holy river. The Himalaya was unscalable, and one could not easily launch forth on the see, but the Ganges invited one to its bosom. It was a joy to be on it with a boat and an oar."

Throughout his life Gandhi had great admiration for Tilak. He remained only as an admirer. He never merged himself with Tilak's politics. In 1915 Gandhiji came to India. He confessed that he was carrying the message of swarajya given by great Lokmanya tilak, but for Gokhale he had genuine love and affection and he called Gokhale his political Guru."

Tilak and the Extremists

The history of the Indian National Congress is nearly the history of India's struggle for freedom. Yet it is somewhat curious that during his career of forty years of quite a stormy public life, he was never president of the Indian national Congress. It was atleast four times that his name was proposed. He was actually elected in 1919, but he was abroad and so declined the honour.

Tilak joined the Congress in 1889 where he made up his mind to resign from the Deccan Education Society and since then he was a stead fast adherent of it till he died. Tilak participated at the fourth session of the Congress held in Bombay. It was his first participation in congress session.

In this session Tilak moved an amendment that the election should be indirect as far as the Imperial Council was concerned. The amendment was not passed by the Congress, but Pherozesh Mehta and Gokhale were elected to the Supreme Legislative Council under this system. This was Tilak's debute in the Congress. At the Nagpur session in 1891, he moved a resolution demanding modification of rules under the Arms Act so as to allow Indian citizens to beer arms under licence, establishment of military colleges and grant of commissions in the army to Indians. In 1893 at Lohore, he moved a resolution demanding permanent settlement of land revenue in all provinces as in Bengal. At the 12th session at Calcutta in 1896 he moved a resolution for more of equitable adjustment between local and central Government of the finances of the country. At the Lohore Congress in 1900, Tilak supported resolution moved by G.Subramania Iyer demanding an independent inquiry into the economic condition of the people. At the 17th session at Calcutta in 1901, Tilak seconded resolution moved by V.R.Pandit of Nagpur on education in India.

In 1904, the session of Congress was held in Bombay. In this a resolution was moved to appoint a delegation to be sent to England to educate the

British public opinion to India's right to self-government. At the 1906 Calcutta Congress Tilak supported a resolution on swadeshi moved by Rao Bahadur P.Ananda Charlu and seconded by Pandit Malaviya. It was this resolution to which Tilak had to move an amendment calling upon citizens to use Swadeshi goods, even at as sacrifice. From 1608 September Tilak was in Jail till the middle of 1914. In 1916, he was again in the congress at the Lucknow session at which he supported the resolution on self-government moved by Surendra Nath Banerji and seconded by Annie Besant.

The Poona Congress of 1895

The Poona Congress of 1895 is significant and in a sense it was the prelude to the Surat Congress of 1907. Since July, 1895 the antagonism began to manifest itself in public. The basic problem was whether the social conference should be allowed to use the pavilion built for the Congress session. Tilak's party's capture of Sarvajanik Sabha in July, 1895, lead to the disappointment of the reformers who had so far controlled the sabha under the leadership of Ranade. He could not be blamed entirely for this because there were two other secretaries, G.K.Gokhale and Gadgil apart from Tilak. The other charges were made against him in connection with the defects in the organizational work. But Tilak did not get tired of these charges. He was quietly and steadily doing his work and C. Vijayaraghavachariar expressed delight in his tireless work being made for Congress preparations in Poona. As far as Tilak's own view was concerned, he did not attach much importance to holding the Social Conference itself. After all, it was a practice for the previous eight years to hold the Social Conference in the Congress pandel and what did it matter if it was likewise held in 1895 also? There is no doubt that feeling was strong on either side and although Tilak was indifferent, he had to choose between one side and the other. There was an exchange between this two groups. As a consequence the whole dispute was referred to Pherozeshah Mehta and an accord was reached. But the Extremists of the Orthodox party did not really matter much. The Social Reform Party of moderates wanted the assurance to conduct the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal.* The Bombay emissaries supported the moderates and Tilak found that he had to withdraw all from all executive functioning with regard to the holding of the Congress, yet with Tilak's resignation, the anxiety and the responsibility or the moderate-Reformer party only increased instead of diminishing. Although Tilak had resigned from the secretaryship, he pleaded all the while for cooperation and unity; he had collected twentyfive thousand rupees for the Congress. It shows his magnanimity and noble political temper. The social reformers condemned the ridiculeness controvesy about the holding of social conference as a small affair engineered into a big political issue. Gokhale condemned the technic of Tilak as amounting to brute force.

They felt that Tilak was trying to incorporate plebeian elements in the Congress and was restoring to bruteforce. Even the aristocratic Plato in his *Republic,* has called the people a "huge brute." Tilak on the other hand was an

advocate of the extension of the component structure of the Congress. Tilak's techniques were more oriented to establishing contacts with the public because he wanted to have Indian Nationalism to have its roots among the English - educated masses. Thus it is clear that Tilak had played an important and vital role in the Congress.

The first sedition case

Lohamanya Tilak was the first modern Indian leader to establish contact with the masses. He taught the techniques to the people to fight for their legitimate rights. Suffering makes a man great because it reveals the inner identification of the man with the principle he preaches and professes. The history of Indian Nationalism is a long epic record of suffering.

The murder of Walter Charles Rand, the plague commissioner of Poona in 22nd June 1897, had created an extremely panicky situation. Tilak, had absolutely no connection with this murder. Damoder and Balkrishna Chaphekar had formed in Poona a society called "society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu Religion". They believed in the cult of violence. Tilak was not responsible for this cult of violence. They found the change to murder Rand and they run away after committing the murder. The presidential speech of tilak on the occasion of Shivaji festival and the poem incorporating the excoriations and lamentations of Shivaji were published in the *Kesari* of the 15th June, 1887. Exactly one week later a sensation murder of Rand took place. Tilak was blamed of preaching sedition under the garb of Shivaji Tilak and arrested on 27th July, and was awarded rigorous imprisonment for eighteen months. He had shown the great magnanimity of his soul by taking responsibility for the poem "Shivaji's Extrication" which was not composed by him. But such maganimity and self-abnegation were the essence of Tilak's character.

Tilak was released from prison in september, 1898. He took rest for some time at Simhargah. But although the moderate leaders, like Surendranath Banerjee, Lolmohan Ghose; gokhale and Pherozeshah mehta were eloquent about India getting constitutional rights and privileges. Tilak had different approach. He subscribed to philosophy of rights.

Lokamanya Tilak's life is a great dialectical record or legal proceedings. The second prosecution for sedition followed a few months after the surat Congress. Tilak was convicted of sedition for the second time in July 1908 and sent to the jail. Tilak was proceeded against for sedition once again in 1916 for his speeches in the Home Rule movement. Three speeches, one made at Belgaum and the other two at Ahmednagar were considered objectionable, but this time he was acquitted.

Tilak had the boldness to formulate and execute a new conception of political leadership. He established contacts with masses as well as educated classes. Having suffered with many problems for the sake of the Nation Tilak rose the political platform with reputation. But the Anglo Indian bureaucracy

had been bitter against Tilak. Hence, when an opportunity presented itself in the shape of Jai Maharaj case the bureaucracy wanted to make out of that to demolish the foundations of Tilak's personal character and reputation judicially. The Jai maharaj case had very simple and almost insignificant beginnings. Tilak was made of almost of thunderbolt with this case. But the Jai maharaj case reveals the inward greatness of the man Tilak.

Tilak in The Mandalay Jail (1908-1914)

In July, 1908, Lokamanya had been convicted for transportation for six years. At Mandalay jail he was absolutely separated from human company. This complete separation from human company except his convict look, would have broken the nerves of any other man. But to the firm believer in God, almost lost in the contemplation of the unity of the Absolute Self, the absence of human Universities could not make much difference. He had written many letters to his nephew and his friends that stood as the best sources for understanding the psychology of Lokamanya Tilak. He wrote the *'Gita Rahasya'* during this time. In the prison Tilak studied German, French and Pali. He wrote some articles on Vedic astronomy. It appears that he had studied about three to four hundred books on vedic mythology, Indian and Western philosophy, history, sociology, etc. Both Sakyamuni and Balwantrao underwent intense austerities and askesis for six year. Having massed intense spiritual moral and intellectual strength for six long years, Tilak now entered the most eventful of his life as the high prophet of India's Swaraj.

1914-20

After the six years rigorous imprisonment Tilak was released from Mandalay Jail in Burma. The release of Tilak provided him the opportunity for the incorporation of a vital and dynamic force in the Indian politics. In a reply to a welcome by the people of Poona on June 21, 1914, Tilak said; "I can only assure the public that separation for six long years could not diminish my love for them and that I am willing and ready to serve in the same manner and in the same relation and in the same capacity which belonged to me six years before though it may be, I shall have to modify the course a little."

The Government got suspicious of this pronouncement on Tilak as he was continuing the old path or agitation. Therefore the policy of the Government had been vindictive towards Tilak after his release. In August, 1914, the First world war broke out. At this critical moment, Tilak extended his help to the Government and praised the Morley-Minto Reforms. Since the Surat Congress of 1907, the unity and the solidarity of the Congress had been destroyed but the moderates had been dissatisfy with the Morley-Minto Reforms because direct elections were not introduced and the special representation to Moslems intensified the sentiment of Mahommedan separatism. Pherozeshah Mehta was a leading moderate leader. He opposed to the entry of Tilak and his party in the

Congress. Gokhale did not want to oppose Mehta because they thought that his entry will open the way to the resumption of old struggles. Therefore the compromise between the two groups ended with fail in that year 1914

On February 19, 1915, Gokhale, the most tender-hearted and gentlest souls of India died. He was a man of great moral and intellectual gifts. In April, 1915, Tilak decided to organize some constructive plans of work because the attempted Congress compromise prior to the Madras Congress had not been successful. He decided to hold a provincial conference at Poona. The moderate did not cooperate with him yet the conference was a great success.

The Poona provincial congress of Nationalists was historic in the sense that it gave the slogan of "Home Rule" to the country. The year 1915 was significant in another sense that the book *Gita Rahasya* was published in Marathi. In November, 1915, Pherozeshah Mehta died. The death of Mehta and Gokhale left the moderates utterly weak. Though Gandhi came to India, in 1915 he kept silent on political matters for one year. At that time Lokmanya Tilak was the greatest political figure in India whose sufferings and sacrifices had given him a big statue. Yet he was out of the Congress because the compromise attempted by Besant had not succeeded at Madras, Anyhow in January 1916, Tilak announced that his party would re-enter the Congress. Tilak's re-entry into the congress symbolised the down of a new vitality in the politics of the country. On July 23, 1916, Tilak completed sixty years.

The establishment of Home Rule League at Belgaum had been a signal to the bureaucracy that Tilak had resumed with great vitaliy his campaign of nationalistic work. Hence the Government decided to check his activities. Tilak made an important speech at the Belgaum conference on his loyalty. The three speeches delivered by him on Home Rule perplexed the Government. The Government decided to institute a security case against him.

Tilak engaged himself in hectic political activities after the Lucknow Congress. He toured many parts of the country during the years 1917-18 and said to the people amidst thunderous shouts of applause 'Swarajya is my birthright' The Home Rule League deputation to England consisted of Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, G.S, Khaparde, R.P. Kanandikar and N.C. Kelkar. But this party was prevented from going to England. Ultimately the Government decided to grant a passport to England to Tilak on conditions. The main reason for Tilak's going to England was that he had to be present in the trial of his libel case against Valentire Chirol. In 1910 Chirol published a book *The Indian Unrest* in which he made many damaging remarks against Tilak and the Chitpavan Brahmin community. The book was written while Tilak was in Mandalay Jail. After his return he began to think of instituting a case against Chirol. The favourable verdict of the Province Council in 1915 in the civil side of the Jai Maharaj case motivated him in instituting a case in England against Chirol.

During the years 1918-1919 the whole of India had undergone a great phycological transformation. There were several political, economic and social

factors that had led to the discontent in the country. In the months of march and April, 1919, there were signs of deep subteranean currents of discontent in the Punjab. On the 6th of April, according to the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi hartal was to be observed against the Rowlatt Act. The Rowlatt Act had been passed on the 18th march Lokamanya bitterly protested against the Punjab massacres in meetings addressed by him in England.

Tilak had to incur huge expenditure in connection with the Chirol case. He faced financial insolvency because the expenses for the case exceeded three lakhs of rupees. On the 27th November, Tilak landed at Bombay. On December 1, 1919, the Poona municipality arranged a big receptions in honour of Lokmanya Tilak, the triumphant hero.

Tilak's compaign of work, for the emancipation of the nation from the iron chains of British imperialism was in full swing in the country. Throughout his life Tilak was a fighter against British Rule. He was almost like a soldier, a God fighting against all sorts of injustice and oppression. In July 1920, Tilak had an attack of malaria in Poona, but he recovered but on 21st July , he got high fever and this time he can not be recovered. On the 29th July at 1 p.m. he is reported to have said "Unless Swaraj is achieved, India shall not prosper. It is required for our very existence. "And at last at 12.50 a.m. August 1st 1920, the cruel hand of death snatched him away".

Almost all the public leaders in India expressed their profound sorrow at the passing away of Tilak. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the young India on the 4th August 1920.

"Lokamanya Bal Gangader Tilak is no more; It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people.... He had hoped to see Swaraj fully established during his life time... It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever.... May God grand his soul peace."

GITA RAHASYA

The following is the summary of the speech of Tilak.

(Gita Rahasya, delivered at Amraoti, in 1917).

Let me begin by telling you what induced me to take up the study of *Bhagavad Gita.* When I was quite a boy, I was often told by my elders that strictly religious and really philosophic life was incompatible with the hum drum life of every day. If one was ambitious enough to try to attain moksha, the highest goal a person could attain, then he must divest himself of all earthly desires and renounces this world. One could not serve two masters, the world and God. I understood this to mean that if one would lead a life which was the life worth living according to the religion in which I was born, then the sooner the world was given up the better. This set me thinking. The question that I formulated for myself to be solved was: Does my religion want me to give up

this world and renounce it before I attempt to, or in order to be able to , attain the perfection of manhood? In my boyhood I was also told that *Bhagavad Gita* was universally acknowledged to be a book containing all the principles and philosophy of the Hindu religion, and I thought if this be so I should find an answer in this book to query and thus began my study of the *Bhagavad Gita,* I approached the book with a mind prepossessed by no previous ideas about my philosophy, and had no theory of my own for which I sought any support in the *Gita.* A person whose mind, is prepossessed by certain ideas reads the book with a prejudiced mind, for instance, when a Christian reads it he does not want to know what the *Gita* says but wants to find out if there are any principles in the *Gita* which he has already met within *Bible,* and if so the conclusion he rushes to it that the *Gita* was copied from the *Bible*. I have dealt with this topic in my book *Gita Rahasya* and I need hardly say much about it here, but, what I want to emphasize is this, that when you want to read and understand a book, especially a great work like the Gita you must approach it with an unprejudiced and unprepossessed mind. To do this, I know, is one of the most difficult things. Those who profess to do it may have a lurking thought of prejudice in their minds which vitiates the reading of the book to some extent. However I am describing to you the flame of mind one must get into. If one wants to get at the truth and however difficult it be, it has to be done. The next thing one has to do is to take into consideration the time and the circumstances in which the book was written and the purpose for which the book was written. In short the book must not be read devoid of its context. This is especially true about a book like *Bhagavad Gita.* Various commentators have put as many interpretations on the book and surely the writer or composer could not have written or composed the books for so many interpretations being put on it. He must have put one meaning and one purpose runing through the book, and that I have tried to find out. I believe I have succeeded in it because having no theory of mine for which I sought any support from the book so universally respected, I had no reason to twist the text to suit my theory. There has not been a commentator of the *Gita* who did not advocate a pet theory of his own and has not tried to support the same by showing that the *Bhagavad Gita* lent him support. The conclusion I have come to is that the Gita advocate the performance of action in this world even after the actor has achieved the highest union with the Supreme Deity by Gnana (knowledge) or Bhakti (Devotion), this action must be done to keep the world going by the right path of evolution which the Creator had destined the world to follow. In order that the action may not blind the actor it must be done with the aim of helping this purpose, and without any attachment to the coming result. This I hold is the lesson of the Gita. Gnanayoga there is yes, Bhaktiyoga is, yes. Who says not? But they are both subservient to the Karmayoga preached in the *Gita*. If the *Gita* was preached to desponding Arjuna to make him ready for the fight- for the action how can it be said that the ultimate lesson of the great book is or Bhakti or Gnana alone? In fact there is blending of all these Yogas in the *Gita* and as the air is not Oxygen or Hydrogen, or any other gas alone but a composition of all these in a certain proportion so in the *Gita* all these Yogas are blended into one.

I differ from almost all the commentators when I say that the *Gita* enjoins action even after the perfection in Gnana and Bhakti is attained and the Deity is reached through these mediums. Now there is a fundamental unity underlying the Logos (Ishvara), man, and world. The world is in existence because the Logos has willed it so. It is His will, that holds it together. Man strives to gain union with God, and when this union is achieved the individual will merges in the mighty Universal will. When this is achieved will the individual say: "I shall do no action, and I shall not help the world" - the world which is because the will with which he has sought union has willed it to be so? It does not stand no reason. It is not I who say so, the *Gita* says so Shri Krishna himself says that there is nothing in all the three worlds that He need acquire, and still he acts. He acts because if he did not, the World's will be ruined. If man seeks unity with the Deity, he must necessarily seek with the interests of the world also, and work for it. If he does not, then the unity is not perfect, because there is union between two elements, out of the 3 (man and Deity) and the third (the world) is serving the world, and thus serving His Will, is the surest way of salvation, and this way can be followed by remaining in the world and not going away from it.

HOME RULE

[Speaking on the Home Rule resolution, at the Nasik Conference 1917, Tilak said]

I am young in spirit though old in body. I do not wish to lose this privilege of youth. To deny the growing capacity to my thinking power is to admit that I have no right to speak on this resolution. Whatever I am going to speak to-day is eternally young. The body might, grow old, decrepit and it might perish, but the soul is immortal. Similarly, if there might be an apparent full in our Home Rule activities, the freedom of the siprit behind it is, eternal and indestructible, and it will secure liberty for us. The soul means Parameshwar and the mind will not get peace till I get identified with Him. If one body is worn out the soul will take another; so assures the *Gita*. This philosophy is quite old. Freedom is my birthright. So long as it is awake within me. I am not old. No weapon can cut this spirit, no fire can burn it, no water can wet it, no wind can dry it. I say further that no C.I.D. can burn it. I declare the same principle to the Superintendent of police who is sitting before me, to the Collector who had been invited to attend this meeting and to the Government shorthand writer who is busy taking down notes of our speeches. This principle will not disappear even if it seems to be killed. We ask for Home Rule and we must get it. The Science which ends in Home rule is the science of Politics and not the one which ends in slavery. The science of politics is the "Vedas" of the country. You have a soul and of only want to wake it up. I want to tear off of the blind that has been let down by ignorant, designing and selfish people. The Science of Politics consists of two parts. The first is Divine and the second is Demonic. The slavery of a Nation comes into the latter part. There cannot be a moral justification for the Demonic part of the Science of Politics. A Nation which might justify this is guilty of sin

in the sight of God. Some people have the courage to declare what is harmful to them and some have not the Courage. The Political and religious teaching consists on giving the knowledge of this principles. Religious and political teachings are not separate, though they appear to be so on account of foreign rule. All philosophies are included in the Science of Politics.

Who does not know the meaning of Home Rule? Who does not want it? Would you like it. If I enter your house and take possession of your cooking department? I must have the right to manage the affairs in my own house. It is only lunatics and children who do not know how to manage their own affairs. The cardinal creed of the conferences is that a member must be above 21 years of age; do you not, therefore, think, that you want your own rights? Not being lunatics or children you understand your own business, your own rights and, therefore, you know Home Rule. We are told we are not fit for Home Rule. A century has passed away; and the British Rule has not made us fit for Home Rule; now we will make our own efforts and fit ourselves for it. To offer irrelevant excuses, to hold out any temptation and to make other offers will be putting a stigma on the English policy. England is trying to protect the small state of Belgium with the help of India; how can it then say that we should not have Home Rule? Those who find fault with us are avaricious people. But there are people who find fault even with the All-Merciful God. We must work hard to save the soul of our Nation without caring for anything. The good of our country consists in guarding this our birthright. The Congress has passed this Home Rule resolutions. The provincial Conference is only a child of the Congress, which submits to mandates of its father. We will follow Shri. Ramachandra is obeying the order of our father the Congress. We are determined to make efforts to greet this resolution enforced even if the effort leads us to the desert, compels us to live incognito, makes us suffer any hardship and even if it finally brings us to death. Shri. Ramachandra did it. Do not pass this resolution by merely clapping your hands but by taking a solemn vow that you will work for it, we will work for it by every possible constitutional and law-abiding method to get Home Rule. Through the grace of God England has changed its mind towards us. We feel our efforts will not be without success. England proudly thought that a tiny nation might be able to protect the Empire by itself. This pride has gone down. England has now begun to feel that it must make changes in the constitution of the Empire. Lloyd George has openly confessed that England cannot go on without the help of India. All nations, about nations of a thousand years old, have to be changed. The English people have discovered that the wisdom of all their parties is not-sufficient. The Indian soldiers have saved the lives of the British soldiers on the French battlefield and have showed their bravery. Those who once considered us as slaves have begun now to call us brothers. God has brought about all these changes. We must push our demands. While the notion of this brotherhood is existing in the minds of the English. We must inform them that we, thirty crores of the Indian people, are ready to lay down our lives for the Empire, and that while we are with them none shall dare cast an evil glance at the Empire.

KARMA YOGA AND SWARAJ

The Karma Yoga which I preach is not a new theory, neither was the discovery of the Law of Karma as recenetly as to-day. The knowledge of the Law is so ancient that not even Shri. Krishna was the great Teacher who first propounded it. It must be remembered that Karma Yoga has been our sacred heritage from times immemorial when we Indians were seated on the high pedestal of wealth and lore. Karma Yoga put it in another way, the law of duty is the combination of all that is best in spiritual science. In actual action and in an unselfish meditative life. Compliance with this universal Law leads to the realization of the more cherished ideals of man. Swaraj is the natural consequence of diligent performance of duty. The Karma Yogi strives for Swaraj and the Diyanin or spiritualist yearns for it. What is then this Swaraj? It is a life centred in self and dependent upon Self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as in the world hereafter. The Rishis who had laid down the Law of Duty betook themselves to forests because the people were already enjoying Swaraj or people's Dominion, which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya Kings. It is my conviction, it is my thesis, that Swaraj in the life to come cannot be the reward of people who have not enjoyed it in this world. Such was the doctrine taught by our fore fathers who never intended that the goal of life should be meditation alone. No one can expect providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the indolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up, and then only you may rely on the Almighty to help you. You should not, however presume that you have to roll that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango trees the fruit where of you have tasted. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the cause of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle, action disinterested and well-thought out it does not matter who the Sovereign is. It is enough If we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called the immutable Dharma, and Karma Yoga is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of Dharma or material and spiritual glory. We demand Swaraj, as it is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. Swaraj does not at all imply a denial of British sovereignty or British aegis. It means only that we Indians should be reckoned among the patriotic and self-respecting people of the Empire. We must refuse to be treated like the "dumb driven cattle" If poor Indians starves in famine days, It is other people who take care of them. This is not an enviable position. It is neithr creditable nor beneficial if other people have to do everything for us. God has not declared not beneficial if other people have to do everything for us. God has declared His will. He has willed that Self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hands. Karma Yoga does not look upon this world as nothing; it require only that your motives should be untainted be self-

ish interest and passions. This is the true view of practical Vedanta the key to which is apt to be lost in sophistry.

In practical politics some futile objections are raised to oppose our desire for Swaraj. Illiteracy of the bulk of our people is one of such objections, but to my mind it ought not to be allowed to stand in our way. It would be sufficient for our purpose even if the literate in our country have only a vague conception of Swaraj as it all goes well with their have simply a lazy idea about God. Those who can efficiently manage their own affairs may be illiterate, but they are not therefore idiots. They are an intelligent as the educated men and if they could understand their village concerns they should not find any difficulty in grasping the principle of Swaraj. If illiteracy is not a disqualification in Civil Law there is no reason why it should not be so in Nature's Law also. The illiterate are our brethren; they have the same rights and are actuated by the same aspiration. It is therefore our bounden duty to awaken the Masses, Circumstances are changed away, they are favourable. The voice has gone forth-Now or never. Rectitude and constitutional agitation is alone what is expected of you. Turn not back, and confidently have the ultimate issue to the benevolence of the Almighty- (Poona Senajilh Sabha Quarterly).

Lesson : 8 & 9

Bhagavat Singh and the Violent Activities

C.R. Das, Lajpat Ray, Aurobindo

Bipin Chandra Pal

Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932)

Bipin Chandra pal was a great pioneer in India's struggle for freedom. He prayed a significant role during great struggle for the reunification of Bengal. He was an unquestioned leader in Bengal. Along with Lajput Rai and Pal Gangadhar Tilak, the title came to be "Lal-Bal-Pal", a red-rag to the Britishers. This Trio were mainly instrumental in putting an end to the era of moderation and to begin a new era of political militancy in favour of freedom.

He was a self-made man. Inspite of his brilliance, he failed in this graduation at the Calcutta University. He however became the headmaster of a high school in Cuttack. Soon he entered into possive politics. Sri Aurobindo paid him the following tribute. "Pal is one of the mightiest prophets of nationalism perhaps the best and most original thinker in the country"

Bipin Chanda Pal derived inspiration from Hinduism, Brahma Samaj and other new religious movements. He was a powerful writer and an orator. He inspired the masses to enter into the great struggle against the partition of Bengal. His Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods campaigns inspired Mahatma Gandhi.

Pal's political philosophy and conception of Indian nationalism was well spelt out in his book. *The spirit of Indian Nationalism* published in London in 1910. He had observed.

The Nationalist Movement had been preceded by a general religion and social rervival in India. This revival came as a reaction against the earlier movements of religious and social revolt, raised admittely under the influence of European thoughts and ideas. This revolt was the direct result of the application of the canons of the dominant rationalistic thought of Europe of the later eighteenth and the early nineteenth century to the social and religious life of India. It represented what may be called the outer movement of the modern Indian consciousness. It was soon followed by the necessary return movement, the movement which preceed the present. Nationalist Movement, represented really the return of the national consciousness to itself. It was not really a conflict between the progressive and conservative elements of Indian society as superficial observers have tried to make it out but a conflict between aggressive European and progressive Indian culture. It was India's mental and

moral protest against the intellectual and ethical domination of Europe. In some sense, it was really the reflex action of the growing appreciation of Eastern, and especially Hindu thoughts, and ideas in Europe and America. Just as foreign Christian missions have very materially helped to develop the self-consciousness of the Christian nations, as civilisers of the world and benifactors of humanity, even so the Hindu and Buddistic missionary activities in Europe and America have revealed India's place in the evolution of modern world-culture. All these worked together to create a new pride of race and in this race was really new National Spirit in the country. By all these various means the old hypnotism was slowly breaking away. What was needed was only the bold declaration of the new political ideal to complete this work.

Bipin Chandra Pal had spoken of Swaraj long before Gandhi had spoken about it. His connotation of Swaraj was as follows.

This term Swaraj -fully represents the spirit of Indian Nationalism. The identification of the individual with the universal, the recognition of the freedom of the individual, not in himself as standing apart from the whole of which the individual is a part, but in and through that whole only, this is the very soul and essence of the concept of Swaraj. This freedom is possible of realisation by those only who recognise unity in diversity, who see that there is really One life, One mind, One will, One spirit, fulfilling irtself through diverse instruments and diverse ways; and above all, who recognise in this Unity of the self, as it is called in the Vedanta-the cancellation of all conflicts and the absolute settlement of all disputes. Viewing life and all its relations and activities from this supremely spiritual stand point, the Indian, Nationalist recognises a spiritual economy and political laws and institutions. Politics, with him, is part of his larger nationalist religion; it is a department of the science of philosophy of salvation. And, it is therefore, that the word which signifies the highest spiritual and represents also the highest political ideal.

This is the real spirit of Indian Nationalisim. It is an essentially religious spirit. Its end is the realisation of God-life in and through the activities of the social and the political life. That end is absolutely assured but whether it will be reached by peaceful means or not will be determined by the capacity of British statesmanship to work out the problem that faces it in India.

The Nationalist leaders fully realise their responsibility. They know that they stand before the bar of history and humanity. They are fully aware that if, by short-sighted impatience, and recklessness on the one hand or by equally short sighted lack of courage and candour on the other, they were to needlessely prolong or embitter the struggle for political freedom in India and thereby, increase its cost, they would just receive the curses of their posterity and they are anxious to avoid both. They are eager for a peaceful solution of the problem that faces the people and the Government in India at the present moment. The conditions of peaceful progress towards political freedom are present in India to an extent in which these have never been present perhaps, in any of the country struggling for national freedom. But the future of the movement hardly depends

now on them. They are being denied access to the mind and heart of their people. They are being shut up in prison even without the frequently futile formalaties of public trials. Their platforms have been practicallly proclaimed. The restraining influences under which an open and lawful propaganda have of necessity to work, are denied to them . And the unrest grows in secret. The exasperation of the people increases under bureaucratic repression. on Faith in peaceful methods, which mean faith in moral force more than in physical strength, is being slowly killed and immature, impatient, irresponsible men, without any real appreciation of the culture of their country, or any intimate knowledge of the real character of their people, working in secret or from the safety of foreign lands, are trying to drive the movement beyond the limits of law and order. Like the earlier methods of political agitation, is called constitutional , these new methods of revolutionary propaganda are also imitative and European, without any reference to the life and culture of the people, and having no inspring message for them. But though this propaganda may not ennoble the multitudes, it may yet easily brutalise them, and thereby let loose the animal passions of the disorderly elements of society simultanously upon the rulers and the ruled. This is the danger that threatens India in the immediate present. This is the present situation. It is not our own creation. It is not of our own seeking. We have always been anxious for peaceful, lawful, orderly evaluation. But we disire freedom.

Pal, however, did not want to do away with the constituted authority of Government or the State and wrote:

The national leaders have always freely recognised the legitimate authority of the present Government-however despite it may be-to discharge the primary functions of the State in India as *de facto* rulers of the land. The authority is based upon the general acquiscence of the people in their rule, and as long as this acquiscence lasts it is not only a political but an essentially moral authority. While recognising this authority of the present government, the nationalist leaders demand for the people freedom of opportunities for the exercise of their own primary rights, rights which no government create by statutes, but which are the real creators of government themselves. So long as a Government respects these primary rights of its subject, the people too, are bound to respect the primary right of their government. But recent repressions in India have openly attacked these prirmay rights of the people and it is these repressions that are entirely responsible for the appearance of revolutionary violence in a moment of lawful self-reliance activities and peaceful possessive resistance. The forces of revolutionary violence may, however still be controlled by the leaders of the people. They may pass beyond control in a little while.

After his visits and stay in England there was a gradual change in his attitude. This became evident of 1920. He became a moderate of moderates and wanted India tied to the apronstring of British Imperial Federation. The Father of Bengal Swadeshi Movement (Pal) opposed Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement. This change in him made him unpopular. He spent his last decade in poverty, isolation and misery.

C.R.DAS

C.R. Das (1870-1925) was educated in England and became a successful

lawyer at the Calcutta High Court. He appeared for the cases of nationlists including Pal and Sri Aurabindo.

He entered into active politics in 1917. He supported Annie Besant against the moderates like Surendranath Banarjee. The moderates were pushed to the back at the Calcutta session of the Congress. He worked against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy drew him still deeper into active politics. He was the president elect of the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in 1921 but his address was read by Sarojini Naidu in his absence. Then he was in jail for the participation in the boycottt campaign. After his release, he declared, "Swaraj is for the masses, not for the classes. Reformed Councils are really a mark... I conceive it our clear duty to tear the mask off its face. To end the councils will be the most effective boycottt. It is possible to achieve this if we get a majority". Das wanted to enter the council and then planned to bring about a deadlock. He explained his point at the Gaya session of the Congress in December 1922 as its president. But the resolution moved by him in this regard was defeated. Then he along with Mothilal Nehru and a few others left the Congress and formed the Swarajya party. A large number of Congress men approved this idea and began to leave congress. Mahatma Gandhi realised that two different approaches can co-exist. He effected a compromise with the Swarajyists and the latter were recognized.

Swarajya party played a significant role in the councils and proved the ability of the Indians to effectively run the parliamentary procedure. Das and others did challenge the administration from inside the councils.

Das, though differed with Gandhi, had unquestioned reverence for him. He addressed Gandhi at the Bengal Provincial Conference on May 2, 1925 as follows:

"Mahatmaji, it is my proud privilege to welcome you as the president of the Bengal Provincial Conference. I have been your follower from the beginning of the non-co-operation movement and I am still your follower and co-worker. It is impossible for India to do without your guidance to-day and at any time."

Soon Das passed away. Mahatma Gandhi wrote.

"The body that held Deshbandhu has perished but his soul will never perish. Not only the soul, even the name of him who has served and sacrifcied so much will remain immortal. His service and sacrifice were matchless. May his memory ever remain with us and may his example inspire us to noble effort. Everyone who follows his example to ever to little in extent will help to perpetuate his memory. May his soul rest in peace."

C.R. Das did not accept 'Inner Voice' or the 'ashram life'. He wanted to establish a firm democratic tradition. Bose considered him as his political guru. He was more a stateman than a politician.

APPENDIX ONE

WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

C.R. DAS

Extract from the presidential Address by C.R. Das in the Indian National Congress, Gaya, in December 1922. The point is made that nationalism is a good process, so long as a nation, while seeking its own identity 'also assists the self-expression and self-realization of other nations as well.

... What is nationalism? It is, I conceive a process through which a nation expresses itself and finds itself, not in isolation from other nations, not in opposition to other nation, but as part of a great scheme by which, in seeking its own expression and therefore its own identity, it materially assists the self-expression and self-realization of other nations as well. Diversity is as real as unity. And in order that the unity of the world may be established, it is essential that each nationality should proceed on its own line and find fulfillment in self-expression and self-realization. The nationality of which I am speaking must not be confused with the conception of nationality as it exists in Europe to-day. Nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. Therefore French nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of Germany, and German nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of France. It is not yet realized that you cannot hurt Germany without hurting Humanity, and in consequence hurting France; and that you cannot hurt France without hurting Humanity, and in consequence hurting Germany. That is European nationalism; that is not the nationalism of which I am speakings you today. I contend that each nationality constitutes a particular stream of the great unity, but no nation can fulfill itself unless and until it becomes itself and at the same time realizes its identity with Humanity. The whole problem of nationalism is therefore to find that stream and to face that destiny. If you find the current and establish a continuity with the past, then the process of self-expression has begun and nothing can stop the growth of nationality...

Lala Lajpat Rai

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865) from Punjab was first inspired by the Brahma Samaj and then by the Arya Samaj. He made a significant even before he completed thirty as a humanitarian worker. His famine relief work in Punjab was of great importance.

Rai moved closer towards Tilak with the common militant spirit. Both tried to inject this spirit into the congress. He founded a newspaper **Panjabi** in 1904. His erudite scholarship and the ability to convince people were major

assets. He prayed a significant role in convincing people. In England and U.S.A.. for the Indian cause. He built up a net work of friends for India outside India. He founded the Indian Home Rule League of America in 1917.

Like Gandhi he felt that work should start from below and the peasants and the labourers should be brought into the picture. He wrote, "The thing to be immediately done is to organize the country for economic purposes starting with the peasants and the labourers. We must start from the bottom. The top people will take of themselves. I want more of economic action, not at the cost of political talk, but in addition to it and as a necessary fulorum for it. The nation must be fed on truth and not on catch phrases".

Lala Lajpat Rai returned to India in 1920 after his six years of intensive and extensive mission abroad. He received a heroic reception. he actively cooperated with Gandhi but had his own differences. His leadership in Punjab' has no parallel. He became to be called as the 'Lion of Punjab'. The National Movement has already gained great momentum there. The tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh marked the culmination of events.

Rai opposed Gandhi in the latter's decision to request the students to come out of the educational institutions. His leadership and oration brought thousands to the Non-cooperation Movement. He vehemently opposed Gandhi's decision to stop the campaign after the chauri-chaura incident of Feb 1922. He felt that a historical opportunity to win freedom, have and now, had been lost for a mere ideal.

Lajapat Rai joined the Swaraj party to light the government from within the councils. But soon he became out of that party and shaped the policy of "responsive co-opertation" within the congress.

He played a leading role in the opposition to the Simon Commission. He led a huge procession in Lahore to boycott the Simon commision on Oct 30, 1928. The police brutally beat the marchers and he himself received chest injuries and died on 17th Nov 1928.

Like Gandhi, Lajat Rai's interests were not confined to the political field alone. He devoted himself to the cause of removing untouchability and founded the All-India Achut Uddhar Sabha for the removal of untouchability and the emancipation of the depressed classes. He founded the Servants of the People Society and the Tilak School of Politics.

In his obituary note on Lajpat Rai Gandhi wrote

Lalaji means an institution. From his youth he made the country's service his religion and his patriotism was no narrow creed. He loved his country because he loved the world. His nationalism was internationalism. Hence his hold on European mind. He claimed a large circle of friends in Europe and America. They loved him because they knew him.

His activities were multifarious. He was an ardent social and religious reformer. Like many of us he became a politician because his zeal for social and religious reform demanded participation in politics..

He observed at an early stage of his public career that not much reform of the type he wanted was possible until the country was free from foreign domination. It appeared to him as to most of us a poison corrupting every department of life. It is impossible to think of a single public movement in which Lalaji was not to be found. His love of service was insatiable. He founded educational institutions. He befriended the supressed classic. Poverty whose found claimed his attention. He surrounded young men with extraordinary affection. No young man applied to him in vain for help.

In the political field he was indispensable. He was fearless in the expression of his views. He suffered for it when suffering had not become customary or fashionable. His life was an open book. His extreme frankness often embarrassed his friends if it also confounded his critics. But he was incorrigible.

With all differences to my Mussalman friends, I assert that he was not an enemy of Islam. His desire to strengthen and purify Hinduism must not be confounded with the hatred of Mussalmans or Islams. He was sincerely desires of promoting and achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He wanted not Hindu Raj. But he passionately wanted Indian Raj. He wanted all who called themselves Indians to have absolute equality. I wish that Lalaji's death would teach us to trust one another and we could easily do this if we could but shed tears.

There will be, as there must be, a demand for national memorial. In my humble opinion no memorial can be complete without a definite determination to achieve freedom for which he lived and died so nobly. Let us recall which has after all provided to be his last will. He has bequeathed to the younger generation the task of vindicating India's freedom and honour. Will they prove worthy of the trust he reposed in them?

Nor may we forget the Servants of the people Society which he founded for the promotion of many activities all designed for the advancement of the country. His ambition in respect of the Society was very high. He wanted a number of young men all over India to join in common cause. The Society is an infant, not many years old. He had hardly time enough to consolidate this great work of his. It is a national trust requiring the nations. care and attention.

SHOULD THE LEADER LEAD OR BE LED BY THE MASSES?

Lajpat Rai

Extract from the Presidential Address by Lajpat Rai at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1920.

How far we must lead or be led by masses? During the last 6 months since I landed on the 20th of February last, I have been in close touch with the masses of my countrymen, I have seen them in their thousands, in processions at meetings and have met their representative in private. I have seen their political awakening. It has exceeded my wildest expectations. Under the circumstances, we have to remember that to any programme we make, we must carry the masses along with us. While it will be wrong on our part to allow our deliberate judgement to be over ruled by the masses, it will be equally unwise and perhaps fatal to ignore them. There are some worthy men who are disposed to confound the people with mobs, they "believe that true leadership requires the disregard of the opinions and wishes of the people. With due respect to them, I have no hesitation in saying that I do not share their belief. The masses change their character into mobs when they are inflamed by passion and anger, and are filled with a desire for revenge and as a rule this happens, only under grave provocation. In that situation it becomes the duty of the leaders to be firm and save the situation by tact and skill (The Punjab leaders at Lahore, Amristar, Gujranwala and Kasur tried to do this and would, I verily believe, have saved the situtation but for the meddling and blundering of the bureaucracy who were out for producing a moral effect. The situation at Delhi was actually saved by the tactful leadership of Swami Sharadhanand and the equally wise behaviour of the Chief Commisioner. Such, however, are exceptional occassions). Under ordinary circumstances wise leadership involves understanding of the mass mind in a spirit of sympathy and respect. There may be occasions when majority, or no majority, one has to go by the voice of one's conscience but in practical politics such occasions are not frequent nor many. I will therefore beg of my fellow Congressmen to bear these considerations in mind when deciding the question before them. We must arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to the general body of our countrymen in whose interests and for whose welfare we are striving. We must not lose the lead of the people either by marching too far ahead of them, or by lagging behind. Both will be fatal to the best interests of the country

Sri Aurobindo

Sri. Aurobindo was born in Calcutta on 15th August, 1872 and his father, Krishnadhone Ghose, was an M.D. from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. Aurobindo moved to England at the age of seven and he became an outstanding scholar in classics. He was well versed in Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Bengali etc., and started writing poems in Greek, Latin and English even at the age of eleven! He learned at Cambridge University and

emerged as a vibrant and militant student leader with eternal love for liberation. He passed the difficult Indian Civil Service Examination but decided not to take up a government job.

Aurobindo returned to India in 1893 and spent 13 years at Baroda. He started at Baroda in the Revenue Department and later took to teaching. His knowledge about Hinduism and Indian languages, became very deep. He was disillusioned with the Indian National Congress and wanted to organize the people for revolution. He married Mrinalini Devi (1888-1918) and since first he was fully absorbed in revolutionary nationalism and later on in spiritual quest, he had no lasting family life. He wrote to her that his life was meant the liberation of his country by the power of his spirit founded in knowledge which he felt he had in him. She remained as a saintly woman to her rather early end.

The partition of Bengal brought Aurobindo directly into the open as a leader. He declared "complete autonomy free from British control", as the country's and started working with Bal Gangadhar Tilak as his leader. In 1907, Aurobindo was arrested for his articles in *Bande Mataram,* Rabindranath Tagore wrote celebrated poem the "O Aurobindo bows to thee". He was again arrested in May 1908 along with 30 other revolutionaries and was in jail for an year as an undertrial prisoner. Aurobindo had deep spiritual insights and consciousness in the jail. On release in 1909, he continued his vibrant journalist and organizational activities and travelled a lot. Aurobindo, learning that soon he will be arrested, landed in Pondicherry (then French territory) on 4th 1910. He stopped all his political activities and devoted himself to spirituality, Philosophy and literature. The French Paul Richard and his wife (who later on became the celebrated Mother) became his life-long associates. He wrote innumerable books of which *The Synthesis of Yoga, The Ideal of Human Unity, The Life Divine, Essays on the Gita, The Foundations of Indian Cultural and Savithre* are most important. From 1926 onwards till his end in 1950, he lived in seclusion. Around him developed Aurobindo Ashram.

Sri Aurobindo dreamed of a new evolutionary leap for humankind to achieve a super human stage. He firmly believed that this is quite possible and also inevitable. He dreamed for a free and united India as part of a larger vision of the liberation of Asia and ultimately human unity. He expected free India to make a wonderful spiritual gift to humankind.

The intellectual excellence of Sri Aurobindo is unquestioned. 'But his spirituality and intellectual excellence alienated from concrete historical and social action for justice and prosperity may be pointed out as his limitation. He was a *gnana yogi* and he even blamed Gandhi of excessive action. Gandhi was a manifestation of all the three yogas-*Karma, gnana and bhakti* in one but giving more importance to karma yoga. This is the dividing line between Gandhi and Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo certainly enriched Indian philosophy and spiritual tradition.

Appendix One

TRUE AND FALSE NATIONAL SUBJECTIVISM

Sri Aurobindo

Of these two truths mankind has had some vague vision in the principle with regard to the individual, though it has made only a very poor and fragmentary attempt to regard them in practice and in nine tenths of its life has been busy departing from them-even where it outwardly professed something of the law. But they apply not only to the individual but to the nation. Here was the first error of the German subjectivism. Reasoning of the Absolute and the individual and the universal, it looked into intself and saw that in fact, as a matter of life. That seemed to express itself as the ego and, reasoning from the conclusions of modern Science, it saw the individual merely as a cell or the collective ego. This collective ego was, then, the greatest actual organized expression and fits evolution best be assisted and affirmed. The greater human of life and to that all ought to be subservient, for so could Nature collectivity exists, but it is an unorganized existence, and its growth can best be developed by the better development, of the most efficient organized collective life already existing; practically, then by the growth, perfection and domination of the most advanced nations or possibly of one advanced nation, the collective ego which has best realized the purpose of Nature and whose victory and rule is therefore the will of God. For all organized lives, all self-conscious egos are in a state of war, sometimes overt sometimes covert, sometimes complete, some times partial, and by the survival of the best is secured the highest advanced, self-realising, efficient, highest- cultured nation, if not by common admission as well as in Germany's own self-vision. Germany itself? To fulfil then the collective German ego and secure its growth good and domination was at once the right law o reason; the supreme good of humanity and the mission of the great and supreme Teutonic race.

From this egoistic self-vision flowed a number of logical consequences, each in itself a separate subjective error. First, since the individual is only a cell of the collectivity, his life must be entirely subservient to the efficient life of the nation made efficient; indeed,-the nation should see to his education, proper living, disciplined life, carefully trained and subordinated activity, -but as a part of the machine or a disciplined instrument of the national life. Initiative must be the collectivity's, execution the individual's. But where was that vague thing, the collectivity, and how could it express itself not only as a self-conscious, but an organized and efficient collective will and self directing energy? The State, there was the secret. Let the State be perfect, dominant, all-pervading, all-seeing, all-effecting; so only could the collective ego be concentrated, find itself, and its life be brought to the highest pitch of strength, organization and efficiency. Thus Germany founded and established the growing modern error of the cult of the State and the growing subordination driving in the end towards the effacement of the individual. We can see what it gained, an immense collective power and a certain kind of perfection and scientific adjustment of means

to an end a high general level of economic, intellectual and social efficiency,- apart from the tremendous momentary force which luminous fulfillment of a great idea gives to man or nation. What it had begun to lose is as yet only slightly apparent,-all that deeper life, vision, intuitive power, force of personality, psychical sweetness and largeness which the free individual brings as his gift to the race.

Secondly, since the State is supreme, the representative of the Divine or the highest realising functioning of human existence and has a divine right to the obedience, the unquestioning service and the whole activity of the individual, the service of State and community is the only absolute rule of morality. Within the State this may include and sanction all other moral ruler because there no rebel egoism can be allowed, for the individual ego must be lost in that of the State or become part of it and all condition of covert or overt war must be provoked in obedience to the collective good as determined by the collective will. But in relation to other States, to other collective egos the general condition, the effective law is still that of was of strife between sharply divided egoisms each seeking to fulfill itself, each hampered and restricted in its field by the others. War then is the whole business of the State in its relation to the States, War of arms, a war of commerce, a war of ideas and cultures, a war of collective personalities, each seeking to possess the world or at least to dominate and be first in the world. Here there can enter no morality except that of success, though the pretence of morality may be a useful stratagem of war. To Serve the State, the German collectivity which is his greater and real self is the business of the German individual whether at home or aborad, and to that end everything which succeeds is justifiable. In efficiency, incompetence, failure are the only immorality. In war every method is justified which leads to the military success of the State, in peace every method which prepare, it; for peace between nations is only a convert state of war. And as war, is the means of physical survival and domination, so commerce is the means of economic survival and domination, it is in fact only another kind of war, another department of struggle to live, one physical, the other vital. And the life and the body are, so science has assured us the whole of existence.

Thirdly, those the survival of the best is the highest good or mankind and the survival of the best is secured by the elimination of the unfit and the assimilations of the less it, the conquest of the world by German culture is the straight path of human progress. But culture is not in this view, merely a state of knowledge or a system or cast of ideas and immoral and aesthetic tendencies; culture is life governed by ideas, but by ideas based on the truths of life and so organized as to bring it to its highest efficiency. Therefore all life not capable of this culture and this efficiency must be eliminated or trodden down, all life capable of it but not actually reaching to it must be taken up and assimilated. But capacity is always a matter of genious and species and in humanity a matter of race. Logically, then, the Teutonic race is alone entirely capable, and therefore all Teutonic races must be taken into Germany and become part of the German collectivity, races less capable but act wholly unfit must be Germanized, oth-

ers, hopelessly decendent like the Latins of Europe and America or naturally inferior like the vast majority of the Africans and Asiatics, must be replaced where possible, like Heros, or, where not possible, dominated, exploited and treated according to their inferiority. So, evolution would advance, so the human race grows towards its perfection.

But the whole root of the German error lies in its mistaking life and the body for the self". It has been said that this gospel is simply a reversion to the ancient barbarism of the religion of Odin; but this is not the truth. It is a new and a modern gospel born of the application of a metaphysical logic to the conclusions of materialistic Science, of a philosophic subjectivism. to the objective pragmatic positivism of recent thought. Just as Germany applied the individualistic position to the realization of her communal subjective existences, so she applied the materialistic and vitalistic thought of recent times and equipped it with a subjective philosophy. Thus she arrived at a bastard creed an objective subjectivism which is miles apart from the true goal of a subjective age. To show the error it is necessary to see wherein lies the true individuality of man and of nation. It lies not in its physical, economic, even its cultural life which are only means and adjuncts but in something deeper whose roots are not in the ego, but in a Self one in difference which relates the good of each, on a footing of equality and not of strife and domination, to the good of the rest of the world.

Bharathiyar

Subramania Bharathi (1882-1921) is undoubtedly the greatest Tamil poet of Modern times. He inaugurated a new era in Tamilnadu and represents the culmination of national and regional feelings and aspirations with a deep global vision.

Bharathi was a title given to him in admiration of his literary talents. He lost his mother at the age of live and father at the age of sixteen. He was married to Chellammal at the age of 15. He started his carrier at his home town, Ettayapuram Zamin but soon moved to Benaras. He was mostly a self-made scholar. He was a born poet. After his northern experience, he became a Tamil teacher at Madurai and then moved to Madras joining the national Tamil daily *Swadesa Mitran*. This led him to politics and social reform. Sister Nivedita blessed him. He was closely associated with the Extremist Tilak faction in the Congress. To escape police persecution, he moved to Pondicherry in 1908 and wrote his brilliant poems there. But it was also a period of poverty. After a decade he returned to Madras and was arrested. His release was secured by his well-wishers. He was hit by an elephant at Triplicane, Madras in 1921 and died early Bharathi left behind him, apart from his poems, prose writings, stores and journalist writings.

The patriotic songs of Bharathi has deep spiritual base. His quest for freedom, human excellence and unity in diversity is unique. He sings:

"She has thirty crores of faces,

But her heart is one;
She speaks eighteen languages,
Yet her mind is one,"

The freedom envisaged by Bharathi was freedom for all-especially for the weaker sections and poor people. He was for freedom with equality and social justice. He called for destroying the evil of subjugating woman. Gender freedom was very dear to him. His songs on national leaders are all inspirational.

Bharathi was one of the earliest along with Tagore to call Gandhi as "Mahatma". He sings, that he is the Mahatma who has come to liberate India which is in ruins with poverty and without freedom. He was drawing inspiration from global resources for a new vision of freedom including the Russian Revolution. The devotional poems of Bharathi reveals his deeply religious mind. His vedantic search for universality is evident. Though he has written poems on different Hindu gods, his *ishta devata* seems to be Sakthi. His relationship with God as a child, lover, friend, and servant are all exhibited in his poems. His deep mystical bhakti is heart melting. He praises God for giving crores and crores of pleasures. He compares human body to a beautiful veena and invokes the Grace to make it a useful instrument without throwing it out spoiled. Bharathi rejected castism, superstitions and meaningless rituals. His religion combines the best in mystic, vedantic and folk elements.

Bharathi in his masterly Tamil translation and interpretation of *Bhagavad Gita* comes much close to Mahatma Gandhi. He considers it as a book preaching nonviolence and firm action. Bharathi, through essentially a "gnana yogi", combines in him all the three-gnana, bhakthi and Karma - "markas". (paths)

Bharathi waged a relentless, battle against superstitions and he was essentially a social reformer. He used his literary talents for this. He was not for "poetry for poetry's sake". But this does not mean that he destroyed the art forms and artists. He was a born poetic genius. He stressed on the equality of sexes. He rejected the value system of the male dominated. He proclaimed that chastity, if stressed, should become common to both men and women. He rejected the gender discriminatory scriptures. He called to set fire to the foolish habits of enslaving women. He wanted a halt to the tradition of treating women as cattles. He proclaimed the liberty of women and supported love marriages and opening up of all opportunities for them. He rejected the traditional notion that women should be "shy, fearful and shameful." He attributed these characters to dogs and wanted women to be strong and heroic and without fear. Bharathi wrote three long poems *Panchali Sapatham* speaks of the attempt to disrobe Draupadi and her heroic action. Draupadi is none other than Mother India. Kauravas representing evil and Pandavas, like the Indians, the silent inactive onlooker enslaved by their own past deeds. Bharathi wants each one of us to become a Draupadi. Bharathi uses an age long epic theme to motivate the freedom struggle. His *Kuyil Pattu* is a poetic innovation examing the deepest feelings and visions of love. It is a criticism of life as a whole. It is

a universal story of life and may be compared with Dante's *Divine Comedy.* It may be seen as a rejection of "bride selling" in the form of "arranged marriages"and pleading for the revival of a life of mutual love and marriage.

Subramaniya Bharathi is considered as the Father of Modern Tamil literature. He is a poet, a mystic, a visionary, a reformer, a activist, a fire and an eternal source of insipiration. Mahatma Gandhi held him in great respect and paid rich tributes to him. Here an extract from the *collected works of Mahatma Gandhi* (vol. 38, pp 211-212) is given.

Gandhi on Bharathi's songs

I reproduce elsewhere in this issue the first instalment of a sample of the translation of the Tamil Songs of the late Bharathi, the Tamil poet, whose songs were the other day confiscated by the Madras Government acting under instructions, or it is perhaps more proper to say, orders from the Burma Government. The Burma Government, it appears in its territory suppressed these songs not by the order of court but by executive declaration. It appears that under that declaration the books of this popular Tamil poet which have been in vogue for the last 30 years and which, as appears from the evidence before the high court of Madras, were under consideration by an Education Department of Madras. For introduction in the school curriculum, are liable to confiscation in any part of India. I must confess but it was unaware of any such wide executive powers being held by provincial Governments. But these are days in which we live and learn. This was no doubt a matter falling under the jurisdiction of the Education Minister.But it is becoming daily more and more clear that these ministerial offices and a perfect force, even as the legislative chambers are and that the ministers are little more than clerks registering the will of the all-powerful I.C.S. Therefore the poor education minister could do nothing to save these popular books from confiscation. Probably at the time the confiscation took place, he had even no knowledge, or if he had, he was not even told what it was that he was really singing. In due course however the confiscation attracted public attention. Pandit Harihara Sharma of Hindi prachar Karyalaya and publisher of Bharthi's songs, on behalf of his poor widow, could not sit still under the confiscation. He therefore moved the public and the matter was naturally debated in the Legislature council which condemned the confiscation Pandit Hartharn Sharma even petitioned the High Court for an order to set aside what was clearly an illegal confiscation, and because of some understanding that the order of confiscation will be withdrawn, that the books will be returned and that the Madras Government will make reparation to the poor widow, the petition has been withdrawn. But the wrong still remains. One can only hope that the expectations of Pandit Harithara Sharma will be fulfilled and that the wrong will be remedied by the return of the books. But whatever reparation is made by the Madras Government, the sense of wrong will able and so will the sense of insecurity created in the public mind by the action of the Madras Government in slavish obedience to the Burma Governments.

C.W.M.G vol.38. pp 211-212

Bhagat Singh and the Violent Activists.

The British conquered India gradually through a process of violent attacks, cheating and betrayal, diplomatic, manipulations, systematic process of exploitation, 'divide and rule' deliberate brain washing , etc.,'. The British consistently and continuously succeeded in their violent attacks due to their military supremacy and better strategy. The violent resistance of the native rulers was crushed.

The freedom struggle has been first in the violent resistance of the some of the native rules. The second phase of the struggle may be seen in revolt of the ex-rulers and ex-soldiers and soldiers. Then came the slow awakening of the professional, educated and business clerks. A number of associations came into existence. The religious leaders and reformers created a new awareness. Then came the Congress party.

The Congress was first dominated by the Moderates and then the extremists gained ground. The moderates were for constitutional and gradual changes. Extremists demanded " Swarajya as their birth right".

A small group of patriotic young people with militant nationalism took to arms to outset the British. Some of them had their training in England, France and elsewhere in Europe. Then they knew that they would be crushed. It was often sporadic outbreaks resulting in their executions. But they continued uncured about their future. For them mother India alone mattered. They were for total sacrifice for her sake. Bhagat Singh is a leading personality among them. Vanchi Iyer, V.V.S. Iyer, and Subramania Siva may be seen as the Tamil counter parts of such a proud.

Bhagat Singh was probably born in 1907 in West Punjab in a family of patriots. During his college days at D.A.V. College, Lahore. Bhagat Singh was deeply influenced by the Nationalist Movement. He started organizing the students and founded the college students union. He joined the Indian National Congress but left it soon feeling that it was inadequate and ineffective. Following the call of Mahatma Gandhi for non-cooperation, Bhagat Singh left D.A.V. College and joined the National College founded by Lala Lajpat Rai. He was graduated there in 1923. From then onwards he dedicated his entire life for national activities.

He associated himself with Alkalis and Babbar Alkalis. He then joined Hindustani Socialist Republican Association and soon was elected as the general secretary of the central committee and was in charge of the task of co-ordinating the inter-provincial activities of the Association.

In 1925, Bhagat Singh founded a new organization, Nav Javan Bharat, at Lahore to inculcate revolutionary spirit among the youth. He was in touch with other revolutionaries like Sukhadev, Yashpal, Bhagwati Charan, Chandra Shekhar Azad, B.T. Dutt, Surendra Nath Pandaya, Jaindra Nath Das and others. Bhagat Singh with Kundan Lal and Azad attempted to rescue the prisoners of the

kakori case but the plan fell through. He was arrested in 1926 in connection with a bomb explosion at Lahore but released later on. In a patriotic spirit to take revenge of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai (who was lathicharged in anti-Simon boycott in 1928 and soon died due to that) killed a police head constable (who was mistakenly identified) on 17th December 1928. He managed to escape from Lahore. He and others worked underground under most difficult circumstances with an unquenching fire to free Mother India. He and B.K. Dutt threw a bomb at the Central Legislative Assembly in Delhi while it was in session on 6th April 1929. Bhagat Singh and Dutt allowed themselves to be arrested shouting "Inquilab Zindabad" (long live revolution). This bomb throwing was an offer to express the anger of the youth at the colonialists and their "supporters". Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were tried and hanged on 23rd March 1931. The corpses were cremated by the police immediately after hangings. Bhagat Singh became an eternal source of inspiration for the militant youth. Bhagat Singh represents pure and selfless sacrifice for freedom. Gandhi disagreed with Bagad Singh way of sacrifice-killing the 'satanic' opponent happily at one's own expense. But he has no second opinion on his dedication and selfless sacrifice.

Today there is often a misconception of Bhagat Singh. He was not a "lover of ruthless violence". He said, "It is my firm belief that the country will not profit by bombs and pistols-more throwing of bombs is not only futile but it is often harmful, although it may be permissable in certain circumstances". He justified the use effective only when " it is used for the furtherance of a legitimate cause".

Bhagat Singh was a firm socialist. He was for the liberation of the workers. He wanted to wage a Bolshevik type of revolution in India. He sent Prithivi Singh in Russia to learn from their experiences.

Lesson - 10

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND GANDHI

Introduction

Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi, born in Gujarat on 2nd October 1869, became the redeemer of India, the most parent nationalist who combined the religious riches of our heritage with the idea of democracy, learnt by him from the west, it come up with the idea of nonviolent noncooperation. It was this instrument which the Britishers found invicible. It was this *Mantra* that broke the shackles and led India to the tryst with destiny on the 15th August, 1947.

Rabindranath Tagore who was born in Bengal on 7th August 1861, trailed a distinct path. By temperament he was artistic, literary. To him art became the local point of all existence. Through art and literature he found the essence of wisdom. Education became the weapon through which Indian could liberate themselves from lethargy and subservience and strike against British power. He became the centre of national education at Shantiniketan.

Gandhi, who hailed as a Mahatma, found in Tagore the Gurdev. The two towering men, each in his own individual way, strove to make a brighter India. Of course, they were men of convictions. When they differed, they lashed out at each other with all the power and strength of their very beings. Such differences, however, did not weaken the basic respect that each had for the other. They admitted that while there could be no compromise on ideas and ideals, there could be honest difference of opinion. Uncompromising they remained but such stances did not water down the quality of the love which bound them. Outwardly so different, temperamentally so much poles apart, yet the two found a communion which emerged from their love for India. The clash between Tagore and Gandhi was striking but almost inevitable. Tagore was the poet and Gandhi the political crusader; Tagore believed in art, Gandhi in action; Tagore believed the fullness of life. Gandhi in renounciation; for Tagore the ultimate quest was beauty, Gandhi the ultimate quest was truth.

The Tagore-Gandhi rift started over the noncooperation movement. Tagore was opposed to the philosophy of noncooperation and proclaimed it openly. The differences widened even more over the spinning wheel. Tagore had no faith in spinning whereas Gandhi felt that spinning could bring Swaraj. The two differed on many issues, specially burning of foreign clothes, role of English and status of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Gandhi met Tagore for the first time in March, 1915. Anyhow he had a free talk with Tagore on 3rd March 1915. The first meeting of these two contemporaries has been recorded by kaka kalelkar as follows:

"All we teachers were on tip toe with eagerness to watch how India's two mighty sons would greet each other, but Andrews was blissfully unaware of our feelings, and practically behaved as if " Rabi Babu" and "Mohan" were his private property. We were not allowed into the room where they were to meet. This caused much discontent and heart-burning among the senior staff, and someone explained to Andrew that it would be a wonderful treat for us to see the two heroes' first meeting, that we had no desire to overhear their private talk".

The members of Phoenix Colony stayed four months at Shanthi niketan and then settled in Gandhiji's Ashram at Ahmedabed. Gandhiji was grateful to Tagore for having accomodated the inmates of his Ashram. Jawaharlal Nehru has compared these two towering personalities in the following words:

"Gandhi came on the public scene in India like a thunderbolt shaking in all, and like a flash of lightning which illumined our minds and warmed our hearts. Tagore's influence was not so sudden or so earth-shaking for Indian Humanity. I belong to a generation which grew up under his influence. Perhaps we did not fully realise it at the time because of the powerful impact of Gandhi's thunderbolt.

I have always been fascinated by these two towering personalities, Gandhi and Tagore, both by their contrasts and what they had in common. Externally and in the course of their lives, there was a great deal of difference, and yet both were close to each other and had the greatest affection and admiration for one another. But mere rebels in their own way and fearless in denouncing what they considered evil. And thus both of them gave a spiritual basis to our demand for freedom. They laid stress on the life of the spirit and believed in the religion of man. Both in varying degrees were against the bondage of tradition and denounced supersition and ritual, even though they attacked the greatest importance to our inheritance from the past and sought to build upon in the present. Tagore referred to the unfortunate people who have lost the harvest of their past, who have lost the present age, and spoke about them as one of the 'disinherited people of the world'. Gandhi laying stress on India's past treasures of the mind and spirit, told us not to close our doors and windows in the winds that blew in from the four quarters of the world but he wanted us not to be uprooted or blown away by these winds.

And yet how different the two were? Tagore was the poet and the singer. Gandhi was the man of action, and true revolutionary, single-minded in his aim and going as the arrow from the bow".

Though he had become an established writer, his elders were worried about his future since the literary career was not profitable in those days. They wanted him to become a Minister or an I.C.S Rabi's elder brother. Satyendranath Tagore was the first Indian to become an I.C.S. He was going to England. He suggested to the Maharishi that Rabi too might go with him and be educated there. The Maharishi agreed on 20th September 1878, Rabi and his elder

brother sailed for England. There, Rabi was admitted to public school at Brighton. After that he joined London University where he learned English literature and language. He also joined the music school and picked up the technique of western music. He became interested in painting and frequently visited the art galeries. He stayed for seventeen months there and returned to India in 1880 without my academic qualification. Upto 1883, he wrote musical drama, lyrics and novel. On December 9, 1883 Rabi was married to Mriralini Devi. Even after marriage Rabi continued to write the novels and compose the songs.

In 1898, Rabindranath was sent to supervise the family estate at Shileidah on the bank of the Ganges. This proved to be a double blessing for Tagore. Firstly he got an opportunity to mingle with the native village folk whose hopes and fears he began to appreciate. He could feel with them the pangs of poverty and misery. Secondly he had to go from village to village in his boat and this provided him an opportunity to continue with nature. During this period, he got the opportunity to know and understand the villagers, to study their customs and traditions and to appreciate their wants and limitations. This provided him the material for his short stories. While at Shileidah, Tagore planned to start a school on unconventional lines. The urge found expressions in the founding of Santineketan near Bolpore. The School was run on the ideals of the Ashram of the olden days. The classes were held in the open under a tree and the students learnt their lessons in the lap of nature. The school was started on December 22, 1901 with five pupils. His eldest son was among those five people. The school was called Brahmacharya Ashram. In adition to conventional learning the students here were taught gardening, painting, music, dance, drama and games. Tagore had to make many sacrifices to run this school. The Ashram school needed funds. So he told his house at Puri, the books and copywright and everything he owned and his wife gave up her jewellery. His friends also collected funds and the school began to grow. His wife died on 23rd November 1902. Now the school was barely one year old. Tagore had to take care of his children himself.

During the two years from 1902 to 1912 poems, songs, short stories, essays and novels flowed in quick succession from his pen. It was during this period that he wrote the famous hymn "Jana gana mana" which is our national anthem. During the period of travel he wrote his lyrical master piece, *Gitanjali* which fetched him the Noble Prize.

In 1942, Rabindranath fell ill. Therefore he left for England for treatment on May 27, 1942 arriving in London on June 16. During the voyage he translated into English some of his poems and songs from *Gitimalaya, Naivedya, Kheya and Gitanjali.* In London, Rabindranath showed these translations to Rothenstein, the famous painter. He liked very much and showed the same books to W.B. Yeats, the gifted poet. But Yeats did not content himself with the reading. He arranged a dinner in Tagore's honour. On November I, the Indian Society of London published the English edition of *Gitanjali* with an introduction by W.B. Yeats.

Rabindranath returned to India on October 4, 1943 and a month later the news came that he had been awarded the Nobel prize. He donated the award money of one lakh and twenty thousand to his school at Santhiniketan.

Tagore's Life

Rabindranath Tagore was born on August 7, 1871 at Jorosanko the family residence in Calcutta. He was the fourteenth child to his parents Debendranath and Sarala Devi. He was called 'Rabi' by his parents. Rabindranath's father, Debendranth known as Maharishi was a remarkable and deeply relgious man who had a simple life. So many poets, writers, dancers and musicians visited his house frequently. This atmosphere of the home played a large part in shaping the artistic genius of the poet.

Rabi's schooling began a little earlier than it might have. He was admired in Oriental Seminary. Rabi did not stay long in this school and was soon put in Normal school which was a model school run on British pattern. On learning the Normal schools, Rabi was admired to the Bengal Academy.

When Rabi was eleven years old, he was invested with sacred thread. After that his father called Rabi to accompany him to the Himalayas. Their first half was at Santiniketan a beautiful place which had been purchased by the Maharishi in 1863. From Santiniketan they went to Amristar. Then they proceeded to Himalayas. During this journey the father always found time to instruct his son in sanskrit, English and Astronomy. This four months tour helped Rabi to have close contacts with his father. Rabi did not now want to go to Bengal Academy, so he was put in St. Xavier. Here he could not able to concentrate on his studies. He considered school life as a combination of jail and hospital. In his fourteenth year he left the school again. Though he gave up going to the school, he did not give up reading the books. His elder brother, Joytirindranath helped him in many ways and without his help, he might not have developed into the great song writer that he became. His literary genius was developing rapidly. He had become a prologic writer. In 1941 Tagore rapidly began to lose strength. The doctors decided on an operation to alleviate his suffering and however the operation was not successful. On August 7, 1941, this great poet, patriot and prophet closed his eyes for ever.

Patriotism:

The last straw which shattered Gandhi's faith in British justice was the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh while Gandhi learned it much later he expressed deep regret and protest. Gandhi demanded an inquiry to be instituted against Michael O Dwyer and General Dyer.

Tagore heard of this massacre from some source a month later. He was shocked. He made a fruitless attempt to go to the Punjab. Then he went to Calcutta and asked the political leaders to call a protest meeting over which he offered to preside. But the morale of the people had sunk so low that none had the courage to respond. Tagore nevertheless found a way of voicing his protest

against the inhuman barbarity of the British. He renounced his knighthood. He wrote to the viceroy "The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in the ungenerous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinction by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled one to ask your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood.

This act of Tagore proved his lofty patriotism and also made it clear to the aggressors that despite centuries of subjection the spirit of freedom was still alive in our breasts.

The range of differences between Gandhi and Tagore, apart from noncooperation and charka, extended to several other social problem too. Conditioned by different attitudes and approaches to the problem Gandhi and Tagore often found ;themselves exchanging arguments, assailing each others's position. The attack, however, remained on the intellectual plane, brought out ; the best in both, and revealed the logic behind the stances.

Gandhi and Tagore had served India well until their last breaths. True compassion had given them the will to rise above the limits of mortality, Fierce individualism led them into major clashes. But the underlying unity of purpose, the basic appreciation of each other's sincerity of purpose strengthened their bond and forged it with something wrought or steel. They thus became the essence of Indian thought and philosophy. Their thought permitted almost all spheres of activities. Though physically dead they remained alive through the moves initiated by successive generations of Indians to shake a better society. Thus their immortality became a living, pulsating thing. Truly it can be said that they have become lights which would never fade-Eternal Lights.

Appendix

Gandhi and Tagore:

The Candid Friends

[Extracts from the Book: Gandhi-his gift of the fight by Marjorie Sykes and Jehangir P.Patel]

In 1927-28, when the authors of this book were just beginning their working lives in India, Gandhi's famous book *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* was published in English for the first time. Gandhi was then about 58 years old, and his earlier manhood, from his twenty-fourth to his forty-fifth year, had been spent in South Africa. His "experiments with Truth" had been life-long, but it was during those twenty years in South Africa that he had begun to relate them to the structure and life of society, and to such problems as racial discrimination and the oppression of the poor. As a leader of the Indian community there, he had set himself to awaken it to a sense of self-respect, an understanding of responsible freedom, and compassion for its own weaker members.

Even before Gandhi had gone to South Africa, a man, few years older than he was had begun working in the same spirit in the villages of Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore, poet and thinker, differed widely from Gandhi in background and temperament, but he worked for the same goals: the dignity of self-reliance and the exercise of responsible freedom. His faith in humanity was as strong and passionate as Gandhi's; the two men shared a great vision, that of a free, fearless, united and rejuvenated Indian people.

The relationships between Gandhi and Tagore were of great significance in the struggle for *swaraj* (self-rule) in India, and form part of the historical and psychological frame-work within which we ourselves were to serve our apprenticeship to the tasks of *swaraj* during the next ten years. It therefore seems appropriate to give some account of the development of their friendship, which formed the background to much of our own story.

When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 Gandhi was still a school boy. Tagore, more than eight years older, was a sensitive young man, already becoming known as a poet. He was spending much of his time on the family estate at Shileidah in East Bengal, where he gained that insight into the lives of Bengali villagers which inspired so many of his moving short stories. It also inspired him with a vision of what *swaraj* in village terms might mean, and a determination to do all he could to promote it among the people who lived on and around his own estate. With the help of a few young volunteers he tried to show the villagers how health, education, justice and so on might be secured by their own efforts, their own co-operative labour. His experience made him critical of the procedures of the National Congress, which in those days attempted to secure reforms by petitioning the ruling power. He had come to believe (as he was to write many years later to Gandhi) "that the great gift of freedom can never come by charity; we must win it before we can own it."

saw that if villages were to win their freedom, they must recover their lost power of initiative. "When I look at them,:" he declared in his Presidential Address to the Patna Conference in 1903, "talk of *swaraj*, of independence, appears to me a mockery. I want every Indian village to learn what *swaraj* really means...the times demand patient, sustained, unostentatious constructive work, and the breaking down of caste and sectarian walls."

Tagore saw also that one factor in this general apathy and impoverishment of spirit was bondage to a foreign language. At a time when educated Bengalis used English for all public occasions he insisted on using Bengali when addressing fellow-Bengalis, even at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, where he challenged his student audience to question prevailing ideas. "In no other country in the world today", he declared, "is there It his unnatural divorce between the language the students speak and that in which they are taught,. Like nature's parasites, which depend for their survival on other forms of life and so never develop and use their own limbs, we in India depend for our intellectual nourishment on what comes to us through a foreign language - our own powers are atrophied, and in our poverty of spirit we develop a morbid attachment to an alien culture. One of the chief ways to achieve that independence of spirit without which swaraj must remain an empty dream is to use one's native language, from earliest childhood onwards, as the vehicle of all learning".

Tagore presented his programme of constructive work in his book *Swadeshi Samaj*.** published in 1905 at the height of the swadeshi movement in Bengal. He felt however that his message had gone unheeded, that the upsurge of emotion generated by Lord Curzon's partition of the Province of Bengal had made people incapable of listening to reason, "Emotion is like fire", he wrote, "It consumes It does not, create"-except where it is harnessed by reason, with patience and skill, in the service of a larger vision.

Tagore's own larger vision was embodied in some of the magnificent national songs which he wrote at that time and during the following years:

Oh heart of mine awake, in this holy place of pilgrimage,
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.
Aryan and Adivasi, Dravidian and Mongol,
Scythian, Hun, Pathan and Mogul,

All have merged in the one body.
Now the west has opened her doors and bringing her offering
They will give and take , unite and be united,
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

** The word Samaj means "society". The adjective Swadeshi means literally "of one's own country" and denotes reliance for one's essential needs upon the products and resources of one's own immediate environment.

Come Hindu, come Musalman, Parsee and Christian, one and all
Clasp the hands of all O Brahmins, and so be yor hearts made holy
Come ye who are shamed and dishonored, fill the sacred bowl
With water that is sanctified by the touch of all
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

This larger vision had to be striven for amid all the complexities of human motivation and immediate circumstances. The novels which Tagore was writing during these years, notably Ghare Baire, (The Home and the World) reflect his sense of the human conflicts and tragedies of the struggle.

From 1901 onwards, Tagore had been devoting a large part of his time to building up his own school at Santiniketan in the Birbhum district of West Bengal. He wanted it to be a kind of modern Gurukul*, which could provide the free and fearless education, rooted in Indian tradition, which a free India would need. During its first ten years the school struggled against much misunderstanding and hostility, but also attracted some wonderful, devoted young teachers who shared the poet's aims. Then in May 1912 Rabindranath visited London, where some of his own English translations of his poetry were introduced to English literary circles at a memorable meeting, by the Irish poet W.B.Yeats. One of those present at the meeting was C.F.Andrews, who had been for eight years a teacher at St.Stephens College, Delhi. Andrews experience in Delhi had given him a deep sympathy with Indian National aspirations; he had met many national leaders, and had read with warm appreciation some of Tagore's articles on national themes published in English language magazines. Now, when he met Tagore face to face, he was captivated by his poetry and his personality. He soon became a devoted friend, and within a year he had, made Santiniketan his new Indian home.

Meanwhile Gandhi's struggle for justice for the Indian community in South Africa had reached a critical stage. Gandhi was strongly supported in India by the great liberal statesman Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and Gokhale eagerly welcomed Andrews' offer to go to South Africa and do what he could to help. With Tagore's blessing Andrews left Santiniketan for South Africa late in 1913, and Gandhi met him when his ship docked at Durban. During the weeks that followed the two men became close friends. It was a friendship different in quality from Andrews' friendship for Tagore, which was always coloured by his reverence for a poet-prophet ten years older than himself. With Gandhi, who was Andrews near contemporary, it was a friendship of equals; they were "Mohan" and "Charlie" to each other from the first.

It was through Andrews that Tagore and Gandhi met personally for the first time. In 1914 Gandhi decided that the time had come for him to return to India, and he needed to find a temporary Indian home for the boys and teachers

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* A Gurukul was a community of teachers and students in which the students lived with their guru (teacher) as his family, sharing household duties as well as study.

of his Phoenix Ashram in South Africa. Andrews arranged for them to spend their first months in India as guests of the Santiniketan community. They reached Santiniketan in December 1914; Gandhi and Kasturba arrived in India at the end of January, and visited Santiniketan in February-March 1915.

The Phoenix party had been given a house, and were following their own very simple rule of life. They had no servants and did all their own coking and cleaning. The Santiniketan boys had no prejudice against manual or "menial" labour as such; they themselves had cleaned the roads and built the Vedi (ceremonial platform) to welcome Gandhi and Kasturba, but they did have servants in the kitchen. Gandhi suggested that they might dispense with servants altogether, and run the kitchen themselves. The boy welcomed the idea enthusiastically and so did most of their teachers, though some had doubts. Tagore himself commented that "the experiment is the key to swaraj", and encouraged the boys to go ahead. He foresaw that what they would learn from their labours in the kitchen would more than compensate for any loss in their "academic" programme. Gandhi helped them to launch the project, insisting on his own high standard of hygiene, and they certainly learned a great deal. In later years one of the boys involved wrote a vivid and humorous account of their experience. "Everyone realized" he commented, "how difficult it was to work with this man-and how much more difficult it was to avoid working with him!"

Although Gandhi was able to stay only a few days, the experiment was carried on through the increasing heat of March and April, right up to the summer vacation in May. But when the school reopened it was not renewed. This was not merely because of laziness or lack of perseverance. The sheer size of the community raised real problems. The kitchen was catering for between 250 and 300 Santiniketan residents, and cooking for such a large number was a very different matter from doing so for 15 or 20 Phoenix boys. The huge, heavy vessels needed to prepare food for such numbers added greatly to the physical strain of the work. It was all too easy for what should have been education to degenerate into drudgery.

The project, in fact, raised the whole question of the optimum size of any educational community or group. Tagore himself believed that school classes should be limited to a dozen or fifteen children with a teacher-leader. His ideal, as has been said, was the ancient gurukkul, where a group of students lived with their teacher as his family, and learned from him while they shared in a natural way in the cleaning, cooking, gardening and all the household chores. When the numbers become too big, there is no longer a natural family, but an institution-and problems arise. Santiniketan was too big for the daily work of a common kitchen to be a satisfactory educational experience. In later years, Gandhi's own educational community at Sevagram encountered the same kind of difficulty when it attempted to run one common kitchen for large numbers of people of varying ages; its educational value was swamped by the pressure of numbers. Occasional large-scale community meals can be fun - and educational

fun too-but regular daily "learning by living" is best achieved in smaller groups, not only for cooking, but for other creative activities of all kinds.

As the first World War drew to an end the mood in India was one of hopeful expectation. India had given willing and costly service to the allied cause, and she looked forward to being recognized, when the war was over, as an equal and respected partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These hopes were rudely dashed. In 1919, war time restrictions on personal liberty and on the press were re-imposed, in harsh terms, in the name of "law and order". India's bitter disappointment found expression in public protests, led by Gandhi, who called for an India-wide hartal. A hartal is a voluntary cessation of work, undertaken as a protest against something believed to be wrong- a form of what is commonly called "passive resistance" in early April, 1919. On April 12th Tagore, who had followed events with the greatest interest, wrote a friendly, thoughtful letter to Gandhi. He feared then,, as he had feared in 1905, any attempt to win an outward freedom by pressure, even "non-violent" pressure, before the nation had won real freedom by inward discipline. "Passive resistance", he wrote, "is a force; it can be used against truth, as well as for it. The danger grows stronger with the hope of success; to stand against wrong is itself victory."

The very next day, April 13th, a great public meeting of protest was held in the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar. The officer in charge of "law and order" , General Dyer, opened fire on the motley crowd trapped in the confined space, and hundreds were killed and injured. When the news reached Tagore, he was profoundly shocked. He had received many official honours after his stature as a poet had been recognized by the award, in 1913, of the Nobel Prize for Literature. He now wrote a dignified public letter in which he repudiated these honours, because they had been conferred by a government which had now forfeited his respect.

The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy led directly to the mass movement of non-cooperation which was launched by the Congress in August 1920, and guided by Gandhi, now a popular national leader, who like Tagore renounced his own offical honours as a symbol of his change of attitude to the ruling power.

By that time Tagore was away from home. He had gone to Europe and America to share his dream of a Viswa-bharathi, an Indian world university, and to seek world-wide cooperation in making it a reality. Reports began to reach him of the tremendous impact Gandhi was making on the common people. Government officials themselves recognised it to be unique. "Never before", reported a member of the C.I.D., "has any political leader so stirred the masses to their very depths and received the homage of so many people, Hindus and Muslims alike". Officialdom was puzzled, but Tagore knew where Gandhi's secret lay-in his passionate self-identification with the needy and the destitute. He had come to them, the poet wrote, "clad as one of themselves, talking to them in their own language. Here was the truth at last. The name of Mahatma is his true name. Whoelse has felt so many men of India to be of his own flesh

and blood? Truth awakened Truth. What has happened is nothing less than birth of freedom.....Some notes of the music of this wonderful awakening floated over to me across the seas."

This was profoundly true, but when Tagore returned to Bengal in the middle of 1921, he became aware of other elements in the national movement which made him very uneasy. He feared that the non-cooperation movement was being poisoned, as the anti-partition movement of 1905 had been poisoned, by anger and greed. The anger showned itself in the spirit of national vain-gloriousness which declared that "the West has *nothing* of value". The greed showed itself in the blind belief that India could "get something of inestimable value dirt-cheap and in double-quick time"_ could get *Swaraj* - in fact, by a year of mindless,mechanical spinning. *"Swaraj* worth having cannot be had cheap", Tagore repeated sternly. 'India must find herself by giving (for that which is not given is lost), but to be able to give, she needs the power to receive". We must not surrender our greatest right, the right to reason and judge for our-selves, for the sake of any spurious short cuts to a merely external freedom.

The man who, thus, raised his voice in warnig was one whose own belief in *swaraj* was not in doubt. His devotion to India, in the words of his great national song *India's Prayer,* had "flowered in love and borne fruit in work". In the years since 1905 his own thought had matured: he saw genuine *Swaraj* in terms of villages where all "walls" of social discrimination are torn down, so that the village can act as a united community and take responsibility for the welfare of all its people in every aspect of life. Gandhi's vision of *swaraj* was a fulfilment of his own.

Yet in 1921 there was a temporary parting of the ways. Tagore expressed his misgivings in a long article *The Call of Truth*, published in *The Modern Review* in October 1921. Gandhi sought him out, and the two men met privately with Andrews in the Tagore family home in Calcutta. There is in existance a sketch of this meeting of the three friends by the poet's artist nephew, Abanindranath, based, it is said, on impressions gained by peering through the keyhole of the door. It captures vividly Gandhi's confidence. Tagore's unresolved doubts, and Andrews' eagerness to follow the thought of both his friends.

Gandhi understood the poet's misgivings: "He fears that non-co-operation is a doctrine of seperation, exclusiveness, narrowness and negation. In conception, it is not; in practice, it may have failed. It is against compulsory cooperation with evil, with modern methods of exploitation backed by arms...Non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good." He urged that his non-cooperation was intended to pave the way to honourable cooperation, and that he had on thought of erecting a *"Chinese Wall"* between India and the West. He welcomed Tagore's "wholesome reminder' of the danger of a mere blind obedience. "If we would gain *swaraj"* he wrote, "we must stand for Truth as we know it at whatever cost. Blind surrender to love is often more mischievous than forced surrender to a tyrant." But then he went on to de-

scribe, with deep feeling the abject want which the charkha (the spinning wheel) might relieve, and which made spinning,in his view, a duty for all: "Let the poet spin like the rest!"

One of the best commentaries on the debate was written by Romain Rolland, the great European humanist who was a friend of both men: "Dark and tragic words these. The misery of the world rises up before the dream of art and cries, Dare deny me existence!' Who does not sympathise with Gandhi's passionate emotion and share it? And yet in his reply there is something tha justifies Tagore's misgivings: *"Silent poet!* (Let the poet be silent). Obey without discussion. Spin!" The differences remained : in the winter of 1921-22 Tagore quietly withdrew into his poet's corner. It was then that he wrote his great play *Mukta-dhara (The Free Current)*, filled it with his own deep faith in freedom, and so made a unique contribution to the whole movement.

Mukta-dhara is a mountain stream whose waters, rushing down the slopes of the kingdom of Uttarakut, irrigate the land of Shivtarai below. Uttarakut holds Shivtarai as a vassal state, and to enforce its subjection the rulers of Uttarakut have determined to control the water on which the life of Shivtarai depends. By conscript labour, and at considerable cost in human lives, a great dam has just been complete. As the play opens the people of Uttarakut are preparing to celebrate this triumph of engineering. The action takes place by the roadside, while the great "Machine", the engine-tower of the dam which imprisons the free current, stands sinister in the background, overloading even the temple of God. Beneath this symbol of the prostitution of science to human greed and tyranny the common people come and go. There are those from Uttarakut, many of them (but not all) proud and complacent, careless of human suffering; their servile school-masters teach a cheap contempt for the people of Shivatarai. The people of Shivtarai, oppressed and despairing, are ready to hit back. Their spiritual leader, Dhananjay, saint and singer, urges in speech and passionate song that only the patient courage of non-violence can save them, and urges them to "claim their kingdom" in this way. They have a champion in Abhijit, Crown Prince of Uttarakut, whose love of freedom and justice finds expression in his resolve to set at liberty the imprisoned waters of Mukta-dhara. He goes out alone to force the dam at its weakest point, knowing that he will be swept to his death as the leaping torrent breaks free.

Throughout the play, sannyasi devotees pass and re-pass across the stage. Their invocation of the Lord Shiva, the Unseen Avenger, forms the background of the human drama. Dhanajay's songs increase the awareness that much more than political justice is at stake. The play is brought to a magnificent close, as the saint's chant of solemn triumph welcomes the coming of Shiva Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance, symbol of an inviolate inner freedom, while the thunder of the Free Current rolls majestically in thedistance.

Mukta-dhara is packed with meaning at many levels, personal, social, political. "No other play of Rabindranath expresses his political convictions with such directness and force", comments Edward Thompson in his study of the

poet's work. Dhananjay's personality and words pointed plainly to Gandhi and Gandhi's message to India in 1921-22. Twenty years later, Marjorie was to share the English translation at which she was then working with students all over India in the midst of the Quit India movement of 1942, and witnessed the power with which it spoke to them. Its message is still alive today, when the menacing "Machines" of nuclear power overshadow the lives of all the peoples of the world alike.

Gandhi paid another visit to Shantiniketan in 1925. As he turned his attention more and more to the social implications of *swaraj*, and the healing of sectarian and caste divisions, he and Tagore came closer to one another, and the visit proved a refreshment of body and spirit. "Our friendship", Gandhi wrote, "has become all the richer for our disagreements... There is no competition between us. I may say in all humility that we complement each other's activities". The debate continued, but in a ,much more relaxed fashion than before. "It is essential", said Tagore, "that the responsibility of *swaraj* should be accepted fully and not as a matter of home-spun yarn alone". "Agreed", said Gandhi in effect: "but it must *begin* with the *charkha* because only people who have shed their idleness and learned to cooperate can build up the other benefits of *swaraj*". This reasoned defence of charkha was to be coupled later with a condemnation of the "mechanical cult" of it as emphatic as Tagore's. "I say with all the conviction of experience" declared Gandhi, "that if the charge is to be turned only mechanically, Gandhism deserves to be destroyed."

In January 1930, soon after the Congress had passed its historic Independence resolution, Tagore visited Gandhi in his home at Sabarmati Ashram. Gandhi was preparing to lead the country in a fresh movement of non-cooperation, to be initiated by the great "salt march" from Sabarmati to the sea. Tagore found him in great spirits. "I hear you are getting ready for arrest-cure", he joked, "I wish they would give me one"! "How can they? You don't behave yourself!" Teased his friend light-heartedly.

That particular "arrest-cure" eventually led to Gandhi's talks with Lord Irwin , the Viceroy, and to his participation in the meeting of the Round Table Conference in London in the autumn of 1931. There were strong elements in the conference who urged that the "right" of the various minority communities would best be secured by organizing them as separate political electorates. Gandhi believed that any such step would be disastrous, in that it would tend to bring into prominence those who took a narrowly sectional stand rather than those who put first the welfare of India as a whole. In particular, he warned the conference that he would "resist which with his life" any proposal to apply the policy to the "untouchables" The conference broke up without agreement, leaving the decision on this crucial issue to the British authorities.

Very soon after Gandhi returned home he was arrested again, and he was still in jail in Poona in September 1932 when the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, announced a "communal award" based on separate electorates, in which the "untouchables" were included. Gandhi declared that he would

fast unto death unless this provision was changed. He longed for a message of support from Tagore, but none had arrived. Early in the morning of September 20th, the day the fast was to began, he wrote a special letter to the poet, "You have been a true friend", he said, "because you have been a candid friend, If your heart approves, I want your blessing: it will sustain me". But even before this letter could be despatched, the longed-for telegram arrived. "It is worth sacrificing precious life", ran the message, "for India's unity and her social integrity". Tagore sent Gandhi the "reverence and love" of the Shantiniketan community: at Shantiniketan he called the community together. "This is Mahatmaji's ultimatum', he told them, "against our moral weakness. It may be our misfortune to lose him in the fight, but the gift of the fight will be passed on to every one of us. It is a gift to be accepted humbly, but with the determination to carry through the struggle to the end". The moral weakness which Gandhi challenged was that of the so-called "higher" castes whose arrogant callousness had made so many of their victims feel that a separate political identity was their only hope.

India did not lose Gandhi in that particular battle, but the danger was very real. Leaders of the communities involved met urgently in Poona to hammer out agreed counterproposals to the British award. But by the time the "Poona Pact' was signed and wired to London in the very early hours of September 25th, Gandhi's life hung in the balance. On the 26th, morning the doctors declared that 'there is now danger, even if the fast is broken". That same morning the British Government's response was made known, and after studying it in consultation with his fiends, Gandhi decided that it was satisfactory. Tagore had come hurrying from Bengal, and was present when the fast was broken. At the prayers held before Gandhi accepted his orange juice, he sang one of his own Bengali hymns from *Gitanjali".* "I wish you had been here to see Bapu and Gurudev* embracing one another then", wrote Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's beloved secretary, to Andrews in London. "Bapu's face was turned towards me, and his eyes were wet with tears of joy". The joy had healing power: slowly, Gandhi recovered his strength.

Andrews, in London, had his part in the happy outcome. For months he had been in close, friendly touch with British statesmen and officials, patiently and courteously explaining Gandhi's point of view. When the news of Gandhi's fast came through, he had redoubled his efforts, and on September 23rd he was assured that the British Government would at once accept any "practicable" agreement between caste Hindus and "untouchables", Late the next night, Saturday September 24th, the news of the Pooha Pact came through.* Ramsay Macdonald had left London for his country retreat at chequers, and other ministers were out of town for the weekend. By seven o' clock on Sunday morning Andrews was on his way to Chequers, and then, all that day, from interview to

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* Bapu: "father": the affectionate name which Gandhi's younger fellow workers habitually used. Gurudev : "revered teacher"; the title commonly given to Tagore.

* The slight discrepancy in date reflects the 5.30 hour time-lag between India and Britain.

interview. He was known and respected, and every door was open to him. The Prime Minister's decision had to be taken immediately, for time was all important: it must also be rightly worded. As in other crises of Andrews' life, his sense of divine upholding cleared his brain and sharpened his intellectual powers. There was no false step.

The next day was Gandhi's birthday by the Indian calendar. At the little gathering of friends Tagore quoted the Upansihad : He is the One luminous, Creator of all, Mahatma, Always in the hearts of the people enshrined.

It is fitting that Gandhi should be called Mahatma, he said, for he is enshrined in the hearts of the people more firmly now than ever before. The news of the Pact had brought a great upsurge of goodwill. Christian leaders appealed to their own community to abandon any claim to separate electrorates, and there were fresh efforts to bring Hindus and Muslims together.

Gandhi himself concentrated on the 'untouchables", and early in 1933 he began his new weekly *Harijan* for their service. He had already used this name *Harijan (people* of Good) in his Gujarati weekly *Navajivan* in place of the regarding name "untouchable". Followers of all religions, he said, know God as Helper of the helpness: these most helpless ones are specially his people. "When caste Hindus have got rid of untouchability of their own conviction", he wrote, "we shall all be calle.. Harijans, because we shall have found favour with God".

On the front page of the first issue of the new weekly appeared Tagore's free English translation of the Bengali poem by Satyendranath Data, *The Cleanser:*

> Why do they shun your touch, my friend
> and call you unclean?
> You, whom cleanliness follows at every step.
> marking sweet the earth and air for our dwelling?
> Lord Shiva saved the world from poison once.
> drinking it himself.
> You, with the same divine long-suff ring.
> Save the world every day from its defilements.
> Come, my friend, my hero.
> Give us courage to serve men as you serve.
> Even while they brand you with the the mark of shame.

In the fight against untouchability Gandhi and Tagore were completely united, but in 1934 they had another difference of opinion. In January that year a disastrous earthquake devastated North Bihar. Gandhi declared that the disaster was a nemesis for the sin of untouchability", and Tagore reacted with "painful surprise". "We are immensely grateful to Mahatmaji", he wrote, "for inspiring his country men to free themselves from fear and feebleness: we feel profoundly hurt when any words of his encourage them in unreason-unreason whose

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It is ironic that 50 years later the name *Harijan* is itself rejected as "degrading" because the people of India have not yet "got rid of untouchability of their own conviction".

blind urges are at war with our freedom and our self-respect". Gandhi's reply was that the human mind cannot presume to understand the working of the cosmic law, that God and His law are one, and that the spiritual and the physical aspects of the Law are also one and inseparable. The debate points up the fact that the two men had spent their early formative years in very different mental climates: Gandhi amid the piety of a traditional Vaishnava household, Tagore amid the rational humanism inspired by Rammohan Roy. Their differences remained, but the foundations of their friendship were too firm to be shaken by the argument.

Before Gandhi visited Santiniketan again, the Second World War had begun. By that time Marjorie was living in Santiniketan, and she well remembers the evening of September 3rd, 1939, the day that war was declared. The wide horizons of Santiniketan were filled with the pageantry of a sunset of a rare and breathtaking majesty and beauty. It seemed as if the dear, familiar world were bidding a reluctant farewell. The slowly darkening skies foreshadowed the long night of uncertainty, of possible unguessed disaster. Many hearts were heavy with foreboding. At the end of the year C.F Andrews came back after a long absence to his beloved Indian home, and was most affectionately welcomed. But he was worn out in body and suffering in spirit. Gandhi was to arrive in February 1940, but before the day came Andrews had become so unwell that he had to enter a hospital in Calcutta.

Gandhi was received at a simple ceremony in the mango grove, and then Tagore took him to the little mud cottage which had been prepared for him. Tagore had recently had it built in the local village style. "Here is your house", he said, "designed by a poet and made of clay". "Well, so are we all, are we not?" smiled Gandhi. "Here perhaps", went on Tagore, "you may be able to rest for a little while from the lime-light". "But what about the sunlight?" asked Gandhi, "How I am to escape that here?" This light-hearted repartee went on as the two sat together during the afternoon. A tray of tea was brought in. "Look, here comes your poison", teased Gandhi. "Ye-e-es", admitted Tagore as he took up his cup, "but it's a very slow poison!".

In the evening there was a special performance of Tagore's dance-drama *Chandalika*. The heroine is an "untouchable" girl who is awakened to knowledge of her own humanity and womanhood at the touch of a disciple of the Buddha. The choice of the play was a fitting tribute to Gandhi, who, like the Buddha, had broken through the barriers of caste to the universal humanity within. It symbolized a bond of unity between the "Gurudev" and the "Mahatma" which was far more significant than their differences of temperament, method and emphasis.

During this visit, Andrews was much in the thought of both his great friends, and when Gandhi left Santiniketan he went straight to Andrews' bedside in Calcutta. It was to be their last meeting. Andrews was gravely ill, his

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The name Rabindranath means "Lord of the Sun". The anecdote is related by Dr. Amiya C.Chakravarty who was present.

voice a mere whisper, but he spoke with hope and confidence. "Swaraj is coming, Mohan.** A few weeks later, on April 5th, Andrews died. As Gandhi looked back over twenty five years of partnership, he pointed to these words as Andrews' "legacy" to India: the faith that "the best Indians and the best Englishmen", working together, could overcome all obstacles in the way of freedom.

Meanwhile Britain's allies in Europe were facing military disaster. Nazi armies over ran one country after another; Britain, left almost alone, faced the German forces across the narrow English Channel. The whole of India was moved; Gandhi and Tagore were both moved profoundly. "I feel as though my own home were being bombed", said Gandhi as he read of the air attacks on London. Tagore's thoughts went to his many friends in all parts of Europe, not least in Germany itself. His friends would be unwelcome, he knew, in any Nazi state. What was happening to them? There was no hope of any news across the barriers of war.

In those dark days Tagore's mind turned more and more to the message of the Buddha. He would ask again and again for the singing of a hymn which he had written in 1927 as part of another play. *Natir Puja* (the Dancing Girl's Worship) which like Chandalika was based on the Buddhist tradition:

> The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred,
> Crooked its paths, Tangled its bonds of greed....
> The hearts of men are anguished
> with the poison of self-seeking,
> with a thirst that knows no end....
> Thou giver of immortal gifts,
> Give us the power of renunciation
> and claim from us our pride.
>
> *O serene, O free,*
> *In thine immeasurable mercy and goodness*
> *wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.*

Was not the spirit of the Buddha, Tagore asked himself, born a new in our own age in Gandhi's steadfast, loving non-violence?

Three of his own plays, as we have seen, had been specially inspired by the Buddha and the Mahatma. Would not an English translation help to give them, wider currency, perhaps contribute to the claiming of that "delirium of hatred"? One day he sent for Marjorie, who had already undertaken some other translations at his request, and asked her if she would tackle these plays, *Chandalika, Natir Puja, Muktadhara.* Marjorie began the work, and was able to consult him once or twice as it progressed, but he did not live to see it finished.

** Andrews, who was about the same age as Gandhi, was probably the only person, during the later years, who habitually called Gandhi by his personal

In May 1941 Tagore completed his eightieth year. The message which he delivered on that occasion is called *Crisis in Civilization;* it may rightly be regarded as his last testament to India. He begins by describing the warm admiration for "human goodness in an alien race" which he had felt as a youth when he read of the "large-heated radicalism" of men like the English friend of India, John Bright. Later, he goes on his attitude had undergone "a tragic change". He had lost faith in "western" civilization, as he had experienced the terrible poverty of the Indian people, and the "contempt" with which their misery was treated by their rulers. He had come to reject British rule, in fact, for much the same reasons as Gandhi did, and he felt the same scorn as Gandhi did for the British "gift" of law and order. What kind of India, he asks sadly, will the British leave behind them when they go? But in spite of this disillusionment, Tagore declares, " I shall not commit the sin of losing faith in man". He goes on to pay tribute to the men and women from many nations and especially from Britain itself, who have confirmed and vindicated his faith in humanity. He expresses his hope that 'a new Saviour' a new Buddha, may yet to born among us". The message ends with words of solemn warning, concluded in the sonorous language of the *Manusmrti:*

By unrighteousness man prospers,
he gains what seems desirable,
he defeats his enemies,
but he perishes at the root

Those ancient words express Gandhi's insight as fully as Tagore's and they are even more urgently relevant today than they when Tagore uttered them in the dark days of 1941.

During the previous year Tagore had begun to prepare a new production of his play, *The Post Office.* He wrote a new song as the end of the play, at the death-bed of its valiant-hearted boy hero Amal. The production never took place, the poet's falling strength was no longer equal to the task. At his request the song was sung as his own requiem, at the memorial meeting of Santiniketan on the evening of his death in August 1941.

In front lies like ocean of peace.
O Helmsman, sail out to the open sea,
May the bounds of earth dissolve,
may the mighty universe take him in her arms,
and may he know in his fearless heart
the Great Unknown.*

Compare Gandhi's famous letter to the Vicercy on the eve of his Salt March (12.3.1930) : "The only law the nation knows is the will of the British admiration. the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison".

Lesson : 11

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND GANDHI

Born in January 1866, Romain Rolland was educated at Paris and Italy. He studied history and received a doctorate in Art in 1865. In 1912, after a brief career in teaching art and musicology, he resigned to devote his time to writing. He published his well-known novel *Jean Christophe* for which and for his pamphlet "Above the battle" -a call for France and Germany to respect truth and humanity throughout their struggle in World War I he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1915.

Like Gandhi, the young Rolland came under the influence of Tolstoy. He wrote a letter at an early age to the Russian philosopher to learn from him how to live. This was the time when Tolstoy had, in his essay, "What is to be done?" fiercely attacking art and treated Shakespeare and Beethoven, the idols of Rolland, contemptuously. A second letter was written after six months as a reminder to which he received a long reply that left a deep mark on his life. Similarly, his academic studies in music contributed a great deal to the development of his personality. It made him aware of the unity underlying all historical evolution, the unity of the spirit of creation regardless of difference of time and space.

Roamin Rolland was an internationalist and a pacifist. His two books against the war i.e., *Above the battle,* and *precursors* were well received in Europe. However, his unqualified opposition to war caused a lot of misunderstanding about him among his own people during the first world war which resulted in his self-imposed exile in Switzerland where he lived till 1937. He was criticised for his proposed callousness or cowardice or conscious betrayed of his own country. But he remained steadfast and carried on his war against war till his death. He was 'one against all'. His intellectual belief in the futility of war hardened into unshakable conviction. The only thing that mattered to him was truth and he was ready to sacrifice anything for it, even his own country. His internationalism and pacifism were interrelated.

Romain Rolland's own experiences in life, his struggles and sufferings, his commitment to truth, his concern for the good of the masses and his adherence of war and violence drew him towards the Indian leader with whom he felt some kind of spiritual affinity. Similarly, during the war he wrote, "It is violence which I condemn... I condemn it in all the parties." After the war he issued an appeal, to the intellectuals of all countries of the world under the title, "Declaration of the Independence of the mind" to identify themselves with it by signing it. Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy were the two Indians among several western and Asian writers who signed this declaration. In it he reminds the intellectuals of the world that their duty at this hour is to

honour truth. "Truth, free, without frontiers, without limits, without prejudices of race and caste". Further it said, "we do not acknowledge the Nation. We acknowledge the Nation, unique, universal, the people who suffer." Though an intellectual of a high order, he was not an elitist, for he looked upon the fate of the elite depending upon the masses. "The best way of working for the elite is still to work for the masses," since they derive their strength from them.

This commitment to the interests of the masses and abhorrence of violence made him look for a method of fighting the menace of capitalism and imperialism without resort to violence. Gandhi's Satyagraha struck him as the right way and so he developed admiration for him.

It seems that he had the habit of writing short biographies of man he admired. He had written the biographies of Beethoven, Michael Angelo, and Tolstoy before the personality of Gandhi caught his imagination. By temperament and upbringing. Romain Rolland was fitted to take interest in the thought and destiny of India. He had his first encounter with the Indian mind when he read Anand Coomarasamy's Article published in the *New Age* on 24 December 1914 and the *Art and craft of India and Ceylon* which the same another had sent to him. He came in closer contact with Indian culture on reading Rabindranath Tagore's lecture delivered in Japan in 1916. Only in 1919 he wrote his first letter to Tagore enclosing the Declaration of the Independence of the mind, with a request to sign, which he did. He met Tagore on latter's first visit to Paris in April 1921.

A year later, S. Ganesan sent him a copy of Gandhi's articles published in *Young India* with a request to write a short introduction to it. He also sent him a copy of his speeches and writings. He was so much impressed by Gandhi's thought and campaigns that he decided to write a lengthy article for a Persian Magazine *"Europe"*. Later, it was published as an introduction in *Young India* which Rolland edited. A meeting with Andrews and Pearson, Gandhi's intimate English friends and associates in South Africa and correspondence with his old friends Kalidas Nag and Dilip Kumar Roy who also supplied more documents on this subject enriched his knowledge about the Mahatma.

However, he made a new attempt in portraying Gandhi's life. At that time, he neither knew English nor he was fully aware of Indian life, culture and the million of the country where Gandhi was born, brought up and fought. He had to depend upon his sister for going through Gandhi's works or any other document relating to his life and thought. For, Gandhi had demonstrated that an unjust order could be removed without resort to violence. He, therefore, combined in himself the attributes of both Lenin and Tolstoy, whom Rolland admired. There was a unity of faith and action in him. Gandhi's experiment, therefore, relieved him of a great dilemma or a conflict resulting from his devotion to a cause of the downtrodden and his abhorrence of violence. In the movement of the Mahatma he found the fulfillment of his own mission and wishes. He longed to work for the emancipation of the masses form exploitation of the capitalists and the imperialists. But the activist in him was subordi-

nated to the artist and the writer in him. He could tirelessly expose the war mongers, exploiters and unscrupulous politicians or could appeal to the intellectuals to unite to save humanity from the impending catastrophe. He could be a Tolstoy but not a Lenin or Gandhi who could build roads to reach their goats.

The author devotes only a few pages to the early life of his subject. Gandhi's childhood, education and struggle in South Africa are told without any literary flourish. There could be two reasons for this short account. Firstly, he had already finished his little work on Gandhi when he received more authentic account of Gandhi's early life from his associates in South Africa. Secondly, his main objective was to draw the attention of the European audience to the mission of the Mahatma which was more striking than his personal trails and attainments.

The fate impact of Gandhi's movement equally strengthen author's faith in his won mission and his seemingly unsuccessful struggle against the cult of violence in Europe. Rolland, thus, seeks an opportunity to express the anguish of his heart resulting from the failure of his people to understand him. The last pages reveal Rolland's mind and mission. He views the value of Gandhi's experiment in a larger perspective-in the context of man's search for permanent peace. He makes Gandhi a world figure, though his experiment is confined to his country at that moment. Having faith in his own mission, he concludes with the following words of assurance. "One thing is certain either Gandhi's spirit will triumph or it will manifest itself again, as were manifested, centuries before, the Messiah and the Buddha till there finally is manifested, in a mortal half-god, the perfect incarnation of the principle of life which will lead a new humanity on to a newpath".

Gandhi found Romain Rolland's work quite satisfactory. Romain Rolland played an important role in introducing the flame of Gandhi throughout the Europe. Therefore the book served the purpose for which it was written. Within two years of its publication, it was translated into all the European languages besides three Indian languages, and its French edition had more than twenty impressions. Gandhi himself acknowledged that all the reputation that he had in Europe was due to Romain who acted as his interpreter, in the west.

Gandhi and Romain Rolland first met at the latter's home in Switzerland on December 5, 1931. Gandhi stayed there for one week. It was a strange but a deep spiritual meeting between the two great savants who did not know each other's language. Romain Rolland's sister acted as an interpreter and they found no difficulty in their conversation. The mutual interest and deep regard between Gandhi and Romain Rolland began much earlier

In 1923 Romain Rolland published his book on Gandhi in French. It was translated into English in India in 1924. A later translation of the book appeared in 1948. His book inspired Miss. Madeleine Slade and Miss Muriel Lester to seek light directly from Gandhi. In a reply to Miss. Slade who had not heard

about Gandhi at that time, Romain Rolland said about Gandhi, " Gandhi is another Christ."

The relationship between Gandhi and Romain Rolland apparently ripened through Mira Ben.

Romain Rolland and Gandhi discussed "Truth is God" on December 10, 1931. But Rolland felt that this dictum lacked one importance attribute of God-joy and stressed the pain of searching for Truth and God. In the course of talk, Gandhi accepted the formula that art brought joy and was good but opposed to reproduction of external things to achieve Truth and Art. In his opinion God was "an eternal principle" and "only living things bring joy to the soul and elevate the soul." In the course of his stay at another meeting of the conscientious objectors of the war. Gandhi was asked "why you regard God as Truth". Gandhi replied "when you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is love, that is nonviolence, and since I believe that ultimately the means and ends are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love," Words of cheer, peace and solace to a hungry passionate world.

Gandhi was sixty-two and Roamin Rolland sixty-five years of age when they parted after their personal talks. Gandhi lived another two decades and preached nonviolence to the world and passed through many phases. Romain Rolland passed away in 1944. Both were pacifists. Romain Rolland continued his great interest in Gandhi until his death.

Andrews was the only witness at the discussion between Tagore and Gandhi, shortly after Tagore's return to India. He describes them as two types, of two opposing Indian races Gandhi, from western India, is of an unimaginative and very practical race, Tagore is quite the opposite. The first subject of discussion was ideals. Gandhiji defended them, believing the masses incapable of raising themselves immediately to abstract ideas. Tagore cannot bear to see the people eternally treated as a child. Gandhi quoted the great things achieved in Europe by the Flag as an idol' Tagore found it easy to object, but Gandhi held his ground, contrasting European flags bearing eagles, etc., with his own, on which he has put a spinning wheel. The second point of discussion was nationalism which Gandhi defended. He said that one must go through nationalism to reach internationalism, -in the same way that one must go through war to reach peace. (A terrifying argument) This is why he has so often worked to recruit for the English armies. Andrews wrote him letter after letter to dissuade him, but Gandhi never gave in.

Andrews approves of my comparison of Gandhi with St. Paul and Tagore with Plato. He says smilingly that Gandhi is very much St.Paul.

Appendix

Romain Rolland's Preface to

Gandhi's Autobiography

This great book you are reading is not an autobiography in the usual sense, inspired by narcissism or moral exhibitionism as practised by the greatest writers of the West, Jean- Jacques and Tolstoy -to say nothing of the acsthetes of today,[1]

Gandhi strenuously denies this in his illuminating introduction to his book, dated 26 November 1925, which I regret that C.F. Andrews has omitted from this abridged edition.

This book is about action, and written to achieve, it should be the breviary of every man of action of our day. By this I do not mean that they ought to follow its directions. This Gandhi himself would not wish, he has never claimed to be an authority, only to be an example for others to interpret freely and in the light of their own reasons. But everyone will find in this work an incalculable wealth of factual instruction on how to achieve action, both on oneself and on others, on the men and the nations of our day.

With the exactness he brings to bear on every task Gandhi entitles this work. *A story of My Experiment with Truth*. The word experiment must be underlined, and one could as well say on as with Truth, for Truth is seen here as a cosmic element on which experiments can be carried out, just as Albert Einstein is carrying out experiments on light in the Michelson Laboratories in California.

The whole book, Gandhi's whole life is a logical chain of experiments based on facts, and this chain which, ever since his earliest childish awareness has never ceased to grow - patiently but unceasingly, from one link to the next, broadening the thread to embrace three hundred million Indians, and soon the whole world is not yet complete. He says so frankly :

"My conclusion from my current experiment can hardly as yet be regarded as decisive ... I set a high value on these experiments..."[2] *My conclusion appear to me to be absolutely correct.... But far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for these experiment. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist who though he conducts his experiments with the utmost accuracy overthought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusion, but keeps an open mind regarding them..."*[3]

It is up to us all to conduct our own experiments in the light of those done by Gandhi, in our own ways and following the laws of our own minds:

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1 *Life of Gandhi,* written by himself, Translated into French by Camille editions Rjeder collection "Europe", Paris.

2 closing pages of the book

3 Introduction of 1925

Gandhi is no more than a humble seeker after truth.[4] But how intrepid are his researches ! ... And as to his *humility*, we shall see !.. Humble before Truth, yes; but where is this Truth to be found?

MY EXPERIMENTS ON TRUTH...

Gandhi does not ask, with Pilate, *"What is Truth"*... Truth is the starting point. But the starting point is always, so to speak, the weak point (one night equally well say the strong point) in every passionate logician who uses deductive reason, either in thought or in action-whether their name be Spinoza or Gandhi. For it is at the starting point that we find the essential passion springing from the heart of their being, the very reason for their existence. If this reason were lacking, the man of passion would be nothing: He would wither away and die.

Truth is Gandhi's reason for existence. It is thus *his own* Truth, and the whole of his life's experimenting is aimed at checking its exactness and effectiveness, first on himself, then on others.

"I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal.. All that I do by way of speaking and writing and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end. But as I have all along believed that what is possible for one is possible for all, my experiments have not been conducted in the closet but in the open".

His Truth -the Truth is written into the roots of his nature let us then look at these roots in the pure state, starting from his childhood.

His nature was passed down to him by his race, pure and firm as steel, a race devoted essentially to action, upright and sound. His elderly father was a statesman, of purely practical education able to direct the activities of hundreds of men his mother a woman of firm common sense and inflexible will-power, devoting herself to complete self-mastery in her religious practices.[5]

Moral purity, practicality and an iron will; three are the those essential features.

Moral purity very soon asserted itself in the child, revealing itself in his tastes in reading and entertainments (which bored him apart from their moral attraction) and in the almost ecstatic emotion evoked in him simple moral sententia[6] which would leave thousands of other children totally indifferent or sceptical. Later, when he became a man, this moral element was always the one of the two major aspects which impressed him the most in the Scriptures both the *Gita* and the Gospels. The rest of Kingdom of God attracted him little. He has admitted that the true religious sentiment as it is generally under-

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4 Quoted by Andrews in his *Conclusion.*

5 By means of rigorous disciplines such as facting, which was to become one of Gandhi's favourite methods.

6 *Such as Return good for evil.*

stood, was slow to be awakened in him, and that as a child, he had no *living faith in God.* He has never deved deep into religious metaphysics, and even less into the psycho-physiological mystical techniques of his country, late in life he began some experiments with *yoga,* but he seen tired of them, postponed them until a later date and has never resumed them; he has neither the time nor the inclination for them... It seems that though he instinctively knows some forms of *yoga."*[8] It should be seen as a kind of moral yoga, combining simultaneous elements of *Karma bhakti* and *Gnana yoga* action, love and reason, a kind of mean between the three.

But his essential features from the very beginning was that he was a child *"incapable of lying"* mediocre or indifferent, may be, in every thing else, and particularly in intellectual curiosity, but flawless on the precise point of morality, a child of absolute sincerity, who found it almost physically impossible to be and who suffered intolerably, not when his truthfulness risked weakening, but simply when it was called in question. (There is some unconscious pride in this he is not as humble as he believes-and I admire him for it...)

Such an admirable moral purity could well spread from sincerity to other areas of morality, and that is what happened. He very soon became aware that the whole moral field was his, or should become his, and that he had no right to neglect any of it. (Some corners of the field did not prove easy to plough). But the imperative *"do not lie"*, is the grappling root, like that of the ivy, wherever he climbs these are the hooks by which he climbs.

Apart from this, he was equipped with a healthy and very well balanced reasoning faculty, troubled by excess of the imagination, no suspect mists of sentimentality of heart or mind. This is what he says about geometry, which he has enjoyed ever since childhood, without suspecting that children of a more dreamy or poetic nature would not subscribe to so peremptory a statement: *A subject which only required-the simple use of one's reasoning powers could not be difficult.*

Furthermore, everything in his nature was directed from the outset towards action. His truth and reason would, in his view, have been still-born, if they had remained enclosed in the interior of his thought. In order to exist, they had to be realized outside himself and this realization necessarily led, step by step, to collective action in its broadest form. But let there be no mistake. At the starting point there was no effusion of *Amour Caritatis,* that frenzy of sublimated love for all men, for all beings, which burned in the former libertine Francis of Assisi. Instead there was an inner law of truth seeking individual realization; he himself must be adequate to his profound and initially obscure ideal of Truth; he himself, by the hammer and chisel of his actions, must carve

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7. *There are innumerable definitions (and manifestations) of God.. They overwhelm and stun me..... But I worship God as Truth only... (Introduction)*
8. He speaks in his *Introduction of faint glimpses of the Absolute Truth* which have appeared to him *often on his way.* But they are never more than intermittent glimpses.

from the virgin stone the statue written into his own individual being! He says as much, with his usual grandiose sincerity:

"My national (human) service is part of the training I undergo for freeing my soul from the bondage of the flesh..... Thus considered , my service may be regarded as purely selfish" [9]

And this is spoken by a man who has sacrificed his whole well-being, his passions, his interest, his whole self, to others. And he is still not satisfied.....

"I must reduce myself to zero....." [10]

His complete self-realization tends towards this ultimate zero which is the Universal Being - the Absolute, *Moksha....* [11]

The whole way of this life leads, with unreserved sincerity, towards this perfect identification of the self with the All; this is the natural movement of the Indian mind. But whereas most Indians, above all the great mystics, reach it in one great leap or strike to do so by the passion of ecstasy, Gandhi travels progressively towards it, by the tenacious and passionate logic of active reason.[12]

And he does not claim that he has achieved it; he is *on the way* .....This is a confession of astonishingly sincerity from a great Indian man of religion who has arrived, as he has almost at the end of his heroic career-a sixty-year life full of spiritually combats, as immense as a *Ramayana:*

1. There is no other God but truth.
2. To reach Truth, a man must be able to love the means fragment of universal creation as he loves himself.
3. A man cannot exercise this love if he keeps out of the least field of life. Therefore he must participate in action and he cannot loftily brush aside politics with a *Noli me tangere!*.....To raise the drawbridge between politics and religion, to say that religion has nothing to do with politics, is not to know what religion means.
4. It is impossible to achieve identification with everything that lives without self-purification. Perfect purity is a *sine qua non.*
5. A man cannot reach perfect purity if he does not renounce all passion; he must rise above love and hatred. There must be no preferences in his affections. He who would be friends with God (with Truth) must make

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9. 1924 Quoted by Andrews in his conclusion
10. Closing lines of the volume
11. *To attain Moksha ..... the Absolute.....to see God face to face,* for God, by his own definition, is the same as Truth. *(Introduction)*
12. His whole deductive process is explained by him at the end of the book:

the whole world his friend. And as for himself, he must tend towards zero...∴Ahimsa is the ultimate zero of humility.

"I have not yet found God (Truth). But I am seeking after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. As long as I have not realized this absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That must be my beacon and my buckler... If anything that I write in these pages may strike the reader as being touched with pride, then he must take it that there is something wrong with my quest and that my glimpses are no more than mirages... The seeker after truth should be humble than the dust..Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of the truth..[13]

This proud humility of the real seeker after truth, the genuine man of science, brings him closer than any Indian to the majority of European mind. He uses the same mental instrument as our men of free reason, an intelligence which observes; deduces and applies the results of its reasoned experimentation to the facts it experiences.

Let us follow the chain of his experiments. They are for every one, the most simple mind should understand them...

"The conviction has been growing upon me that whatever is possible for me is possible even for a child...[14]

His first experiments were on himself, on his youthful body and mind. He had a natural taste for self-discipline, both physical and moral, and on the physical level he had something to take after; he tells us that the *Vaishnava* rules of his race are inexorable on the subject of physical cleanliness. This need for cleanliness extended to be washed from it, and the young Gandhi had no lack of such things. It tells us a great deal when we learn that this hero (a boy of thirteen, already married) wac tormented by fear; fear of everything, darkness, ghosts, robbers, snakes... And his bowels were also gnawed by the she wolf of sensuality, of which he still speaks with terror today in veiled terms.. These were his two enemies, and we know with what implacable energy he tamed them (and he is not at all sure that one of them is still not growing in the shadows). But no one can tell the violence of the conflicts which have never created within him. So calm, so detached, so pure a man I ... What s victory, and what an example for the vanquished....

Thus ever since his twentieth year he has put renunciation, self-defeat, at the forefront of the life he has built for himself. He does not say that this task appeared to him as a duty- no indeed it was a pleasure... *"It appealed to me"* [15]

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13. Introduction
14. Introduction
15. *The ideas of renunciation as the highest form of religion appealed to me greatly.*

This pleasure in renunciation takes the form of humbling the body by the most rigorous means available, and in the first instance by the most rigorous means available, and in the first instance by fasts, which Gandhi has always practised - experimented with - With a strange delight. [16]

A year-long vow which he took was "one of the sweetest of my life"...

But the king of all fasts is *Brahmacharya*, the law of absolute chastity. This man who, by a precocious marriage, knew at too young age the obsession with the carnal act (one still senses that he is barned by the memory of the poison which flowed though his veins) became aware rather belatedly of the heroic remedy which alone could liberate his soul. In 1906, during the Zulu revolt in the Natal, he meditated on the absolute need for chastity if he was to accomplish his task- his double task of self-realization and the service of humanity. This even demanded tearing himself away from family bounds, but in his exaltation he took the vow of *Brahmacharya* for the rest of his life.

"I must confess", he adds "that I had not then fully realized the magnitude and immensity of the task I had undertaken. Today I have still not beaten its ever present difficulties".

It is not only the body which is concerned; the mind must be shut off from all impure thoughts.

"And" he says, "although neither will nor effort is lacking. I have yet achieved complete mastery over thought.."

But he has not slightest double about the excellence of the law.

"Life without Brahmacharya appears to me to be insipid and animal -like.. Man is man because he is capable of self-restraint."

This is the great motto of severe virile age and every hero either European or Asiatic, either free thinkers or believers:

"If you want to be great limit yourself: Renounce, in order the better to be the master!"

But with Gandhi, as with the ascetics, Christian or Indian, renunciation, does not imply retreat (although it tempts him: what man has not felt its charms?)

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16. Nowhere is the word experiment more appropriate than in this case. Gandhi never tires of experimenting to find out how much privation the body can bear and remain healthy. He is ceaselessly cutting down and down on his food. Sickness warns him when he has gone too far, and he has to retrace his steps, but he does not consider himself defeated, and soon afterwards he is observed to start his attempts again trying to deceise the resistance of this organism by some roundabout way or by surprive ractics. He naively says: *"The experiments in dieteties are dear to me as a part of my researches in Ahimsa. They give me* recreation and joy." But let it not be thought that his mind is taken in by the game! He admits that medically there may be two opinions on the value of his diets (which, as well as suppressing meat, also reject salt and pulses) But morally I have no doubt that all self-deh abdsnial is good for the soul Fasting is thus essentially a spiritual discipline.

Retreat from the world constitutes a flight hence a defeat, and Gandhi rejects it. He is not of the stuff? Of which the vanquished are made. Renunciation must be within the world or not at all. Gandhiji thus resolutely entered into the way of affairs; and it is noteworthy that the only living man whose religious influence he admits-for exceptionally, in an Indian seeking God, he never had a guru a spiritual master - is a man living in his provinces who, like himself, is absorbed in spiritual pursuits in the midst of business"[17].

Among strong believers, God has never got, in the way of practical action. We have striking examples of this in the West and Henri Bremond has described some extraordinary cases in his Literary History of Religious Sentiment in France [18] But these examples have more value in the East. This superposition of two powers intense religious concentrations and realistic will to action predestined this frail littleman, setting of for South Africa in 1893 at the age of twentyfour as advisory lawyer to a company, to become a master of the people of India.

For the present, he had little notion of what was awaiting him; but the surprising things which he did find awaiting him at once made his unknown energies rise within him. He was scarcely off the boat before he was insulted; then again; three, four, five times within a few days, in odious, brutal and revolting fashion. And this timid, stammering little Indian unhesitatingly went forward at the risk of his life. The sense of outraged rights conquered his fear for ever. If necessary, he would march to the scaffold.

But his admirable, sense of equity kept him from rushing into violent revolt. From his very first steps he achieved over his oppressors the highest of all victories the victory of an unruffled spirit of justice, serene and pure, which refused to take vengeance.

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17. The Gujarati poet Raychand, whom Gandhi knew when he returned to India from England.
18. CT. VOL, Ch V; The intense Life of the Mystics.- that lady of Touts in the age of Louis XIII who was a French St. Theresa, mine, Martin, Mary of the Incarnation.

Lesson : 12

GANDHI AND THE NEHRUS

The Nehrus originally belonged to the valley of Kashmir. Early in the eighteenth century it was also noted for its scholars, one of them, Pandit Raj Kaul, caught the eye of the Mugal King Parukshiyar when visited the Kashmir about the year 1716. He was persuaded to migrate to Delhi, the imperial capital where he was granted a house situated on the canal which then ran through the city. Living on the bank of the canal (nahar), Raj Kaul's descendants came to be known in the Kashmiri community as 'Nehrus'.

Motilal's grand father Lakshmi Narayan become the first *vakil* (lawer) of the East India Company at the Mugal court of Delhi. Motilal's father Ganga Dhar was a police officer in Delhi in 1857 when the mutiny took place. By 1857, the 'Nehrus', the descendants of Raj Kaul, had been settled in Delhi for nearly a century and a half.

In September 1857, as the victorious British troops shelled their way into the town, the Indian population streamed out in panic. Some went to stay in the suburbs of Delhi, others left Delhi searching of safety. Among the fugitives who took the road to Agra were Ganga Dhar Nehru and his wife Jeorani, their two sons Bansi Dhar and Nandilal, and their two daughters Patrani and Maharani. The upheaval of 1857 uprooted Ganga Dhar and he lost everything. But he was fortunate to escape with his family. Early in 1861, he died at the age of thirty four, Mothilal was born on may 6, 1861, three months after the death of his father. The death of her husband was a big blow to Jeorani. But luckily both of the boys Bansi Dhar and Nandlal were plucky boys and were able to stand on their own feet. Since Bansi Dhar was in government service and liable to frequent transfers, Motilal was brought up under the care of Nandlal.

Motilal Nehru

Motilal studied Arabic and Persian in . arly years. He passed the matriculation examination from Kanpur and joine he Muir central college at Allahabad. He was not notable for scholastic a ıments in his school or college days. He decided to become a lawyer and he p sed the exam in 1883. As first he practiced as a lawer at Kanpur. Then he moved to Allahabad where he could have a wider field for practice at the High Court.

Motilal was once again met with terrible blow. In April 1887 Nandlal died at the age of forty two leaving behind him five sons and two daughters. At th age of twentyfive he found himself a head of this large family a sole bread winner.

However he was able to support this large family by his profession. He became a very successful lawer and earned a huge sum of money. He bought a bungalow with estate and new cars. He led a luxurious life. He spent large amount on his and his brother's children education.

Indeed, there was nothing he seemed to lack. His wife Swarup Rani was a fine flower of Kashmiri womanhood. The birth of a son Jawaharlal- in 1889 was an occasion for great rejoicing : two daughters Sarup and Krishna born in 1900 and 1907 completed the family. In 1900 Motilal purchased a house in Allahabad and named it **Anand Bhavan** (the abode of happiness). A rise in the standard of living was paralied by a progressive westernization, a process which was accelerated by visits to Europe in 1899 and 1900. Thoroughgoing changes, from knives and forks at the dining-table to European governesses and tutors for the children, ensued.ll

He attended several congress sessions but did not take any active part in them. He attended the 1903 sessions with his son Jawharlal Nehru a boy of fourteen years. He was then deeply interested in the practice of law. He was immoderately moderate in political views at the beginning.

He was sworn in as a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council on February 7, 1910 and remained one up to 1919. He joined Beasant's Home Rule movement and in June 1917 was elected president of the U.P. Branch of the Home Rule League. The Jallian Wala Bagh tragedy in 1919 compelled Motilal to give up his moderate views altogether.

Motilal had already heard about Gandhi's satyagraha struggle in South Africa. Rowlatt Bills and his appearance in Indian political stage exercised influence on the Nehrus' family. He was one of the signatories of the statement along with Gandhi made by the A.I.C.C. on April 20, 1919, challenging the governments repressive policies in the Punjab, Delhi and Bombay and demanding a public enquiry into the events.

He and his son Jawaharlal participated in Non-cooperation movement and were arrested on December 1921. Gandhi withdrew the Civil Disobedience movement following the violent incident in the place of Chauri-chaura of February 11, 1922. This decision by Gandhi was criticized by the leaders of Congress like Motilal. C.R. Das. Motilal and some others formed the Swaraj Party in the Congress and they participated in the elections. Motilal was elected unopposed to the Central Legislaure from seven cities of the United Provinces. He became the leader of the Swaraj party in the Assemb,

The role of Swarajist party enabled the congress to win the elections in 1937 and to form a interim government at the centre in 1946. Motilal was a realist. He held the post of president of the Congress. Gandhiji paid visit to his home at Allahabad. The working committee of the congress had been held at many times in Motilal's home

Motilal was one of those outstanding men who were drawn to the Na-

tional Movement under Gandhiji's influence in 1930. He gave much to the national movement. He gave up the practice of law. He has the good quality of having best and smooth relationship with his opponents.He also represented another great tradition, that of liberal secularism. He fought the narrowness of his co-religionists and the mounting ambitions of Muslim communalism with equal tenacity. His secularism was from broad- based culture. He was a product of three mingling cultures - the Aryan, the Mughal and the European.

Gandhiji launched Salt Satyagraha in 1930. Motilal was also arrested along with many leaders. At Motilal's instance, a 'Resolution of Remembrance' was repeated at thousands of Meetings on January 31. 1931 inspite of vigilance. Motilal was sick in Naini central just and was released after ten weeks of imprisonment. He had been in poor state of health. He died in Lucknow on February 4, 1931.

III

Jawaharlal Nehru

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most significant and colourful figures in Modern Indian History. He was born on 14 November 1889 Allahabad. He was the only son of Motilal Nehru. Jawaharlal was born in a family where three distinct cultures - Aryan, Persian and British-met in complete harmony. In early education, the Nehru was subjected to these influence.

In the language of psycho-analysis Nehru was the son of his father if Gandhi was the son of the mother. Motilal decided that his son should have best education. He joined Harrow school in 1905 and stayed a Harrow for two years.

Nehru then went upto Trinity College at Cambridge in 1907. He spent three years there. He took his degree at Cambridge in June 1910. Motilal wanted his son to sit for I.C.S but Nehru gave that idea because of his strange prejudice against this. He decided to become a lawyer. In the summer of 1912. Jawaharlal completed all his examinations and was called to the Bar. After seven years stay at England Nehru returned to India with a new outlook towards life.

He assisted his father in his profession for some years. He had respect for Gokhale, Tilak and the Servants of India Society. Following his father he entered into politics. As Nehru's attraction towards politics grew he began to neglect law practise. With the coming of Gandhi on the scene he plunged fully into politics in a crusade for India's freedom.

It was at the Lucknow session of the Congress in December 1916 that Nehru met Gandhi for the first time. The period 1920-33 was crucial in the history of freedom movement in India. Nehru's role during these years was a significant one. He participated in the movements launched by Gandhiji and was courted arrest many times.

From the time Nehru first met Gandhi till January 30, 1948 when Gandhi fell to the bullets of an assassin there was very deep difference of approach to life and Indian problems between Nehru and Gandhi. B.R. Nanda writes

"The crisis in the Congress leadership in 1936 was a grave one graver than the public knew -but this was not the first occasion when Gandhi and Nehru had differed. They had serious difference in 1922 on the aftermath of Chaurichaura tragedy, in 1928 on complete independence versus Dominion Status in 1929 on the viceroy's's declaration, in 1931 on the Gandhi-Irwin pact, in 1932 on the fast against separate electorates for untouchables, and in 1934 on the member or the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement.

However, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabai Patel blindly followed Gandhi in all his freedom movements. But Nehru had ideological differences with Gandhiji. Gandhiji's first impact on Nehru was his strong ideal. Jowaharlal was, in his own words, simply bowled over by Gandhi straight off. The call to nonviolent battle against the British Raj in 1919-20 stuck a chord. "I jumped at it. I did not care for the consequences." Gandhi had much less difficulty in understanding Nehru than Nehru had in understanding Gandhi.

Gandhi wrote about Nehru on January 15, 1942;

"Somebody suggested that Jawaharlal and I were estranged. This is baseless. Jawaharlal has been resisting me ever since he fell into my net. You cannot divide water by repeatedly striking it with a stick. It is just as difficult to divide us. I have always said that not Rajaji, nor Vallabai, but Jawaharlal will be my successor".

(C.W.M.G. Vol.7. p.224)

Further he wrote on Harijan, 25-7-1936.
Are we Rivals?

"I have had two typical cuttings sent to me giving altogether false news about relations between Jawharlal Nehru and myself. Remarks said to have been made by one have been reproduced in quotation marks. Thus I am reported to have said, "My life work is ruined" (i.e. by Jawaharlal's programme): not even the firmness and repression of the British Government have harmed my work as much as the policy outlined by Nehru".

No doubt there are differences of opinion between us. They were clearly set forth in the letters we exchanged some years ago, and in reply to correspondents I hope at an early date to bring out differences up to date. But they do not affect our personal relations in any way whatsoever. My life-work is not, cannot be, ruined by Jawaharlal's programme, nor have I ever believed for that matter that it has been harmed even by "the firmness and repression of the British Government". My philosophy, if I can be said to have any, excludes the possibility of harm to one's cause by outside agencies. The harm comes deservedly and only when the cause itself is bad. Or being good its champions are

untrue, faint-hearted or unclean.... I cannot think of myself as a rival to Jawaharlal or him to me, or if we are, we are rivals in making love to each other in the pursuit of the common goal, andif in the joint to each other in the pursuit of the common goal, and if in the joint work for reaching the goal we at times seem to be taking different routes. I hope the world will find that we had lost sight of each other only for the moment and only to meet again with greater mutual attraction and affection.

(C.W.M.G. Vol L X III, P. 164-65)

Gandhi represented a Sarvodaya Civilization which is yet to be born. It is based on truth, nonviolence, welfare of all and welfare of the last, etc., Nehru wanted a mixture of Soviet and Western Models. This is an unbridgable gap.

For Additional points, refer to paper II
Sarvodaya (code No. 262), Lesson No. 21

APPENDIX -

Gandhi, Nehru and congress-views on Industry, Big industry Versus cottage Industry.

The Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership had long championed the revival of village industries, especially hand-spinning and hand weaving. At no time, however, had the Congress been opposed to the development of big industries and whenever it had the chance, in the legislatures or elsewhere, it had encouraged this development. Congress provincial governments were eager to do so. In the twenties when the Tata Steel and Iron Works were in difficulties, it was largely due to the insistence of the Congress party in the Central Legislature that government and was given to help to tide over a critical period. The development of Indian shipbuilding and shipping services had long been a store point of conflict between nationalist opinion, and government. The Congress, is all other sections of Indian opinion, was anxious that every assistance should be given to Indian shipping. The government was equally anxious to protect the vested interests of powerful of British shipping companies. Indian shipping was thus prevented from growing by official discrimination against it. Although it had both capital and technical and managerial ability at its disposal. The kind of discrimination worked all along the line whenever any British industrial, commercial, or financial interests were concerned.

That huge combine, the Imperial marginal Chemical Industries has been repeatedly favoured at the expenses of Indian Industry. Some years ago it was given a long term lease for the exploitation of the minerals, etc., of the Punjab. The terms of this agreement were, so far as I know, not disclosed presumably because it was not considered "in the public interest" to do so.

The Congress provincial governments were anxious to develop a power alcohol industry. This was desirable from many points of view, but there was an additional reason in the United Provinces and Bihar. The large numbers of sugar factories there were producing as a by - product a vast quantity of molas-

ses which was being treated as waste material. It was proposed to utilize this for the production of power alcohol. The process was simple, there was no difficulty, except one of the interests of the Shell and Burma - Oil combine were attected. The Government of India championed these interests and refused to permit the manufacture of power alochol. It was only in the third year of the present war, after Burma fell and the supplies of oil and petrol were out off, that the realization came that power alcohol was necessary and must be produced in India. The American Grady Committee strongly urged this in 1942.

The Congress has thus always been in favour of the industrialization of India and, at the same time, has emphasized the development of cottage industries and worked for this. Is there a conflict between these two approaches? Possibly there is a difference in emphasis, a realization of certain human and economic factors which were over - looked previously in India. Indian industrialists and the politicians who supported them thought too much in terms of the nineteenth century development of capitalist industry in Europe and ignored many of the evil consequences that were obvious in the twentieth century. In India because normal progress had been arrested for two years, those, consequences were likely to be more far-reaching. The kind of medium-scale industries that were being started in India, under the prevailing economic system, resulted not in absorbing labour, but in creating more unemployment. While capital accumulated at one end, poverty and unemployment increased at the other. Under a different system with a stress on big scale industries absorbing labour, and with planned development this might well have been avoided.

This fact of increasing mass poverty influenced Gandhi powerfully. It is true, I think, that there is a fundamental difference between his outlook on life generally and that might be called the modern outlook. He is not enamoured of ever-increasing standards of living and the love of luxury at the cost of spiritual and moral values. He does not favour the soft life; for him the straight way is the hard way, and the growth of luxury leads to crookedness and loss of virtue. Above all he is shocked at the vast gulf that stretches between the rich and the poor, in their ways of living, and their opportunities of growth. For his own personal and psychological satisfaction, he crossed that gulf and went over to the side of poor, adopting, with only such improvements as the poor themselves could afford, their ways of living, their dress or lack of dress. This vast difference between the few rich and the poverty-stricken masses seemed to him to be due to two principal causes; foreign rule and the exploitation that accompanied it, and the capitalist industrial civilization of the west as embodied in the big machine. He reacted against both. He looked back with yearning to the days of the old autonomous and more - or - less self-contained village community where there had been an automatic balance between production, distribution, and consumption; where political or economic power was spread out and not concentrated as it is to-day; where a kind of simple democracy prevailed; where the gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked; where the evils of great cities were absent and people lived in contact with the life -giving soil and breathed the pure air of the open spaces.

There was all this basic difference in outlook as to the meaning of life itself between him and many others, and this difference coloured his language as well as his activities. His language, vivid and powerful, as it often was, drew its inspiration from the religion and moral teachings of the sages, principally of India, but also of other countries. Moral values must prevail, the ends can never justify unworthy means, or else the individual and the race perish.

And yet he was no dreamer living in some fantasy of his own creation, cut off from life and its problems. He came from Gujarat the home of hard-headed businessmen, and he had an unrivalled knowledge of the Indian villages and the condition of life that prevailed there. It was out of that personal experience that he evolved his programme of the spinning -wheel and village industry. If immediate relief was to be given to the vast numbers of the unemployed and partially employed, If the rot that was spreading throughout India and paralysing the masses was to be stopped, If the villagers standards were to be raised, however little, *en masse*, if they were to be taught self-reliance instead of waiting helplessly like derelicts for relief from others, If all this was to be done without much capital, then there seemed no other way. Apart from the evils inherent in foreign rule and exploitation, and the lack of freedom to initiate and carry through big schemes of reform, the problem of India was one of scarcity of capital and abundance of labour-how to utilize that wasted labour, that man power that was producing nothing. Foolish comparisons are made between manpower and machine-power; of course a big machine can do the work of a thousand or ten thousand persons. But if those ten thousand sit idly by or starve, the introduction of the machine is not a social gain, except in long perspective which envisages a change in social conditions. When the big machine is not there at all, then no question of comparison arises; it is a net gain from the individual and the national point of view to utilize manpower for production. There is no necessary conflict between this and the introduction of machinery on the largest scale, provided that machinery is used primarily for absorbing labour and not for creating fresh unemployment.

Comparisons between India and the small highly industrialized countries of the west, or big countries with relatively sparse populations, like stet it or U.S.A., are misleading. In western Europe the process of industrialization has proceeded for hundreds of years and gradually the population has adjusted itself to it; the population, has grown rapidly, then stabilized itself, and is now declining. In the U.S.A. and the stet it there are vast tracts with a small population. Tractor is an absolute necessity there to exploit the land for agriculture. It is not so obvious that tractors are necessary in the densely populated Gangetic valley, so long as vast numbers depend on the land alone for sustenance. Other problems arise, as they have arisen even in America. Agriculture has been carried on for thousands of years in India and the soil has been exploited to the utmost. Would the deep churning up of the soil by tractors lead to impoverishment of this soil as well as to soil erosion? When railways were built in India and high embarkments put up for the purpose, no thought was given to the natural drainage of the country. The embankments interfered with

this drainage system and, as a result, we have had repeated and ever-increasing floods and soil erosin, and malaria has spread.

I am all for tractors and big machinery, and I am convinced that the rapid industrialization of India is essential to relieve the pressure on land, to combat poverty and raise standards of living, for defence and a variety of other purposes. But I am equally convinced that the most careful planning and adjustment are necessary if we are to reap the full benefit of industrialization and avoid many of its dangers. This planning is necessary to-day in all countries of arrested growth, like China and India, which have strong traditions of their own.

In China I was greatly attracted to the Industrial co-operatives-the Indusco movement -and it seems to me that some such movement is particularly suited to India. It would fit in with the Indian background, give a democratic basis to small industry, and develop the co-operative habit. It could be made to complement big industry. It must be remembered that, however rapid might be the development of heavy industry in India, a vast field will remain open to small and cottage industries. Even in Soviet Russia owner -producer co-operatives have played an important part in industrial growth.

The increasing use of electric power facilities the growth of small industry and makes it economically capable of competing with large-scale industry. There is also a growing opinion in favour of decentralization, and even Henry Ford has advocated it. Scientists are pointing out the psychological and biological dangers of loss of contact with the soil which results from life in great industrial cities. Some have even said that human survival necessitates a going back to the soil and the village. Fortunately, science has made it possible today for populations to be spread out and remain near the soil and yet enjoy all the amenities of modern civilization and culture.

However that may be, the problem before us in India during recent decades has been how, in the existing circumstances and restricted as we were by alien rule and its attendant vested interests, we could relieve the poverty of the masses and produce a spirit of self-reliance among them. There are many arguments in favour of developing cottage industries at any time but, situated as we were, that was certainly the most practical thing we could do. The methods adopted may not have been the best or the most suitable. The problem was vast, difficult, and intricate, and we had frequently to face suppression by government. We had to learn gradually by the process of trial and error. I think we should have encouraged co-operatives from the beginning, and relied more on expert technical and scientific knowledge for the improvement of small machines suitable for cottage and village use. The co-operation principle is now introduced in these organizations.

C.D.H. Cole the economist, has said that 'Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home made cloth industry is no mere fad of a romantic eager to revive the past, but a practical attempt to relieve the poverty and uplift

the standard of the village, It was that undoubtedly and it was much more. It forced India to think of the poor peasant in human terms, to realize that behind the glitter of a few cities lay this morass of misery and poverty, to grasp the fundamental fact that the true test of progress and freedom in India did not lie in the creation of a number of millionaires or prosperous lawyers and the like, or in the setting up of councils assemblies, but in the change in the status and conditions of life of the peasant. The British had created a new caste or class in India. The English-educated class, which lived in world of its own, cut off from the mass of the population, and looked always even when protesting, towards its rulers. Gandhi bridged that gap to some extent and forced it to turn its head and look towards its own people.

Gandhiji's attitude to the use of machinery seemed to undergo a gradual change. 'What I object to', he said, 'is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. If we could have electricity in every village home, I shall not mind villagers plying their implements and tool with electricity. The big machines seemed to him to lead inevitably at least in the circumstances of to day, to the concentration of power and riches: I consider it a sin and injustice to use machinery for the purpose of concentration of power and riches in the hands of the few. To-day the machine is used in this way'. He even came to accept the necessity of many kinds of heavy industries and large-scale key industries and public utilities, provided they were state owned and did not interfere with some kinds of cottage industries which he considered as essential. Referring to his own proposals, he said: 'The whole of this programme will be a structure on sand, if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality.'

Thus even the enthusiastic advocates for cottage and small-scale industries recognize that big-scale industry is, to a certain extent, necessary and inevitable: only they would like to limit it as far as possible. Superficially then the question becomes one of emphasis and adjustment of the two forms of production and economy. It can hardly be challenged that, in the context of the modern world, no country can be politically and economically independent, even within the framework of international inter-dependence, unless it is highly industralized and has developed its power resources to the utmost. Nor can it achieve or maintain high standards of living and liquidate poverty without the aid of modern technology in almost every sphere of life. An industrially backward country will continually upset the world equilibrium and encourage the aggressive tendencies of more developed countries. Even if it retains its political independence, this will be nominal only, and economic control will tend to pass to others. This control of will inevitably upset its own small-scale economy which it has sought to preserve in pursuit of its own view of life. Thus an attempt to build up a country's economy largely on the basis of cottage and small-scale industries is doomed to failure. It will not solve the basic problems of the country or maintain freedom, nor will it fit in with the world framework, except as a colonial appendage.

Is it possible to have two entirely different kinds of economy in a country one based on the big machine and industrialization, and the other mainly on

cottage industries? This is hardly conceivable, for one must overcome the other, and there can be little doubt that the big machine will triumph unless it is forcibly prevented from doing so. Thus it is not a mere question of adjustment of the two forms of production and economy. One must be dominating and paramount with the other as complementary to it, fitting in where it can. The economy based on the latest technical achievements of the day must necessarily be the dominating one. If technology demands the big machine, as it does to-day in a large measure, then the big machine with all its implications and consequences must be accepted. Where it possible, in terms of that technology, to decentralize production this would be desirable. But, in any event, the latest technique has to be followed, and to adhere to out-worn and out-of-date methods of production, except as a temporary and stop-gap measure is to arrest growth and development.

Any argument as to the relative merits of small-scale and large-scale industry seems strangely irrelevant to-day when the world, and the dominating facts of the situation that confront it, have decided in favour of the latter. Even in India the decision has been made by these facts themselves, and no one doubts that India will be rapidly industrialized in the near future. She has already gone a good way in that direction. The evils of unrestricted and unplanned industrialization are well recognized to-day. Whether those evils are necessary 'con -comitants of big industry' or derived from the social and e conomic structure behind it, is another matter. If the economic structure is primarily responsible for them, then surely we should set about changing that structure, instead of blaming the inevitable and desirable development in technique. The real question is not of quantitative adjustment and balancing of various incongruous elements and methods of production, but a qualitative change-over to something different and new from which, various social consequences flow. The economic and political aspects of this qualitative change are important but equally important are the social and psychological aspects. In India especially, where we have been wedded far too long to past forms and modes of thought and action, new experiences, new process leading to new ideas and new horizons, are necessary. Thus we will change the static character of our living and make it dynamic and vital, and our minds will become active and adventurous. New situations lead to new experiences, as the mind is compelled to deal with them and adapt itself to a changing environment.

It is well recognized now that a child's education should be intimately associated with some craft or manual activity. The mind is stimulated thereby and there is a co-ordination between the activities of the mind and the hands. So also the mind of a growing boy or girl stimulated by the machine. It grows under the machine's impact (under proper conditions, of course, and not as and not as an exploited and unhappy worker in a factory) and opens out new horizons. Simple scientific experiments, peeps into the microscope, and an explanation of the ordinary phenomena of nature bring excitement in their train, an understanding of some of life's process, and a desire to experiment and find out instead of relying on set phrases and old formulate. Self-confidence and the

co-operative spirit grow, and frustration, arising out of the miasma of the past, lessens. A civilization based on ever changing and advancing mechanical techniques leads to this. Such a civilization is a marked change, a jump almost from the older type, and is intimately connected with modern industrialization, Inevitably it gives rise to new problems and difficulties, but it also shows the way to overcome them.

I have a partiality for the literary aspects of education and I admire the classics, but I am quite sure that some elementary scientific training in physics and chemistry, and especially biology, as also in the application of science, is essential for all boys and girls. Only thus can they understand and fit into the modern world and develop, to some extent at least, the scientific temper. There is something very wonderful about the high achievements of science and modern technology (which no doubt will be bettered in the near future), in the superb ingenuity of scientific instruments, in the amazingly delicate and yet powerful machines, in all that has flowed from the adventurous inquiries of science and its applications, in the glimpses into the fascinating workshop and process of nature, in the fine sweep of science, through its myriad workers in the realms of thought and practice, and, above all, in the fact that all this has come out of the mind of man.

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Lesson-13

VALLABHAI PATEL, RAJENDRA PRASAD

Vallabhai Patel (1873-1950)

Vallabhai Patel was born at Nadiad in Gujarat on 31st Oct 1875. He belonged to a lower-middle class agricultural family. He was a self-made person with extraordinary will power. His education was delayed due to his family circumstance and so he could matriculate only at the age of 22. He became a lawyer and saved some money through hard work for higher legal studies in England. He lost his wife in 1909. He returned as a barrister in 1913 and set up practice at Ahmedabad. He had a very successful practice. He was a firm and committed person. It is said that while he was cross-examining a witness in a murder case, the death of his wife was informed to him. He continued the cross-examination without any emotional outburst. Indeed he is an "iron person."

Patel was tremendously impressed by Mahatma Gandhi. Inspired by Gandhi, he entered the freedom struggle. He was actively involved in helping the poor and oppressed in hours of crisis. His relief work during the plague in 1917 and famine in 1918 is noteworthy. His work as a member and then as a chairman of the Ahmedabad Municipality is a landmark in Indian local government. The Kheda Satyagraha brought him closer to Gandhi. It was a nonviolent agitation to secure exemption of the land revenue assessment since the crops had failed. Patel then gave up his brilliant legal practice to involve himself in constructive work and Satyagraha to liberate India under the leadership of the Mahatma Gandhi. Patel took a leading and active part in the Bardoli Satyagraha objecting the increase in the assessment of the land.

Patel was one of the first national leaders to be arrested during the Salt Satyagraha. He presided over the 46th session of the Indian National Congress which ratified the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Patel was in Yerawada jail along with Gandhi, together for sixteen months (Jan 32-May 33) Patel as Chairman of the Congress parlimentary sub-committee guided the activities of the Congress Pro- [illegible] ministries from 1937-1939. Patel was in jail again from 17th Nov 1940 [illegible] 9th Aug 1942-1945. Patel was one of the chief negotia- [illegible] was the Deputy Prime Minister after Indian indepen- [illegible] hand unified the princely states of the Indian territories with the Indian Union. 562 princely states covering 27% of the Indian population were brought within India. The integration of Indian states is his major achievement. He worked hard as the first Home minister to bring peace and order to the nation divided by communal violence. Patel was a practical organizer who can implement things almost with a magic touch of quickness and excellence. He consolidated Indian freedom and placed it on a firm foundation.

He is often compared with Bismarck and called as the "Iron Man of India". Germany was divided into 560 provinces in the X VIII century. Napoleon brought Germany under his control. The Vienna Congress of 1815 which met after the defeat of Nepoleon, divided Germany into 39 provinces. Decades of attempts to unite Germany did not yield any appreciable results in the XIX century. Bismarck as the leader of Prussia was determined to unite Germany. He followed a policy of 'blood and iron' to unite Germany within a short time. He through his skillful diplomacy and strategy achieved this with a minimum violence and blood shed. Patel had the iron will like Bismarck. He also used 'minimum police force' as a last resort. This can be seen in his oolice action against Hyderabad. Patel with his iron will saved India from disintegrating after partition and independence. Patel acted in time and integrated the Indian states within the Indian union with India. He could achieve this with absolutely minimum violence.

After the independence of India, differences arose between prime minister Nehru and deputy prime minister Patel. One of the thing which Mahatma Gandhi attempted just before his assassination was to bridge this difference. His sudden death brought them together. Patel wanted to handle things with greater firmness.

One may ask the question whether Patel was in tune with the Gandhian principle of nonviolence. In one sense, we have to pay tribute to the honesty of Bose. He openly declared the need for violence for achieving our freedom. But others paid lip service to Gandhi and gradually took, at least, to the concept of 'limited violence'. Such a generalization may be sweeping. One may object it as simplistic. But the basic fact remains. Many of those who were around Gandhi, turned to their original viewpoints once he disappeared. This did not mean they were all dishonest. They accepted Gandhi's leadership for the freedom struggle and wanted to have a different way in free India. We should also note that they did not call their way as the Gandhian way: they did not call themselves as Gandhians, 'Gandhism' was not their ideology. Patel believed in the use of police and military power, in a wise way, to effect changes. For the Congress, this inevitable was after assuming political power.

Patel's loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi during the freedom struggle was beyond any shadow of doubt. Gandhi could achieve success because of the unity of command. Gandhi began to loose his political power after the Quit India Movement. Nehru and the Congress working committee then wielded power. Gandhi did not disrupt this process. He realized that the hour has come to part ways.

Though Patel abolished the feudatory Indian states, he did not believe in the liguidation of landlords. He was aware of the role of private enterprises. He declared, "We should learn to walk before we attempt to run.". He further said.

"You want levelling of wealth, but where is the wealth to be levelled? Do you want distribution of poverty? We have not gained freedom for distribution of poverty. We have to create wealth first"

He again said.

"I have been blamed that I am a friend of rajas, capitalists and zamindars. I have been frequently telling the capitalists which way their duty lies. But I cannot succumb to the prevalent fashion of poising as leaders. or attempting to gain leadership by abusing princes, capitalists and others without rhyme or reason".

Patel's ultimate greatness lies in his total dedication to the nation. He was honest and he neither created a dynasty nor tried to cling on to power at any cost.

Unlike Jawaharlal Nehru, Patel was a deeply religious person. He was a practising Hindu. He, like Nehru, welcomed modern western type of industrialism. For him village Industries had its own separate place.

Rajendra Prasad

He was born on 3rd December 1884 in North Bihar. He came from a rich peesant family. He was deeply religious. He had a brilliant academic life and became a lawyer. He had wide learning and knew many languages. He became a highly successful lawyer at the Calcutta High Court. Influenced by the National Movement and Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, he joined the Congress and the freedom struggle. Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 brought Rajendra Prasad close to Mahatma Gandhi. Deeply moved by the dehumanizing conditions of Indian Villages and Mahatma's vision and energy, he dedicated himself to the national liberation work. Rajendra Prasad built up the base for Gandhi and Congress in East India as Patel did in West India. Prasad suffered several times rigorous imprisonment. He lost his excellent income and suffered from asthma and other health problems due to neglect and overwork.

Rajendra Prasad was in jail on 15th January 1934 when there was a devastating earthquake in Bihar. He was released after two days. Inspite of his poor health, he was actively engaged in fund raising and relief work under most difficult conditions. He became the President of the Indian National Congress at its Bombay session. He played a significant role in the Constituent Assembly. He became the first President of India and remained as a figure head to support Nehru's government.

Rajendra Prasad took keen interest in Gandhian Constructive Programme. He stood for the reconstruction of village India.

Rajendra prasad sacrificed his pleasant and wealthy life and worked for the poor and suffered in jail for participation in the freedom struggle. His was a life of great sacrifice. This is one big commonality of many of our National leaders of the Gandhian Era. Their selfless love and sacrifices for the people of India can never be doubted.

Prasad as the first President of India, though paid rich tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, led a simple and uncorrupted life while sitting on the highest pedestals of power and supported khadi and village industries and a few other Gandhian constructive programmes, did not attempt to translate Gandhism into practice. He was not an executive head. But when Nehru went on his own way as a Prime Minister enjoying enormous popular support, he remained as an almost silent supporter of him. (Probably that is the correct constitutional stand). Jawaharlal Nehru and Rejendra Prasad inspite of all their merits and achievements lost a historic chance to build a different kind of India, an India of Mahatma's dream and vision.

Lesson 14

VINOBA BHAVE

Vinoba Bhave is a remarkable personality steeped in the learning and traditions of ancient India. But he has not contented himself with a secluded or cloistered life cut off from the world. Indeed his life represents a harmonious blend of learning, spiritual perception and compassion, for the lowly and the last. Due to his discipleship and a close association with Mahatma Gandhi, the life and work of Vinoba Bhave has been inevitably linked with Gandhian Thought. Vinoba himself never got tired of paying tribute to Gandhi for shaping his life. However, a closer look at his thought reveals that he was an independent thinker in his own right. Nowhere is his independence more obvious than in the Bhoodhan movement. He dared to tackle the land problem in India in a unique way. While Gandhi was concerned with the destiny of Post Independent India, Vinobha attempted to shape the destiny of Post-Independence India.

Vinoba's father wanted his son to be either a barrister or a chemist. But Vinoba wished to become a Sanyasi- a choice more in line with his mother's outlook on life. Gandhi described Vinoba as a *Kritayogi*. Others have given him the epithet of a Samyayogi. Vinoba read *Jnaneshwari,* a marathi religious classic at the age of eight years. While in school, he purchased and read *Dasboth* of Saint Ramdas and Bhagwat of Saint Ekhath . He abandoned his college studies, burnt the certificates and went to Varanasi in order to study philosophy and Sanskrit. At the age of twelve, he took a vow of life-long celibacy, ate once a day in a free kitchen and slept any where. At the age of eighteen in 1913, he bade good-bye to the family life and its pleasures. In 1916. when Vinoba joined Gandhi's Ashram, Gandhi admitted "Vinoba has reached spiritual heights which have taken me years of patient labour to attain".

Further, the way Vinoba terminated his life during. November to 15 November 1982, was a revival of an ancient tradition in India called *'prayopravesham'*, whereby saints when they considered the time appropriate voluntarily leave the body. But this itself was the culmination of the spiritual development of Vinoba over seventy years.

Vinoba's involvement in mundane activities be it valuable experimentations in rural uplift work, or researches and wage level determination in Khadi, Charkha and looms and other village industries or *Naitalim,* or sanitation and hygiene or agriculture in Wardha during 1921-36; be it the experiment of *Kanchan Mukti Samaj* (money-less economy) during the period 1948-53 or be it rehabilitation of refugees or meons during partition or be it his mediatory efforts to obtain the surrender of the notorious dacoits of chambal valley-these were construed as media of his spiritual quest. These were not taken as ends in

themselves Vinoba did not allow his spiritual needs and objectives to be subordinated to his mundane commitments.

For instance, take the Bhoodan movement. In 1952, he has solemnly resolved not to take rest without completing the work. He went to the extent of saying; "I have decided to carry it on, come what may to my body" In 1952 resolved not to leave Bihar until its land problem was resolved.

But he formally withdrew from the leadership of the Bhoodan movement in June 1966- at Ranipatra (West Bengal) where Ramakrishna Pramahamsa was born.

Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave

There is no doubt that the thought and practice of Vinoba as well as that of Gandhi are so asymptomatic as to create an illusion of being similar. It is undeniable that both of them share a common world-view and hence have identical landmarks. It is also true that in contradistinction to the 'Western' model and Western strategy of development, both Vinoba and Gandhi offer an indigenous model of development and strategy. Hence it tempt us to club them together.

But these points of similarities and their identical ramifications should not make us oblivious to the fact that the essential and operative elements in their respective traditions and conventions do not admit of comparison. Vinoba is Vinoba. Vinoba is not a continuum of Gandhi.

Indeed , Vinoba's was a unique personality. The way he decided to live, the success he achieved in living up to his own design, the way he wanted to die, and the success he achieved in terminating his life show that he was indeed incomparable. But if in our view this does not carry conviction there are practical reasons against exclusive emphasis on the view that Vinoba is a spiritual successor of Gandhi.

After all why do we resort to comparisons. It is to render the 'unfamiliar' familiar by referring it to the familiar: to enable ourselves to comprehend the 'unknown' in terms of the known, to understand the 'abstract' in a concrete form. Vinoba's life and work is neither unfamiliar, nor abstract. It is quite amendable to being understood in its own terms.

It is unfair to compare Vinoba with Gandhi. It is the dwarfing of Vinoba. Moreover, there is much valuable stuff in Vinoba which merits an independent approach. We must see him without blinkers, specially the Gandhi-blinkers. And comparison with Gandhi conditions us adversely in regard to some of the nuances of thought, shades of perception and subtleties of expression of Vinoba, which are themselves a source of wisdom.

Vinoba represents a prototype of indigenous leadership which is a refreshing and reassuring contrast to the ubiquitous half-Westernized, alienated prototypes of leaders strutting about in every walk of life. A study of Vinoba,

as a leader, should be rewarding. It should enable us to identify some of the parameters of 'Indianness' of an Indian leader. This is not easy if we tag him along with Gandhi.

The implications of the proposition that Vinoba is the successor of Gandhi are inimical to the evolution of Gandhi's seminal ideas and the urgent task of application of these ideas to the Indian situation. It is said that the nature of a thing is the final form of its development. At a particular point of time, we are all inclined to accept that which is the 'latest' is the 'final'. If it is conceded that Vinoba is the continuum of Gandhi, it means at this point of time that Vinoba is the final form of development of seminal Gandhi. It follows that (expect for those interested in the history of Gandhian thought for practical purposes it is unnecessary to go direct to Gandhi for understanding Gandhism-to study Vinoba is to study Gandhism as on date. It has been rightly said that nothing is more original than the origin. Even otherwise as a point of fact, so far as no other source of Gandhism is more original for a proper understanding of Gandhism than Gandhi himself. The proposition that Vinoba is a successor of Gandhi hinders a direct understanding of Gandhi. If it is conceded for the sake of argument that Vinoba converted the 'tinsel' of Gandhism in 'gold', his clarified and refined thought is likely to be relevant only in a *really* free democratic India (real, as per our Constitution). And he will be a *really* brave man who dare say that India today is *really* democratic and *really* free even as per the stipulations of our Constitution, It wouldthere fore, be premature to adopt Vinoba's prescriptions and formulations to the problems which face India today.

This leads us to the question why Vinoba is not relevant today and why Gandhi continues to be relevant?

First, consider the assessment of Vinoba about the nature of the system of governance in post-1947 India. His thinking about satyagraha, Bhoodan, and the strategies of transformation were based on the understanding that India is a *real* democracy and that India is *really* free. Hence he propounded the concept of *sukshma* (fine) satyagraha and the concept of Bhoodan movement as a continuous process of persuasion (change of heart), But since the objective conditions were not in conformity with Vinoba's understanding, his programme and his formulations did not sink into the consciousness of the massess, leading to consequential social changes. They served little fundamental purpose. Infact, the Bhoodan movement got lost in sterile reformism. Secondly, Vinoba had no perception of the actual historical context he was called upon (by God, as he put it) to enter at the national scene. So his work went off the tangent. He failed to comprehend the psychological, moral, spiritual, political, economic and social implications of the partition of India.

But Gandhi knew about it. Though vaguely but definitively. That is why he had decided to go to Noakhali first, and later to shift to Pakistan without visa. This is because Gandhi realized that the primary task in 1947 was a psychological and moral rehabilitation of the mind of India. No stable socio-economic structure could have been built on the foundation of this kind of sick

psyche. Movements like Bhoodan might have had significance in the Telengana region. But a different approach thereby was called for in India as whole.

There was another psychological factor which Vinoba seems to have ignored in 1948-53. Though a series of nonviolent struggles undertaken, directed, and guided by Gandhi, along with the constructive programme activities, Gandhi had successfully tried to remove the 'fear' of authority-unjust authority-from the mind of Indian people. But he did not have the time to provide the corresponding mechanism of social control -for, fear is a very effective means of social control in a society. Loss, of feat, without corresponding checks and balances, leads to a breakdown of other inhibitions which is so essential for a normal society. This is what exactly happened inside of the Indian mind. The evil added by unwholesome psychological effects of partition, and the psychological effects of Gandhian struggle reinforced each other and resulted in an irreversible process of corruption of consciousness. In 1947 and after a nations wide movement for the restoration of psychological balance of the mind of India was as much a historical necessity-perhaps evenmore important-as other programmes.

Moreover, India was politically mature in 1947, only notionally. But really ninety percent of India's population was at the 'pre-political' stage of development -outside the 'mainstream' which grew out of national movement under Congress. This situation demanded not only a very different approach, but the objective circumstances also did not warrant a normal type of 'rational' treatment. Yet, Vinoba and the Congress and the Communist administered neat and tidy, sophisticated and advanced prescriptions which are only relevant for normal situations and societies. Each of these forces started to work on the wrong trek-Vinoba launched Bhoodan for socio-economic transformation through persuasion: the Congress embarked on 'building ' a civilization turned-into a nation by the state power,. and the Communists went about creating revolution according to certain textbook formula.

India in 1947 needed a pen knife. Each of the men of genius-one of them a proclaimed saint, another a world famous social democrat, the third a member of an effective revolutionary club-offered her an 'axe' of this choice. No doubt;any brand of axe is superior to a penknife if we have to fell a tree. But for sharpening a pencil the very qualification of the axe is its disqualification. Today the situation is much complicated . The pathological conditions of India of 1947 have got compounded during the fine decades: the political, said and economic *karmas* of the Indian power elite during this period have come home to roost and have generated their own problems. In order to ensure that we are not cynical about Vinoba, we can examine the utility of Vinoba in the present situation.

First, where is the Vinoba movement on the map of India? Is there anywhere in India even a nucleus of a residual Bhoodan, a movement which can claim a direct live link with the original Bhoodan movement and which can be taken up as the sprint-line for an onward march? There are some Gandhian

organizations which undertake Gramdan work. But this is only project work. It is not a movement. Bhoodan has either got institutionalized in the form of voluntary agencies sustained by foreign aid or has been handed over to the state administration. However we need to pointout that this is a harsh and angry arressment. Vinoba's originality needs to recognise. In his last phase he was inactive. ASSEFA with Giovanni Ermiylia and S.Loganathan is a major new experiment. So, practically, how can the Vinoba strategy be made relevant today?

Gandhi's relevance has been discussed extensively and it is not necessary to reiterate the general arguments in defence of Gandhi's relevance. However, in the context of discussions of Vinoba-Gandhi axis, a reference to this issue will not be uncalled for. We find that in Vinoba there is little evidence of an in-depth diagnosis of the ills of India and this is, in our view, a serious lacuna in his thought which places serious constraints on the task of the application of his prescriptions today. But Gandhi's in *Hind Swaraj,* diagnosed the ailment of India in fundamental terms and viewed the specific problems in that perspective. For instance, Gandhi did not view British domination over India as political and economic only. He viewed it as an encounter between two civilizations. The basic issue therefore was not one of mere political freedom. In fact, that was incidental to the larger issue of facing the onslaught of the modern technological civilization. Gandhi's prescriptions and strategies for the specific problems such as independence, economic development, and social change were conceived with reference to the civilizational encounter.

One may or may not agree with Gandhi in this respect. But it cannot be denied that he, unlike Vinoba, did provide a framework and perspective which if properly interpreted can even today help us in finding clues to the answers for problems of regionalism, communalism, and other social conflicts as well as in identifying choices of economic strategies and technologies. Secondly, the Constructive Programme of Gandhi is still available to day to enable us to pick up the thread of work left by Gandhi in 1947. There are thousands of agencies and lakhs of workers still engaged in this work. No doubt the movement is in a mess and has stagnated. But it is not dead. Given proper treatment even under the second-rung leadership, the Constructive Programme can be used to create a parallel polity-i.e. building centres of people's power outside the state. Thirdly, there is the theory and practice of nonviolence for resisting injustice, exploitation, and tyranny. There is a generation of youthful Indians who are completely disappointed by the available modes of resisting injustice and exploitation and tyranny. This generation is now quite inclined towards the Gandhian nonviolent technique.

To conclude, India will once again have to approach Gandhi directly. Gandhi-Vinoba-Jayaprakash axis is an illusion. We may consider the contributions of Jayaprakash Narayan and Vinoba seriously and enrich our understanding. But we must stop perpetuating the myth of Gandhi-vinoba-JP axis. Vinoba and Jp have autonomous place of honour in the modern history of India. But it is injurious to the reputation of all the three great personages to link them and

fabricate on artificial 'couple' of Vinoba J.P or Gandhi Vinoba or triumvirate of Gandhi - JP. The same will be much more true while linking Nehru with Gandhi.

For additional points, refer is, Paper II

Sarvodaya (Code No.262), Lesson No.23.

Lesson No. 15

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, M.N. ROY

Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-1979)

Jayaprakah Narayan (JP) was born on 11th Oct 1902 in Bihar. He was from a respectable middle class Kayastha family. His father was a government servant in the Revenue Department and his grand father was a police Sub Inspector.

JP was a brilliant person from the beginning. He got a scholarship for his good performance in the Matriculation Examination. He gave up his studies at the Patna University to join Gandhi's non cooperation movement. He then studied at the National (parallel) education centres. He joined Bihar Vidyapith and through his self-efforts moved to USA for higher studies in 1922. He stayed there for nearly eight years and studied at Iowa, Chicago, Wisconsin, California and Ohio Universities. He worked hard to earn his bread and studied. He was exposed to the ugly side of capitalism in USA. He was drawn by the poor and the oppressed and not by the wealthy. He was now opened up to socialist ideas. He studied Marx and joined the under ground communist groups. M.N. Roy's writing inspired him. He began to doubt Gandhiji's method and goal. With his Vibrant energy , he distrusted nonviolence as an effective method.

One of his turning points in his life was his wife Prabhavati. He left her in Gandhiji's ashram at Sabaramati while he was in USA. This brought JP closer to Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad.

On return from USA, he was to become a Professor of Sociology at the Benaras Hindu University. Inspired by the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress, he joined active political life. He was offered the charge of the newly created labour wing of the Congress and he accepted. After the arrest of the senior leaders. JP was acting secretary of the Congress for a while and he skillfully evading arrest, maintained active contact with Congress workers different parts of the country. He was unhappy with the Indian Communists who denounced the Indian National Movement as bourgeois. Indian Communists were then functioning on the Instructions from Communist International. For JP Indian freedom from the colonial rule was of primary significance. JP always had an open mind and independent thinking. He refused, even in those days to be completely guided by the Soviet Model

Then JP was arrested and put in Nasik Central Jail along with Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Minoo Masani and N.G. Goray. Their coming together helped JP to conceive of an alternative socialist path for India. Acharya Narendra Deva and Yusuf Meherally supported him . Then came the Congress Socialist Party.

JP was nemoment critic of the British Rule in India. To quote Panchanand shra, "He (JP) regarded it as a fully to think that the British had united India in the contrary he believed that they had divided the different communities d interests, It was to him "unity of a dictatorial regime and not a people's or national unity'. He argued that the British domination could not impart to the dian people a training in self-government . Had it been the British motto to stablish self-government in India right from 1861, why could not the literary ite be raised beyond ten per cent or why were not the economic resources apped to raise it above that figure!..."

The Communist International, reversed its 1935, wanted to support nationalist struggles. This set in a change in the attitude of the Indian communists . JP wanted to unite all the Socialist and Marxist forces. He criticized Gandhi as evading real issues with pious wishes and misleading the masses. He worked closely with the communists. He started admitting communists into the Congress Socialist Party . The unholy alliance between Stalin and Hitler ended as the world War II broke out and USSR joined hands with USA and UK. The Communist attitude changed overnight. The Indian communists started supporting the British colonial Rule betraying the national minded socialists. Now JP, developed a deep aversion to the Communists and their methods. His doubt about the soundness of the Soviet system also deepened. (It took nearly fifty more years for many to realize this!)

JP was shocked by the British atrocities during the Quit India Movement. He advocated violence against the cruel British regime. He admired Bose but did not appreciate his wisdom. He had a valian underground activity and then arrested and tortured.

JP did not approve the wisdom of Nehru and the Congress in accepting the partition. He stood by Gandhi for a unified nation. JP did not expect any political gain unlike many congress politicians of that time. His selfless love to the mother country may be compared only with that of Gandhi.

He started realising the full meaning of Mahatma Gandhi . He saw Sarvodaya as an alternative to Capitalism, Communism and Socialism. He could see Gandhi as the timely prophet of humankind.

JP continued his quest for socio economic liberation and justice. His attempt to establish a socialist aternative to the Nehru 's congress did not work. He joined Vinoba Bhave and vitalized his Bhoodan and Gramdan Movement. When Vinoba withdraw himself in the midst of the movement to deeper spiritual quest (like the ancient Hindu rishis) with a view to generate an inner spiritual power to change the world, JP was not happy. He continued to work with the people.

JP worked hard to spread the wisdom of Gandhi everywhere. When there was human rights violation in Tibet, he tried to mobilize support in India and elsewhere for the Tibetans. He rejected Nehru's ambivalent approach in this well (Help the Tibetan refugees and support Chinese oppression). During t

India-China war of 1962, his was the only voice of Gandhi. Delhi-Peking march is a bold attempt. He brought peace to Nagaland. He championed the cause of the people of East Pakistan.

JP opposed the dictatorial tendencies of Mrs Indra Gandhi and unified the 'divided' political opposition parties for a while to struggle for democracy and total revolution. It was a just attempt to push India towards a Sarvodaya order in his own life time. He was arrested and tortured and consequently lost his health in jail. Mrs. Indra Gandhi had to lift the Emergency regulations (which the latter an openly apologized) and announce election. The unified opposition came to power but his dream was shattered by the corrupt and greedy politicians. But he demonstrated that a nation wide non violent campaign is still possible. He tried to utilize the institutional base of the opposition parties mixing it with a part of the Sarvodaya Movement. He should have created a new instititional base instead. It was an error of judgement. But there was no other option. He showed the possibilities and limitations.

JP richly contributed to the concepts of partyless democracy, decentralization and nonviolent action JP in a true sense like Mahatma Gandhi was a fighter to the end for justice and swaraj. He was awarded *BHARAT RATNA* the country's highest award in December 1998.

Lesson - 16

GANDHI AND BOSE

1. THE FIRST PHASE (1897 - 1939)

Introduction

Gandhi was known to the world as a great pacific leader and Subhas chandra Bose was known as a great revolutionary leader. Among the many outstanding leaders who were acclaimed by Indians during the freedom struggle, Gandhi and Netaji distinguished themselves as the men of destiny of India. Their ways were different, but they, wanted to free India from the chains of British rule. Indians glorified the national leaders in terms of exalting them with titles. They honoured Bal Gangadhar Tilak as the Lokamanya, Chitta Ranjan Das as the Deshbhandu, and Abul kalam Azad as Maulana sahab. All these appreciation of the people signified the remarkable contributions these leaders had mad during the freedom struggle. But the two unique expressions of national adoration-'the Mahatma' and 'the Netaji' for Gandhi and Subhas, respectively characteristically signified two different concepts of national leadership. Many Indian leaders contributed to the struggle of Indian freedom. So many leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabai patel, Rajendra prasad, Abul kalam Azad and Rajagopalachari followed the path of Gandhiji in the struggle for Indian freedom. But Gandhiji and Netaji excelled as the two path finders and as two incomparable architects of the ways and means for achieving national freedom. Netaji pursed the course of leftism and revolution. Unlike Netaji, Gandhiji followed the path of nonviolence and satyagraha. The concept of satyagraha that stands as a testimony of getting freedom without violence is a unique contribution to the world.

Early years

Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897 at Cuttack in Orissa state. Janakinath Bose, Subhas's father belonged to the family of Boses at Mahinager. His mother belonged to the family or Dutts of Hathkhola, a northern quarter of Calcutta, Subhas's father had migrated to Orissa and had settled down as a lawer at Cuttack. His father was deeply interested in social and educational activities. He was a religious man. He was a philanthropist. He always had a soft corner for poor people. He was deeply involved in freedom movement. He renounced the title of Raj Bahadur as a protest against the repressive policy of the government in 1930. He was a consistent supporter of 'swadeshi'.

About his mother, Bose has written, "My mother belonged to the family of the Dutts of Hathkhola, a northern quarter of Calcutta. In the early days of British rule, the Dutts were one of those families in Calcutta who attained a great deal of prominence by virtue of their wealth and their ability to adapt themselves to the new political order.

"Ours was that might be regarded as a well-to-do, middle class family. Naturally, I had no personal experience of what want and poverty meant and had no occasion to develop those traits of selfishness greed and the rest which are sometimes the unwelcome heritage of indignant circumstances in one's life. At the same time there was not that luxury and lavishness in our home which has been the ruin of so many promising but pampered young souls or has helped to foster a supercilious, high born mentality in them. In fact considering their worldly means, my parents always erred - and I dare say rightly too-on the side of simplicity in the upbringing of their children".

"My mother ruled the roost and where family affairs were concerned, hers was usually the last word. She had a strong will and when one added to that a keen sense of reality and sound common sense, it is easy to understand how she would dominate the domestic scene".

At the age of five, Subhas was admitted to a Protestant European school run by the Baptist Mission. This was primarily meant for European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls with a limited number of seats (about fifteen percent) for Indians. Subhas later recorded his impression in his **Autobiography** about this school.

He wrote : "We had been living in two distinct world and as our consciousness developed we began to realize slowly that these two worlds did not always match. There was, on the one hand, the other 'another world' another atmosphere, where we spent most of our working days, which was not England, of course, but a near approach to it. We were, told that, because we were Indians, we could not sit for scholarship examinations, like the primary school and middle school examinations, though in our annual examinations many of us were topping the class. Anglo- Indian boys could join the volunteer corps and shoulder a rifle, but we could not, small incident like these began to open our eyes to the fact that as Indians we were a class apart, though we belonged to the same institution. Then there would be occasional quarrels between English (or Anglo - Indian) and Indian boys. Which would finish up with a boxing bout, in which sympathies would be mobilized along raciallines. So far as studies were concerned, I was usually, at the top. I did badly in sports and did not play any part in the bouts that took place, and as studies did not have the importance which they have usually in an Indian school, I came to cherish a poor opinion of myself".

After finishing the study in the Protestant European School, Subbas was admitted to Revenshaw Collegiate School in 1909. Here he did not devot all his time to studies. He developed some good hobbies. Gardening was one of them. It was at this school Subhas passed through a spiritual crisis. It caused him immense suffering and acute mental conflict. About this period Bose has thus recorded in his *Autobiography*.

Vivekananda's influence

"I was at that time entering on one of the stormiest periods in my psychical life which was to last for five or six years. It was a period of acute mental conflict causing untold suffering and agony. which could not be shared by any friends and was not visible to any outsider. I had in some respects a touch at the abnormal in my mental make - up. The mental conflict, as I view it from this distance, was a twofold one. Firstly there was the natural attraction of a worldly life and of worldly pursuits in general, against which my higher self was beginning to revolt. Secondly, there was the growth of self-consciousness, quite natural at that age, but which I considered unnatural and immoral and which I was struggling to suppress or transcend.

"One day by sheer accident I stumbled upon what turned out to be my greatest help in this crisis. A relative of mine, who was a new-comer to the town, was living next door and I had to visit him. Glancing over his books, I come across the works of Swami Vivekananda. I had hardly turn over a few pages when I realized that there was something which I had been longing for. I borrowed the books from him, brought them, home, and devoured them. I was thrilled to the marrow of my bones. My headmaster had roused my aesthetic and moral sense- had given a new impetus to my life but he had not given me an ideal to which I could give my whole being. That Vivekananda gave me..."

Subhas wrote in his autobiography how he found the ideal of his life when he was a school boy. "One day by sheer accident .... I came across the works of Swami Vivekananda. I had hardly turned over a few pages when I realized that here was something which I had been longing for. I borrowed the books, brought them home and devoured them. I was thrilled to the marrow of my bones.... Vivekananda gave me..ideal to which I could give my whole being.

"For days, weeks, months I pored over his works. His letters as well as speeches from *Colombo to Almora*, replete as they were with practical advice to his countrymen, inspired me most. From this study, I emerged with a vivid idea of the essence of his teachings.

Atmanomokshartham Jagadditaya-for your own salvation and for the service of humanity-that was to be the life's goal. Neither selfish monasticism of the middle ages, nor the modern Utilitarianism...could be a perfect ideal. And the service of humanity included, of course, the service of one's country. For, as his (Vivekananda's) biography and his chief disciple, sister Nivedita pointed out: 'The queen of his adoration was his motherland...There was not a cry within her shores that did not find in him a responsive echo. 'The swami himself, in one of his passionate utterances, has said 'Say, brothers, at the top of your voice-the naked Indian, the illiterate Indian, the Brahmin Indian, the pariah Indian is my brother".

"I was barely fifteen when Vivekananda entered my life. Then there followed a revolution within and everything was turned upside down. Both

from his portraits as well as from his teachings, Vivekananda appeared to one as a full blown personality. Many of the questions which vaguely stirred my mind and of which I was to become conscious later on, found him a satisfactory solution. Now I thought of the path which Vivekananda had indicated.

"No great achievement, whether internal or external, is possible without a revolution in one's life...The philosophy which I found in Vivekananda and in Ramakrishna came nearest to meeting my requirements and offered a basis on which to reconstruct my moral and practical life".

He declared that Vivekananda had been alive, he would have been his guru, in evolving his concept of philosophy of life. Aurobindo came as an additional help. From Vivekananda, Bose turned gradually to his master Ramakrishna Pramahamsa.

College Study

The teachings of Vivekananda helped him in many aspects of his life. Subhas's devotion to these activities made his father worry about his future. However he passed the matriculation examination in 1913 and got the second rank in the Calcutta University. It was a pleasant surprise to his parents. He joined the Presidency College for higher studies. During this period he left the home for two months, disillusioned by an unknown sanyasi. After his return he resumed his studies.

The college was closed with the incident of assaulting prof Oaten. Then he joined the Scottish Christian College at Calcutta in July 1917 and took to his studies seriously.

In 1919 he gained his B.A. degree with honours in philosophy. He then joined the Post-Graduate class reading psychology. During this period he also joined the University military training corps that helped him to have passion for military organization in later years. Then he was asked by his parents to go to England to prepare for the Indian Civil Service Examination at Cambridge. He finished fourth in the Competition. While he was in England he had a deep seated ambivalence towards the British. His feelings were compound of admiration, envy and hatred.

Subhas Bose wrote a letter to his brother Sarat Bose and C.R.Das expressing his view about the resignation from the I.C.S. He decided to take up national service. His attitude to give up the I.C.S. disappointed his family members. His father openly expressed this disappointment. At last he submitted his formal resignation on 22nd April 1921.

Entered Public life

Bose gave up the I.C.S. with a vision to dedicate his life for the freedom of his country. In the earlier nationalist period through the swadeshi years, Bengalis, like their collegues from Bombay, played a leading role in the movement . In the first 32 years of the Congress, nine Bengalis, were presidents of the Con-

gress for a total of 12 years. At the end of World War I, the Congress blossoms a new under the leadership of mahatma Gandhi and began to mobilize the masses. Gandhiji was able to fire the public enthusiasm. Though Bengalis worked with national spirit and cooperated with Gandhiji in the nationwide movements, it was striking note that the two major revolutions against Gandhiji were made by Bengalis. The first of these was Swarajist party headed by C.R.Das. The second one was that Bose won the election for presidential post against the Gandhiji's candidature.

From the mid-1920's Socialist and Communist ideology began to spread among Indian Nationalists. Subhas Bose and Nehru were among the Congress leaders who adopted socialist ideas but joined no formal leftist groups such as the Congress Socialist Party of India.

In September 1920 a special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta to pass the noncooperation resolution. Gandhi assured that if the people noncooperation with Government, swaraj can be won within a year. But Bose had his own views on this issue. A few months earlier he had talked with M.N.Roy about the possibility of revolution in India. He was impatient with the battle that was offered by Gandhiji. He was very eager to do a daring act. He described in his own words "I reached Bombay on 16th July, 1921 and the same afternoon I obtained an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. My object in seeking an interview with Mahatma Gandhi was to get, from the leader of the campaign I was about to join a clear conception of his plan of action. During the last few years, I had made some study of the methods and tactics employed by revolutionary leaders in other parts of the world, and in the light of that knowledge, I wanted to understand the Mahatma's mind and purpose".

Bose had elaborate discussion with Gandhiji and he was dissatisfied with Gandhiji's replies and he was disappointed after meeting Gandhiji the first time. As advised by Gandhiji he met C.R.Das. Das attracted Bose. Though Bose remained loyal to Das he retained independence of outlook and judgement.

The Idealogical Difference between Gandhi and Bose

Bose's contribution to the freedom of India is great but he different with Gandhi following the revolutionary path. Gandhi wanted freedom through nonviolence. Gandhi proposed a new vision of Sarvodaya which goes beyond Capitalism and Socialism. Bose wanted freedom of India through any means. As a socialist, he did not want lead India's reconstruction to capitalism. According to High Toye, Bose was a "socialist and could not leave the reconstruction of India to capitalism, nor could he trust the making of a constitution to the process of democracy. The hand that won freedom must not lose its grip,otherwise, he argued, the vested interests, parasites and toadies now waiting on the British would rob the people of the prize for which they had fought. No, after freedom let the constitution and the socialist state be established. Let the strong hand that made them retain control until they were firm enough to stand against the corrupting influences democracy would liberate".

The revolutionary connections had number of consequences for Subhas Bose and Sarat Bose. The government of India and Bengal believed that their ties with revolutionaries were closer rather than outlined one. The revolutionary connections of Bose caused the British to get suspicious of him. Therefore he was arrested and imprisoned during the years from 1924 to 1927 enforced exile from 1932 to 1937.

Gandhi had retired from the Congress in the year 1934 and returned back to congress in 1937. In may 1934, the Congress Socialist Party was formed. But this was not able to oust the congress from the heart of India. Sill Gandhiji had strong hold on the party. When Bose was released in 1937 he found that Gandhiji was again in politics.

Bose's difference with Gandhian outlook were forcefully expressed in his book, *The Indian Struggle* completed while he was in Europe and reached India in 1935. In this book, he praised Gandhi and also attacked him in a severe manner. The rebel mentality, he claimed that he had, from his youth, was understood through this book. He often used the language of military campaign in this book. He wanted a mighly leader for India and not soft and mild "Guru".

In 1936 and 1937 Nehru served as the president of the congress and number of socialists joined the congress working committee. Then in 1938 Gandhi wanted that Subhas Bose should be the president of the Congress. He agreed Bose stressed the unity among the Congress men and called the congress and the people to aim at free India.

Bose emphasised much on Socialism and extended his support for the Congress Socialist Party in his speeches made as he was a president of the Congress. He also stressed a plan of industrialisation for the national development. Therefore Gandhiji did not want Bose's reelection for the congress presidency in 1939. At first the name of Maulana Azad was proposed, but he turned down the offer on health grounds. Then Gandhiji recommended Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya. But Bose refused to withdraw from the contest and won the election by 1580 to 1375 votes for Sitaramayya.

After the election Gandhi openly confessed that the defeat is more mine than his (sitaramayya)..." Gandhi, however was against rash moves because he said, "After all Subhas Bose is not an enemy of his country, he has suffered for it". Bose issued a statement answering Gandhi, which said in part.

"I do not know what sort of opinion Mahatmaji has of me. But whatever his view may be, it will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man".

Though Bose won the election against Gandhi's candidate, he wanted Gandhi's Cooperation. Bose met Gandhi at Wardha on February 15 but failed to clear the misapprehensions in Gandhi's mind about him. Nehru conveyed Gandhi's impressions of the talks to Bose in a letter on April 20.

"You were not keen on having his cooperation although you had asked him rather causally for it. It seemed that you were thinking in terms of forming a working Committee of various persons whom you had already considered (or perhaps promised for this purpose). You were of course perfectly entitled to do so, but all this indicated that you were thinking in terms other than those of cooperation with Gandhi and his group".

As a result of the Bose - Gandhi talks it was decided to hold a meeting of the working Committee at Wardha on February 22 to discuss the agenda for Tripura session. But unfortunately Bose fell ill and could not able to attend the session.

The leaders of the Congress were divided against one another and a grave crisis erupted at Tripura over the issue of the future direction of Congress policy. Since Subhas Bose's election as Congress President had been widely interpreted to mean rejection of the policy followed by the Congress under Gandhiji's guidance. G.B. Pant moved a resolution expressing Confidence in the old working Committee and calling on the president to form a new working Committee in accordance with Gandhiji's wishes. But found the difference between the Bose and the other members of the working Committee and saw no possibility of bridging them. Therefore Gandhi advised Bose to form his own working Committee and seek approval of the A.I.I.C for his programme, had if it was not accepted, to resign.

Pant's resolution

The difference between Gandhiji and Bose related to Bose's insistence on giving six months ultimatum to the British Government and starting mass action after its expiry. Bose wrote to Gandhiji on April 6, 1939.

"You have said in one of your letters in connection with my idea of an ultimatum on the issue of swaraj that there is no atmosphere for nonviolent mass action. But did you not have nonviolent mass action in Rajkot? Are you not having it in some other states also? These states people are comparatively untrained in the practise of Satyagraha. We in British India can claim more experience and training comparatively speaking at least. If the states people can be permitted to resort to satyagraha in their struggle for civil liberty and responsible government, why not we of British India?

"I shall now come to Pant's resolution. The important part of it (last portion, I mean) contains two points. Firstly the working committee must command your confidence - implicit confidence. Secondly, it must be formed in accordance with your wishes.

"You have not yet said anything as to the merits of the Pant resolution. Do you approve of it?... But I am digressing. I wanted to appeal to you to come forward and directly and openly conduct the affairs of the Congress. This will simplify matters.

"Once again I have digressed. In a letter you expressed the hope that in whatever I did, I would "be guided by God". Believe me, Mahatmaji, all these days I have been praying for only one viz for light as to the path which would be best for my country and my country's freedom. I have asked for strength and inspiration to completely efface myself should the need and occasion arise. It is my firm conviction that a nation can live only if the individuals composing it be ready to die for its sake whenever it is necessary. This moral (spiritual) hara-kiri is not an easy thing. But may God grant me the strength to face it whenever the country's interests demand it".

Gandhi, in a reply, wrote to Bose on April 10, 1939.

"Your letter of 6th instant has been redirected here.

"I feel myself utterly incompetent to bring the working elements together for joint work. I should hope that they can work out their policies with becoming dignity. If they do so it will be well with the country.

"Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. The more I study it I dislike it. The framers meant well. But it does not answer the present difficulty. You should, therefore, give it your own interpretations and act accordingly. Without the slightest hesitations".

Bose had since the year 1939, been advocating the mass action against the British government at the earliest. The difference between Bose and Gandhi on this issue put Bose in a dilemma. Further this controversy led Bose's resignation as Congress president. Gandhiji wrote to Subhas Bose on April 29, 1939.

"Much has happend since Tripura. Knowing your own views knowing how you and most of the members differ fundamentally, it seems to me that if I gave you names, it would be an imposition on you. I have argued this position at length in my letters to you. Nothing that has happend during the three days of close conversation between us has altered my view. Such being the case you are free to choose your own committee. I have told you too that you could discuss with the ex-members present will make the prosition clear before the A.I.C.C. Only it has been a matter of the greatest grief to me that a mutual settlement has not been possible. I hope, however, that whatever is done will be done with mutual goodwill".

According to a report in *The Hindu,* 29-4-1939. Subhas Bose read out this letter at the A.I.C.C. meeting at Calcutta and resigned from Congress presidentship. He started a new party Forward Block on may 3. Subsequent events had forced the working committee to take action against Bose what it considered to be a "deliberate and flagrant breach of discipline".

Congress Working Committee Resolution

(August 11, 1939)

The working Committee has given the most anxious consideration to the action of Subhas Chandra Bose, the erstwhile President of the National Con-

gress, in connection with two resolutions of the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. known as "Satyagraha in provinces" and Congress Ministries and the P.C.Cs". The working Committee has also considered the long letter of Shri Subhas Babu' appended hereto. The working Committee with great sorrow and reluctance has come to the conclusion that Subhas Babu has wholly missed the main point raised by the President of the Congress as clearly set forth in his declaration also appended hereto. As ex-President he should have also realized that having received preremptory instructions from the President it was his clear duty as a servant of the nation to obey them implicity even though he differed from the ruling of the President. It was open to him, if he felt aggrieved by the ruling, to appeal to the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C. But he was bound , so long as the President's instructions stood, to carry them out faithfully. This is the first condition of the proper functioning of any organization, much more so of a vast organization like the National Congress which is engaged in a life and death struggle with the best organized and most powerful imperialistic corporation in the world. If, what seems to be Subhas Babu's contention in his letter, that every member is free to interpret the Congress Constitution as he likes, prevails there will be prefect anarchy in the Congress and it must break to pieces in no time.

The Working Committee has come to the painful conclusion that it will fail in its duty if it condones the deliberate and flagrant breach of discipline by Subhas Babu. The working Committee therefore resolves that for his grave act of indiscipline shri Subhas Babu is declared disqualified as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for three years as from August 1939. The working Committee trusts that Shri Subhas Babu will see the error of his ways and loyally submit to this disciplinary action.

The Working Committee has taken note of the indiscipline of many other Congressmen including responsible officials. But it has refrained from taking any action as the members acted under the inspiration of Shri Subhas Babu. The Working Committee, however, leaves it open to Provincial Organizations to take action if they think it necessary for the proper observance of discipline and especially if the offending members do not express regret for their indiscipline.

The Committee further empowers the President to take disciplinary action against such members who, instead of expressing regret by their speech or conduct for the indiscipline, persist in it. *The Indian Annual Register,* 1939, Vol.11.pp.21-23

LETTER FROM SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT

August 7, 1939

I am exceedingly sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of the 18th July, from Ranchi. You have asked me for an explanation of my action in protesting against certain resolutions of the All India Congress Committee passed at Bombay.

In the first place, one has to distinguish between protesting against a certain resolution and actually defying it or violating it. What has so far happened is that I have only protested against the resolutions of the A.I.C.C.

It is my constitutional right to give expression to my opinion regarding any resolution passed by the A.I.I.C. You will perhaps admit that is customary with a large number of Congressmen to express their views on resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. when a particular session of that body comes to a close. If you grant Congressmen the right to express their views on resolutions passed by the A.I.C.C. you cannot draw a line and say that only favourable opinions will be allowed expression and unfavourable opinions will be banned. If we have the constitutional right to express our views then it does not matter if those views are favourable or unfavourable. Your letter seems to suggest that only expression of unfavourable views is to be banned.

We have so long been fighting the British Government among other things for our civil liberty. Civil liberty, I take it, includes freedom of speech. According to your point of view we are not to claim freedom of speech when we do not see eye to eye with the majority in the A.I.C.C. or in the Congress. It would be a strange situation if we are to have the right of freedom of speech as against the British Government but not as against the Congress or any body subordinate to it. If we are denied the right to adversely criticize resolution of the A.I.C.C. which in our view are harmful to the country's cause then it would amount to denial of a democratic right. May I ask you in all seriousness if democratic rights are to be exercised only outside the Congress but not inside it?

I hope you will agree that when a resolution is once passed by the A.I.C.C. it is open to us to have it reviewed or amended or altered or rescinded at a subsequent meeting of that body. I hope you will also agree that it is open to us to appeal against the A.I.C.C. to the higher court of appeal namely, the open session of the Congress. You will agree further, I hope; that it is open to a minority to carry on a propaganda with a view to converting the majority to its point of view. Now how can we do this except by appealing to Congressmen through public meetings and through writings in the press? The Congress today is not an organization of a handful of men. Its membership, has, I believe reached the neighbourhood of 45 lakhs.

We can hope to appeal to the rank and file of the congress and to convert them to our point of view only if we are allowed to write in the Press and also to hold meetings. If you maintain that once a resolution is passed in the A.I.C.C. it is sacrosanct and must hold good forever, then you may have some justification for banning criticism of it. But if you grant us the right to review or amend or alter or rescind a particular resolution of the A.I.C.C. either through that body or through the open session of the Congress, then I do not see, how you can gag criticism, as you have been trying to do.

I am afraid you have given an interpretation to the word 'discipline which I cannot accept. I consider myself to be a stern disciplinarian and I am afraid that

in the name of discipline you are trying to check healthy criticism. Discipline does not mean denying a person his constitutional and democratic right.

Apart from the fact that it is our constitutional and democratic right to protest against resolutions which in our view are harmful to the country's cause, a consideration of the merits of the two resolutions will show that such protests were really called for. In our view these two resolutions, if given effect to, will serve to accentuate the drift towards constitutionalism, to increase the influence, power and authority of the Provincial Ministries at the cost of the Congress organizations, to isolate artificially the Congress from the general public as also the A.I.C.C. from the rank and file of the congress, more over, they will serve to undermine the revolutionary spirit of the Congress. Consequently, in the best interests of the country, these two resolution should be immediately held in abeyance and ultimately altered suitably or withdrawn.

In this connection I cannot help drawing your attention to certain incidents at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and after. Please do not forget what the Swaraj party did in those days. Please do not forget either that, when the A.I.C.C. amended the resolution of the Gaya Congress, the Gujarat P C C resolved to defy it.

Lastly, please do not forget that Mahatma Gandhi wrote in ***Young India***, if my recollection is correct, that the minority has the right to rebel. We have not gone so far yet as to actually rebel against the decision of the majority. We have simply taken the liberty of criticizing certain resolutions passed by the majority in the teeth of our opposition.

I am really surprised that you have made so much of what we regard as our inherent right. I hope you will accept my explanation as satisfactory. But if you do not do so, and if you decide to resort to disciplinary action, I shall gladly face it for the sake of what I regard as a just cause. In conclusion, I have to request that if any Congressman is penalized in connection with the events of the 9th July, then you will also take action against me. If the observance of an All India day of the 9th is a crime then I confess, I am the arch-criminal.

With kindest regards.

The Indian Annual Register, 1939, Vol. 11, pp. 219-20

There was a large measure of sympathy for him and his line of approach in Congress ranks. The differences became irreconcilable. Gandhiji wrote to Subhas on Nov. 23, 1939.

"As to action by the working Committee, I dissent from you. Your way is not mine. For the time being you are my lost sheeps. Someday I shall find you returning, to the fold, if am I right and my love is pure".

Without returning to the Gandhiji's fold, Bose selected a different way of approach in getting freedom to India.

The Second Phase (1939-1945)

Hitherto we saw Bose as a rebel against British. We have to recall some of the incidents in his life that shows his rebellious attitude.

In 1920 he met Gandhiji, participated in the freedom struggle and co-operated with Congress. He became the Congress President. In 1930 he differed. While he was in London he wrote a book *Freedom struggle* in which he severely attacked Gandhi. In 1934 Gandhi retired from Congress. Bose, at that time, thought that Gandhian era would come to an end. Had he been in India in 1934, 1935, 1936, Bose would have emerged as a great leader at Gandhi's expense.

But unfortunately he was in exile in London. When he returned to India in 1937 he saw that Gandhi entered into politics again. Having different attitude with Gandhi and Congressmen in the way of approach to freedom, Bose resigned from Congress Presidency. He thought of other plans to follow because he believed that Gandhi had failed for five reasons. "He had failed because he had not understood his opponents; because he had not made a plan because he had not sought international help: because he tended to trust the British and because he hovered between his two roles as political leader and world teacher. Bose believed that freedom can be achieved through military forces that he will be able to undergo necessary sacrifices.

The year 1939 saw Bose losing his ground in the political arena except in Bengal. He was also dismissed from the Congress for three years. He thought that civil disobedience and terrorism were not enough. He hoped to seek support among the Britain's enemy countries. He believed that Britain will embrace the defeat in the II world war against the Axis (Germany, Japan and Italy) power block. Therefore Bose hoped that India's freedom would have been assisted by the Axis Powers. Finally, his political isolation was made complete by his arrest on 2 July 1940. The occasion for his arrest was a popular demonstration he organized in Calcutta for the removal of the memorial to the Black hole of Calcutta victims.

While he was in Jail he declared that he was going to observe fast unto death. He wrote : "[The] Government is determined to hold me in prison by brute force. I say in reply - Release me or I shall refuse to live and it is for me to decide whether I choose to live or to die."

His appeal was to be preserved as his political testament :

"Though there may be no immediate, tangible gain, no sacrifice is ever futile. It is through suffering and sacrifice alone that a cause can flourish and prosper, and its every age and clime the eternal law prevails, "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church."

"In this mortal world everything perishes and will perish-but ideas, ideals and dreams do not. One individual may die for an idea but that idea will after his death incarnate itself in a thousand lives. That is how the wheels of evolu-

tion move on and the ideas and dreams of one generation are bequeathed to the next. No idea has ever fulfilled itself in this world except through an ordeal of suffering and sacrifice.

To my countrymen I say, -forget not that the greatest curse for a man is to remain a slave. Forget not that the grossest crime is to compromise with injustice and wrong. Remember the eternal law - you must give life if you want to get it. And remember that the highest virtue is to battle against inequity no matter what the cost may be.

"To the government of the day I say cry, halt to your mad drive along the path of communalism and injustice. There is yet time to retrace your steps. Do not use a boomerang which will soon recoil on you. And do not make another; Send out of Bengal.

I shall commence my fast on the 29th November, 1940. As in any previous fasts. I shall take water with salt. But I may discontinue this later on, if I feel called upon to do so."

Having resisted the forcible feeding, Bose was released after six days of his fast and allowed to go home, Now he was under house arrest. Having strong faith that external assistance was essential to liberate India, Bose decided to get out of India. He slipped in disguise as a Muslim religious teacher, the Maulvi Ziauddin from his home. His plan was to move from Calcutta to Kabul, and then to Moscow and Berlin.

He reached Kabul and crossed the Afghan. He took the train to Moscow, and on march 28th, 1941 flew to Berlin. Now Bose became a international leader.

Immediately after his arrival in Berlin on 2nd April 1941 Orlando Mazzotta. (the name by which Bose was officially known according to his Indian passport), set himself to work.

His first memorandum to German Government was presented as early as 9th April. On 29th April he met the German foreign minister Ribbontrop and discussed with him about his plan. But the proper time for German's acceptance of Bose's plan for an open revolt against the British in India with the help of the Axis Powers has not been reached

During the first weeks of his stay in Europe Bose formulated. His plans in a nutshell. (the basic demands whose acceptance by the Axis he regarded as essential for India's achieving independence with their assistance.

- A public declaration guaranteeing an Independent India by the Axis powers in the event of their victory.

-The Axis powers to concentrate military on attacking the heart of the British Empire -- India.

- To organize revolts against the British through propaganda, subversive activities, or direct military assistance.

- To provide the widest possible international support by linking up the Indian cause with that of the Arabs (by avoiding, at the same time, discussion of the hazardous issue of Pakistan)

- To maintain friendly relation with Soviet Union and Turkey which might help to create a long chain of friendly pro-German countries beginning from North Africa on the one side and right upto Japan in the Far East.

- To set up a " Free Indian Government" in Europe together with a nucleus of an Indian military unit (the future Indian Legion)

- To organize clandestine activities in India by spreading propaganda through radio broadcasts and leaflets, carrying out sabotage actions and strikes and undermining the morale of the Indian soldiers.

- The important prerequisite for this was to enable Axis agents to work in the Tribal Territory and to establish in Afghanistan (Kabul) a centre for maintaining Communications between Europe and India.

Bose was a great leader as well as good master. He was full of fresh ideas. He was generous and sympathetic in solving the personal problems which beset his staff. By January 1942 he had gathered around him some twenty five Indian assistants, all carefully screened by the German Foreign office before they were allowed to meet him. He set an office with these men. The office was called the 'Indian Independence League, or Free India Centre.' Some planned a broadcast programme which opened as the 'secret' station Azad Hind Radio, in December 1941. Others joined a planning Committee to study the social and economic problems of free India. The outbreak of war between Germany and Russia shocked Bose profoundly. Finally Bose met German dictator Hitler in person on 27 May, in the Fuchrer's Headquarters. Bose was shocked with this meeting. He thought that Hitler was old revolutionary. He boldly asked Hitler about some of the passages in **Mein Kampf,** hostile towards Indians which were used to probagate against Bose's movement. Therefore his desire to go to Asia came this way.

It was not until the arrival of Netaji in Southeast Asia in June, 1943 that the INA and independence movement revived and participated some as reassessment of Japan's relative neglect of the INA and the independence movement. Bose had been in Berlin since early 1941 following his eluding of British authorities and escape to German through Afganistan. Authorities in Tokyo learned of Bose and his significance from several sources.

As early as April 1941 Consul General Okazaki in Calcutta cabled Foreign Minister Matsuoka, describing Forward Block as a radical Bengali party working for independence and suggesting establishing contact with Bose in Berlin. Major Fujiwara in his dealing with the INA, had often heard about Bose.

His welcome in he Fareast was assured. Bose reached Japan in May 1943 and he was received by Japanese premier Tojo.

Visiting Japan for the first time, he was deeply impressed by the charming people and their qualities of vigour and discipline. He began to hear about INA and III, through Rash Behari. He discussed the Japanese policy towards India with the war department.

Arriving in Southest Asia in July, Bose assumed leadership of III, and INA. He announced his intention to organise a Free Indian provisional Government. Now he felt his mission of escape was fulfilled. Britain would not leave India on economic grounds and it was madness for India to expect so. Only through Axis powers, Bose, expected India could be freed. The international situation was ripe for that, he believed, particularly Japan can play a vital role in this way, he thought.

Bose's voice was indeed a new voice of India:

"Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom.

India shall be free and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom, joy and self-fulfilment.

On July 4th, in the presence of League representatives from all Japanese Asia, he accepted the Presidency of the League and the allegiance of the Indian National Army. All Indians outside India he claimed now acknowledged him as leader in the independence struggle of India. He announced, let the battle cry be 'Chalo Delhi', 'to Delhi' until the victory parade was held in the Red Fort of India's ancient capital. There were two tasks for the army to fight for freedom and then to stand as the defence force of Free India.

The struggle in India would not suffice to expel the British. He sought the help of all peoples outside India. He told them that all the resources of three million Indians in East Asia should be mobilised. The slogan would be " Total mobilisation for total war". His aim was three hundred thousand soldiers and thirty million dollars. Within six weeks Bose had a clear grasp of the main problems. He saw that most important territories were Malaya, Burma, and Siam. Malaya, had a rich Indian population of 800,000; Burma a less wealthy one of 600,000 and Siam with Indian population of 55,000, Siam was the major source of INA and as the link between the two. He toured these places and his audiences cheered the move. There were more speeches, interviews without number and long meetings with Japanese commanders and government officials broadcasts too at every opportunity. The story of I.N.A. in the Japanese campaign of 1944 is long, intricate and closely interwoven with the action of the Japanese regiments and divisions with which its soldiers campaigned.

Bose became a supreme Commander and the chief aim of I.N.A. was to establish a Provincial Government. Accordingly in the beginning, the structure of the government was very simple as set out below revealing clearly its fighting character.

Head of the Government Head of the military Department Head of the foreign affairs Department	:	S.C. Bose
Head of the Finance Department	:	Anil Chandra Chatterjee
Head of Propaganda Department	:	S. Appadorai Ayer
Head of Women's Department	:	Laxmi Swaminathan.

Beside, he took J.K Bhonsle, the commander of INA and seven others as ministers without portfolio. Rush Behari Bose was appointed as the supreme counsellor of the government and A.M. Sahay was appointed as secretary with ministerial rank. Further I.N.A was subordinated to the Provincial Government and Bose took charge of it as the Supreme Commander.

Simultaneously, the object of the Provincial Government and the declaration were drafted by Bose and announced to the world.

It was the 'superman' in Chandra Bose, who could build up a colossal organisation of Indian revolution within only eight months. Subhas was now Nethaji everywhere. Before sounding the bugli of 'On to Delhi' for his A cry of Revolution in early 1944, what Netaji achieved can be stated in brief.

The formation of provisional Government of Free India which was recognized by about a dozen Asian and European Countries as the Sovereign authority of the Indian people.

'Total mobilization' of Indians for the "total war of Indian Liberation" under banner of the Provisional Government of Free India or the Azad Hind Arzi Hakumat with Suboas Bose as its head:

Complete reorganisation, revitalisation and expansion of the Indian National Army or the Azad *Hind Fauj* - trained and manned wholly by Indians.

Reorganization and restructuring of the political wing of the *Azad Hind* revolution namely the Indian independence League and formation of a women's regiment of the INA, called the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and para militia body named as the Azad Hind Dal, including a Bala Sena Unit.

The establishment of the Azad Hind Bank as the financial and banking institution of the Azad *Hind* Government and Indians of South East Asia; and

Taking over of the administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands by the Azad Hind Government and their renaming as shahid Dwip, and Swaraj Dwi.

With constant effort he fought, against the British Army with the help of Japanese Army. Japanese Army began to fall back. In a major address to Indian leaders. Netaji told them just a month before the fall of Japan: "I am confident if we fight on and If we play our cards well in the international field, we will win our freedom by the end of the war. But if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of his war, our next plan shall be a post war revolution inside India". He added further in another broadcast to assure Congress leaders in India. "When INA soldiers are taken back to India as prisoners they would bring a fundamental change in the Indian political situation.

In his last order of the day on August 15, 1945, the day of Japanese surrender, Netaji urged his Army of Revolution and his countrymen: "Never for a moment falher in your faith in India" destiny. Roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal ... There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long".

Since his dramatic escape from India he played a pioneering role in the awakening of the Indians of outside India waged the war of Independence and troubled the British Government to the maximum extent to think of getting away from India..

The Tokyo Radio made an unofficial announcement about Netaji's death in an alleged aircrash on August 23 1945. Gandhi set in a public statement later on January 2, 1946: " I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere" He also requested his family members not to believe it. The Government of India also received many intelligence reports which indicated that Netaji escaped to India. But it did nothing to find out what really had happened to the great hero of India. The mystery about his death remains unsolved. However now it is firmly believed that Bose was killed in a plane accident in late 1944 or early 1945.

CONCLUSION

Above all and everything, Gandhi and Subhas were two true Indians. They lived and they worked essentially as two true Indians. To understand the esseential characteristics of the personalities of Gandhi and Subhas, this Indian characteristic of their outlook of life have to be understood in its primal appeal. The personal and political philosophies of Gandhi and Subhas emanated from their fundamental faith in the Indian values and in their sense of identify with the feeling concept of spiritual values of India, a Vaishnava in Gandhi blosoomed into a political Mahatma and a Kshatriya in Subhas effuled in the image of Netaji. Both of them had solemn faith in the values of Indian culture and civilization, Both of them followed their own way.

Why Gandhi and Subhas entertained such a passionate admiration for India?

True Leaders

Gandhi studied in India. He had his education in England also. He explained in his autobiography how he had been influenced in building his personal character and evolving his socio-political ideas by the thoughts of many saints and philosophers of the western world. As the same time he also got enlightenment by studying the Indian Religious scriptures particularly by Bhagavad Gita. He chose the nonviolent way. He evolved the Satyagraha technique.

Subhas Bose was born in a Aristocratic family which was quite modern in its socio-cultural outlook. He also had his education in Christian schools and colleges in India. He passed the I.C.S. Examination in London and came fourth. He renounced the I.C.S. He was inspired by Vivekananda during his college days. He was always aware of new ideas and thoughts. He became a socialist. Though he was in Congress for some time he conferred with Gandhi's principles. He selected a violent way of life, to wage a war against the British to free India. He escaped from India. He became the supreme commander of I.N.A, and waged a war against the British. He was always conscious of India's culture that should be developed.

In a nutshell, Gandhi and Subhas hoped to build a new and modern India in an Indian way and under Indian conditions and in keeping with the heritage of Indian culture and civilization.

National Unity

Gandhi and Subhas pointed out that a common feeling of unity and oneness developed among the people of Bharat even in ancient times. Both these leaders stressed about the characteristics of the feeling of unity among the Indian people from the days of ancient times as a remarkable feature in the history of mankind. This is the unique feature of India. We can not notice this sense of feeling of unity in the world except in a size of country like India and to some extent in China. Both agreed with the views of eminent scholars of India that this concept of unity was the outcome of the saints and sages and not the kings and their governments. It was the gift of the higher spiritual men. Thus neither Gandhi nor Subhas accepted the imperialist theory of the British rulers about the growth of Indian unity and the origin of Indian nationalism. They always held the view that the Indian people had their unity and an abiding feeling of Indianness of Indian nationalism from ancient times as contributed essentially by their common culture and civilization.

The modern concept of national unity and nationalism is the gift of the post-Napoleonic politics of Europe. According to this concept, a political state is considered as the mother of modern nationalism. This thinking about national unity and nationalism now dominates political thinking almost all over the world. Gandhi and Subhas urged their countrymen to aspire for their political freedom for establishing an independent state of their own, but they asked them not to forget the historical background of the genesis and the fundamental character of their nationalism. Both urged the people to keep their cultural

heritage. They further urged that for maintaining a living unity of the Indian people and fulfilling the aspiration of Indian nationalism. The concept of cultural unity should receive equal emphasis along with the necessity for their political unity. They respected all the religions. They worked for prevailing the harmony between Muslims and Hindus.

Sarvodaya and Samyavad:

Sarvodaya was the highest concept of the ideological mission of Gandhi. And for Subhas, it was Samyavad. Gandhi described his ideological thinking as non violent socialism'. Subhas defined his socialist ideas as 'Indian Socialism'.

Gandhiji introduced constructive programmes. His emphasis was on the development of Charka and the Khadi economy, revival of cottage Industries, protection of cows, removal of untouchability and upliftment of the Harijans, Communal unity. Basic education and similar other works related to economic and social reforms. He was overtly opposed to the introduction of modern industrialisation. He opposed the adoption of machines that freed men. He broadly propagated his ideas of Ram Rajya and Gram Swaraj, as his model of new society that he hoped to set up in free India. This Gandhi showed himself as a *'Practical reformist'.*

Since the Russian revolution some of the radical thinkers and political leaders of India begun to see the world with a new outlook.

Bose, while he was in exile in London, turned to be trident criticise the Gandhian leadership. He published *The India* Struggle in early 1935, in which he expressed his critical views on the evaluation of the role of the Mahatma. Bose claimed that he was fundamentally a great reformist and not a revelationist. He wanted to develop a clear ideology, programme and plan of action.

This ideology, as Subhes visualised them, was described by him an Indian Socialism or *Bharathiya Samyavad.* In his book, he outlined the programme of a party, called Bharatiya Samyavadi Sangh, which he hoped for all India after he returned to the country from his exile in Europe.

Bose and Gandhi, were essentially great ideologists. They were great humanists. They dreamt about the future liberated India. Gandhi saw the liberated I India and Bose did not. Gandhi and Bose sacrificed their lives for the sake of our country India . Their mission was not only to India but also to the whole of humanity in our modern times.

Gandhi never deviated from his chosen means of nonviolence while Bose tried use to a historical opportunity by creating a new alliance system with Germany. Japan and Italy. However the letter was a historical miscalculation and ethically questionable.

For Further Reading:

1. *An autobiography* *Mahatma Gandhi*
2. *Autobiography of An Indian pilgrim* - *Subhas Chandra Bose*
3. *My picture of Free India* - *M.K. Gandhi*
4. *Sarvodaya* - *M.K. Gandhi*
5. *The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi* - Volume, 69, 70, 71, 12
6. *The Indian Struggle* - 1920-1924-Subhas Chandra Bose.
7. *The Indian Struggle* - 1935 - 1940 -Subhas Chandra Bose
8. *Selected speeches of Bose* - Publication Divisions (Govt. of India)
9. *Writings and speeches of Netaji* - *J.S Bright*
10. *Netaji: The Man* - *Dilip Kumar Roy*
11. *Netaji to Germany* - *N.G. Gunguley*
12. *Netaji* - *Dead or Alive - Samar Guha*

Lesson -17

GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14th April 1891. He belonged to Mahar sect (an "untouchable" sect). His father was a military subedar and moved from place to place. He hailed from Ambad village in Dapoli of Ratnagiri District. Ambhedkar was born at Mhow (in ex-Indore state). He was the fourteenth child of his parents. The family was economically poor but commanded respect from others.

Ambedkar married an illiterate mahar girl Ramabai in 1905 when she was 9 years old and he was 14. She died in 1935 and again he married, Dr. Sharada Kabir (late named Savita) in 1948. She was from a Sarasvat Brahmin family of Bombay.

Ambedkar was a brilliant and self-made person. He was matriculated in 1908 from Elphinstone High School, Bombay and graduated from the Elphinstone college in 1912. He joined Columbia University in USA in 1913 on a Baroda State scholarship and completed an M.A.. in economics and Ph.D. He then moved to London to join the London School of Economics for further studies in the midst of his studies. He returned back to India and worked in Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics at Bombay from 1918 to 1920. Then again went back to London and completed a M.Sc., D.Sc., and legal degrees. He then started his legal practice at the Bombay high court and also entered social work.

Dr. Ambedkar championed the cause of the Depressed class people from the beginning. He started a Marathi fortnightly- *Monknayak* (Leader of the Dumb) in December 1919 but it ended in June 1920. In January 1919 he gave evidence to the southborough Reforms (Francise) Committee for the political rights of the Depressed classes. He launched an organizations by name " Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha" to work for the welfare of the "untouchables". He started four hostels for "Untouchable" students in Bombay presidency during 1926-30 and started a Marathi fornightly by name *Bahishkrit Bharat* in April 1927 and the weekly titled *Janata* was launched in November 1930. "Samaj Samata Sangh" was started in September 1927 to work for social equality among untouchables through inter-caste marriage and interdinning. The organization started a paper by name *Samata* in March 1929.

He undertook specific campaigns to uplift the depressed. He struggled to get access for the "untouchables" to the public tank in a village in Mahad in 1927. He ultimately won this case at the Bombay high court in 1937. He led

a struggle for the entry of the "untouchables" into the Kalaram temple at Nasik in 1930 which ended as a success in 1934.

Dr. Ambedkar's academic and legal excellence steadily grew. He became a Professor and then a Principal of Govt. Law College, Bombay. Ambedkar was recognized by the British to represent the "untouchables" at the London Round Table Conferences (1930-33). He pleaded powerfully for separate electorates for the "untouchables". Mahatma Gandhi's perception was different. He considered the depressed classes as part of Hindu society and called them as "Harijans" (children of God). Gandhi saw that separate electorates would permanently divide the Hindu society. The colonialists naturally wanted such permanent divisions so that India would be a fertile field for permanent infight. Gandhi went on a fast unto death after the announcement of the communal award (17th Aug. 32) from 20th Sept. 1932. Then Ambedkar and Gandhi arrived at the Poona Pact on 24th Sept. 1932. This provided reservation of seats for the "untouchables" in the general constituencies.

Dr. Ambedkar rejected Hinduism as the real source of caste based discriminations. He carried the "untouchables" to leave Hinduism in Oct. 1935. However he did not make up his mind to join which religion. There were different options - Sikhism, Christianity and Islam. All along these eligions have attracted the depressed classes. The attraction towards Sikhism was quite strong during 1938-40 and Khalsa College in Bombay then came into existence. But he remained undecided in this matter for more than a decade there onwards.

Ambedkar joined Buddhism on 14th October 1956. He himself gave "deeksha" to lakhs of his followers in Nagpur. It was an attempt to reintroduce Buddhism into India as part of an on going struggle for justice by the depressed class Hindus. Until this day, this attempt has produced only marginal results. The movement of the "Untouchables" into Islam and Christianity continues. And still a larger number of them remain within the Hindu society. The emerging militant "dalit" movement read new meanings in "Ambedkar".

Ambedkar formed the independent Labour Party of India in October 1936. He formed the scheduled castes Federation as an all India Political Party in 1942. He fully enjoyed the consistent support of the British and used his positions such as nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly (1926-1934) and member of the Governor General's Executive Council (July 1942 -March 1946) to further the cause of the depressed people.

In spite of his consistant opposition to the Congress Party, that party nominated him to the Constituent Assembly. He became the chair of the Drafting committee to frame the constitution of India. He also joined the Nehrus ministry as a Law minister. The Indian constitution reveals his district

influence such as centralism and weak local government set up. Mahatma Gandhi believed in decentralization of power and village Swaraj. He was against the British model political parties, simple majority system, representative democracy and centralization and concentration of power. Ambedkar wanted all these and he saw in Village Swaraj and decentralisation a rise of high caste Hindu power and the oppression of the weaker sections. Gandhi was for forgiving and forgetting the evils of the past, repentance and correction while Ambedkar wanted an answer to the continuing injustice immediately and wanted justice at once. Ambedkar stood for a revolt by the depressed classes and Gandhi wanted a peaceful and nonviolent transformation.

Ambedkar through his personality and self-effort rose to greater heights and remains as a towering model to the depressed people. His relentless campaign for the uplift of the "untouchables" is remarkable. Today he is more and more seen as a militant revolutionary for justice.

Ambedkar saw in the British Rule a blessing for the depressed people. He wanted the British Rule to continue since according to him it protected the interest of the "untouchables". Congress brought him into the main stream, thanks to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, as the chair of the constituent Assembly and as Union Law Minister.

Today in Somalia people starve and die. But there are seven major ethnic groups in that country fighting to the very end. Gandhi wanted to prevent such a situation in India. The colonialist seemed to have nourished the differences as part of their strategy of "divide and rule". Ambedkar wanted to achieve justice very soon through confrontation and struggle. His books include, " *Castes in India, Gandhi and Jinnah.*

Appendix one

THE TERRITORIAL CONSTITUENCY INADEQUATE IN CERTAIN SOCIAL CONDITIONS TO ASCERTAIN THE GENERAL WILL.

B.R. Ambedkar

Extract from B.R. Ambedkar's book Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables 1943. Ambedkar was criticising the National Scheme of the Hindus which included the setting up of a legislature to be elected by purely territorial constitution.

.....the assumptions which are involved in the alleged efficacy and sufficiency of the territorial constituency.....

(1) It assumes that the majority of voters in a constituency represent the will of the constituency as a whole.

(2) That it is enough to take stock of the general will of the constituency as expressed by the majority and that the will of any particular section however much it may be to conflict with the will of the majority may be ignored without being guilty of any inequity.

(3) That the representative who is elected by the voters will represent the wishes and interests of the voters and that there is not the danger of the representative allowing the interest of his class to dominate and overriding the interests and wishes of the voter who elects him.

Every one of these assumption is a false assumption unjustified by any theory and unsupported by experience. The history of Parliamentary Government furnishes abundant proof in support of this assertion and even the history of England tells the same tale. It is wrong to suppose that the majority in all circumstances can be trusted to represent the will of all sections of people in the constituency. As a matter of fact it can never do so to any satisfactory degree. If at all, it can only give a very pale reflection of the general will and even that capacity for pale reflection must depend upon how numerous and varied are the interests which are consciously shared by the different sections of the constituency and how full and free is the interplay between them. It is obvious that where, as in India, there are no interests which are shared, where there is no full and free interplay and where there are no common cycles of participation for the different sections, one section large or small cannot represent the will of the other. The will of the majority is the will of the

majority and nothing more, and no amount of logical ingenuity can alter the fact and to give effect to it is to allow full power to the tyranny of the Majority.

Again it is wrong to suppose that the representative elected to the Legislature will represent the wishes of the voters who elect him and forget or subordinate the interests of the class to which he belongs. The case of the representative is a case of divided loyalties. He is confronted with three conflicting duties (1) a duty to himself, (2) a duty to the class to which he belongs, and (3) a duty to the voters who have elected him. Omitting the first from our consideration it is common experience that the representative prefers the interests of his class to that of his voters. And why should any one expect him to act otherwise. It is in the nature of things that a man's self should be nearer in him than his constituency. There is a homely saying that man's skin sits closer to him than his shirt. To the members of the Legislature it is true more often than not that his class is his skin and the constituency is a shirt which it is unnecessary to say in one degree removed than.

The Hindu therefore in relying upon the territorial constituency is seeking to base the political structure of India upon foundation which all political architects have declared to be unsound. The territorial constituency has long since been regarded even in European countries as a discredited piece of political mechanism. In great many European countries the representative system based on territorial constituency has been wound up and replaced by other systems of Government largely because the territorial system of representation produced neither good Government nor efficient Government. In other countries where representative institution have survived there is as acute discontent with the result produced by the system of territorial constitutions. The proposals for occupational and functional representation, the proposals or referendum and recall all furnish proof, if proof is really wanted that there is a great body of enlightened and intelligent opinion which is definitely against the system of territorial constituency.

In these circumstances the question as to why the Hindu insists upon a political mechanism which is described every where excites a certain amount of curiosity. The reason he gives is that it is the only mechanism which is consistent with nationalism. I am not convinced that this is the real explanation. The real explanation to my mind is very different. The Hindu prefers the territorial constituency because he knows that it will enable him to collect and concentrate all political power in the hands of the Hindus, and who can deny that his calculation is incorrect? In a purely territorial constituency the contest, the Hindu knows, will be between a huge majority of Hindu voters and a small minority of untouchable voters. Given this fact the Hindu majority-if it is a purely territorial constituency -is bound to win in all constituencies. But the Hindu besides relying upon their majority can also rely upon other factors which do not but work to strengthen that majority. Those factors have their origins in the peculiar nature of the Hindu Society. The Hindu Social systems

which place communities one above the other is a factor which is bound to have its effect on the result of voting. By the Hindu Social system the Communities are placed in an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. It needs no prophet to predict what effect these social attitudes will have on voting. No Caste Hindu will caste a vote in favour of an untouchable candidate, for to him he is too contemptible a person to go to the Legislature. On the other hand there will be found many voters among the untouchables who would willingly cast their votes for a Hindu candidate in preference to an untouchable candidate.That is because he is taught to revere the former more than himself or his untouchable kinsmen. I am not mentioning the other means which are often resorted to for catching votes of the poor illiterate, unconscious, unorganized body of voters which the untouchables are. A combination of all these circumstances is bound to work in the direction of augmenting the representation of the Hindus. Under a system of purely territorial constituencies it is quite certain the Hindu will have assured them a majority. They can draw for their majority upon themselves as well as upon the Untouchables. It is equally certain that the Untouchables will lose all seats. They must, firstly because they are a minority, and secondly because the Hindus can successfully exploit the weakness of the Untouchables which makes them offer their votes to the Hindus as one offers but meat to his gods.

Understood in the light of these forces which are sure to make the territorial constituency profitable to the Hindus by enabling them to look the political power which the Untouchable would become possessed of if the Communal Scheme is from the result side, if not from the motive side, worse than the Communal Scheme.

Additional Note

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, contributed in a big way to social justice. There were honest differences between Ambedkar and Gandhi. Gandhi firmly believed in "Village Swaraj" but Ambedkar felt that Indian villages have been the root cause of upper caste domination. So Ambedkar wanted a strong central government which can deal with the local caste oppression and practice of untouchability. The romanticization of Indian villages may be a major error. But today we realise that decentralisation of power and people's participation are essential for the holistic development from the bottom. After four decades of Indian Independence, dalits have gained the confidence that they can challenge the domination at the village level as well and deal with all the problems of oppression by co-ordinated and concerted action.

Gandhi accepted the reservation policy as insisted by Ambedkar and the latter accepted the former's insistence to give up the idea of separate electorates. Reservation policy is a legal constitutional safe-guard to achieve equality and social justice. Reservation policy not only provides a way out for the oppressed but it also helps to achieve equal representation in difference spheres

and thus ensuring plurality and diversity. The cream layer concept shows that the fruits of reservation has not percolated to the last person but is restricted to a wealthy and powerful section of the dalits. As proposed by Ambedkar we need to do periodic review and evolve new and relevant strategies to achieve social justice.

Gandhi stood for nonviolence in the full sense but he also rejected inaction and cowardice Ambedkar rejected indiscriminate violence as practised by the Communist parties in Soviet Union, China and elsewhere. But he believed in just violence against a cruel and unjust opponent. Ambedkar believed in the spiritual dimension. He warned that Marxism without spirituality may become demonic.

Lesson : 18

GANDHI AND JINNAH

M.A. Jinnah

M.A. Jinnah (1876-1948) was born on 20th Oct. 1874 at Karachi. Their ancestors belonged to the Kathiawar District of Gujarat. (Mahatma Gandhi also came from the same region). He pursued his higher education in England. He married twice. At the age of 43, he married an eighteen year old Parsee woman. He was not a religious person. He was not rooted in Islamic spirituality. He was greatly influenced by western customs and manners. His life can be seen to consist of four phases.

1. Upto 1920 :- Nationalist-Congress leader believed in secularism and national integration.
2. 1920-1928 :- Left the Congress but did not leave his ideals.
3. 1928-1937 :- He shifted his political attitude gradually and moved closer and closer towards the Muslim League.
4. After 1937 :- He converted the Muslim League into powerful political force; He gave the call to partition of Pakistan and led the struggle to success in establishing Pakistan.

Muslims ruled larger parts of India for more than six centuries. Though Hindus and Muslims lived together peacefully on the one hand there were conflicts and tensions on the other hand. These conflicts have several dimensions-political, economical, social, etc. apart from the religious dimensions. There were attempts to unite Hindus and Muslims all along. The attempts of Akbar and Kabir Das may be cited. There were also attempts to divide Hindus and Muslims. These two religions have differences.

The British colonialists did equal harm to both the Hindus and the Muslims. In the 1857 war or Independence the Hindus Muslim unity was demonstrated. The colonialists revitalised their policy of 'divide and rule' after this. They sowed seeds of hatred, skillfully, and encouraged extremist tendencies on both sides. As a culmination of the process of 'divide and rule,' Bengal was partitioned. But the Hindus and Muslims rose together to put an end to this. They succeeded in this in 1911 and Bengal was reunified. The colonialist with renewed vengeance accelerated the process of 'divide and rule' further.

1921 Non-cooperation movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi provided an excellent opportunity for the unity of Hindus and Muslims. The British manipulations started yielding fruits after 1922. The Islamic Nationalism

and Hindu extremism grew. Mahatma Gandhiji's continued efforts to keep them under control yielded only partial fruits. He was fighting a lonely battle against mighty forces.

M.A. Jinnah said in 1924

'I think I have a solution for the Hindu-Muslim problems. You destroy your (Hindu) orthodox priestly class and we will destroy our Mullahs and there will be communal peace".

In 1925, he again said

"India is not nation, we are told. We were a people when the Great war was going on and an appeal was made to India for blood and money.....We are not a people, not a nation when we ask you for a substantial advance towards responsible government and parliamentary institution".

Jinnah was genuine in endorsing the national demand in the twenties. The change in Jinnah's attitude came in 1928. His demand for separate Muslim constituencies was turned down by Mothilal Nehru in all party meeting. Jinnah-Nehru rivalry steadily grew from then onwards. Nehru's closeness with Mahatma Gandhi alienated Jinnah from Gandhi.

Even in the First Round Table conference held at London. Jinnah supported the cause of united India. Jinnah then seemed to develop the dream of 'being a father of a nation'. Nehru's rising popularity and Gandhi's support to him made Jinnah to think of an alternative course.

In the 1937 election, Congress triumphed and Muslim League was defeated. The very defeat created a new wave of energy. Jinnah began to identify Islam and Muslim League in a militant way and this yielded fruits. He said that the Muslims will be a minority in the Hindu India and so they would be crushed. He declared that the life of Islam solely rests on creating a separate state for them. Naturally the colonialists supported them. Hindu extremism only strengthened the Muslim League. Gandhi's repeated attempt to bring Jinnah to terms failed.

Mahatma Gandhi gradually was loosing control over the Congress after 1944. Nehru and the Congress working committee lacked the creativity to come to terms with the Muslim League. Large scale communal violence and Nehru's impatience to lead (divided) India resulted in partition. M.A. Jinnah succeeded in establishing Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi has to sacrifice his life to stop the blood shed on the wake of partition.

Jinnah called for direct action today and his followers released cruel violence. This led to further counter violence by the Hindus. An endless chain of communal violence was the result. The British government could have contained this violence. Everything was within their reach. But they remained rather silent and supportive of Jinnah's followers. This helped Jinnah to arouse the Muslim nationalism to a peak on the one hand and Hindu hatred and counte

violence to a peak on the other hand. Then the British, through their further skillful diplomacy, helped Jinnah to victory. The partition became a reality. And Gandhi's words fell on deaf ears. He has to shed his blood and give life to free the nation from the continuing blood shed.

Gandhi planned to visit Pakistan in February 1948 but he was assassinated on 30th Jan 1948. If Gandhi would have lived for some more time, Gandhi would have established friendly relationship with Pakistan. India missed this. Instead of building up amity with Pakistan, Nehru talked about Indo-Sino relationship. But after nearly four decades later, SAARC came into existence. While observing the 50th year of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, let us take up the unfinished task of Hindu-Muslim unity and Indo-Pak friendship.

Lessons : 19, 20 & 21

Gandhi and Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal, J.B. Kripalani, C.F. Andrews, Louis Fischer, Richard B. Gregg, Horace Alexander, Joseph J. Doke, H.L. Polak and J.C. Kumarappa.

Introduction : Gandhi was first and foremost a man of action. Truth was God to him. In this sense he was a scientist when he was seized with a fresh hypothesis, which appeared to contain essential truth for man's life on earth, he started next morning to see how it worked in practice. This he would do with total disregard to his own comfort and convenience sometimes, too with little regard to the comfort of his friends and associates. Therefore, to understand his experiments in non-violence' it is important to study his whole life. This is not to disparage such an admirable systematic study of his methods as can be found in Dr. Joan Bondurant's *Conquest of Violence.* Both this and Richard Gregg's classic, *The Power of Non-Violence,* should be studied by all who want to substitute same methods of non-violence for the madness of armed conflict.

There are already several excellent books about Gandhi's life and work. The books by C.F. Andrews though written years before Gandhi's death, are still among the best studies of his life and thought. Among the short biographies, two are outstanding those by Louis fischer and B.R. Nanda. The composite biography of Polak, Brailsford and Pethick-Lawrence is also good, especially, the middle section by Braisford, which deals with the controversial years when Gandhi was making his mark in the Indian National Movement. Pyarelal Nayyar, Gandhi's former secretary, has been for years engaged on an "official" full scale biography. He has now published two large volumes called *Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase,* and one dealing with the first twenty-one years of his life : *Mahatma Gandhi* : *The Early phase* also a smaller book called *A Pilgrimage of Peace,* telling of Gandhi's visit to the North West Frontier of India in 1938. The volumes, especially *The Last Phase* are invaluable source material

Horace Alexander's *Gandhi through western eyes* stands out as an authoritative guide: clear, simple and straight forward, both to Gandhi's personality and to his beliefs. Most of Gandhi's biographers have not taken care to understand themselves before undertaking to study his life. They were compelled by different situations in their own lives of different political or social conditions of their times to study and write the life of Gandhi. Each written, therefore is fascinated by a particular trait or event in Gandhi's life which he tries to project. His life and experiences are viewed differently by different biographers because of their different interests and experiences in life. We can have a better view of Gandhi's life and mission if we follow the biographers in

their process of writing, their own involvement of Gandhi's movements and his objectives in writing that life. The biography of Gandhi by Joseph J. Doke is special purpose biography. His object is not to unfold the life of the subject, but to seek support for his cause.

Gandhi and Mahadev Desai

Gandhiji made many men and they in their turn made the Mahatma what he was. One of these was Mahadev Desai who worked as Gandhiji's secretary for 25 years with unmatched devotion and affection. He was born on I January, 1892 at the village of Saras in Olpad Taluka of Surat district where his father Haribhai Desai was a school teacher. The family originally hailed from Dihen in the same district. Mahadev lost his mother Jamnaben when he was only seven years of age. The family belonged to the Anavil Brahmin caste, one of the leading communities of the district. A keen mathematician and an arid reader of Gujarati literature, Haribhai had great fascination for the *Ramayana,* the *Mahabharata* and the Bhagvat Gita and by sheer hard work and sincerity he rose to become the Principal of a women's Training College at Ahmedabad. Mahadev too inherited many of his father's qualities. At the young age of 13, Mahadev was married to Durgaben in 1905 and later the couple had one son, Narayan.

Mahadev Desai received primary and secondary education at different places like Saras, Dihen, Junagadh and finally Surat, from where he matriculated in 1906, winning a scholarship for higher education. He joined the Elphinstone college at Bombay in 1907 and graduated from there in 1910. He joined the Law College thereafter and got his L.L.B. in 1913. Throughout this formative period, he was deeply influenced by his teachers at Dihen, Manishankar, a strict disciplinarian and a lover of English language; by Jivanram Vaidya, recounting stories from the puranas and *Upanishads*; and by Surbhai, the village doctor, and his musical sessions. The ardent devotion of Bhagat Purushottam Sevakarm at Bulsar and that of Arjun Bhagat at Ghadkhol near Ankleshwar (whose compositions he later collected and published in 1925), also left a deep impression on Mahadev Desai. Moreover, Dayaiji Desai, of his own caste and a prominent nationalist leader of the district, left a marked imprint on Mahadev's young mind by his patriotic feelings, idealistic way of life and utter simplicity, and inspired him to work on Gandhian lines.

After graduation Mahadev while working for his livelihood, translated Lord Morley's 'On compromise' into Gujarati and won the handsome prize of a thousand rupees. This work was later published in 1925. He tried to practise law in courts but was not successful, and through his friend Vaikunthlal Lallubuai Mehta he secured a job in a Cooperative Bank. But Mahadev soon got tried of the irregularities being practised there as well as a lot of travelling involved in the job, and left it. He had already cultivated 'a taste for reading since his college days, and all through this drab life he made an extensive study of literature in Gujarati, English, Sanskrit, Bengali Hindi and Marathi. The month of

August 1917, when Mahadev left the bank job, proved fateful, as he met Gandhiji on 31 August and found in him his Guru. Here after Mahadev as Gandhiji's secretary moved like a shadow behind him till his death.

After Mahadev Desai joined Gandhiji, three important events took place in their life as well as that of the country. These were the Champaran Satyagraha (1917), the Bardoli Satyagraha (1928) and the Salt satyagraha (1930) and in all these Mahadev actively participated and courted arrest. In 1921, Gandhiji sent him to edit Motilal Nehru's periodical, *The Independent,* at Allahabad and there too he was arrested and jailed. After his release in January 1923 he returned to Ahmedabad and looked after the editorial work of the *Navajivan.* His sharp editorials on the hollowness of 1919 constitutional reforms and his trigate against the British Government kept up the tempo of the freedom struggle. Between 1924 and 1928 he toured the country with Gandhiji, explaining the salient features of the freedom struggle. He accompanied Gandhiji in 1931 to the Round Table Conference in London. In the Quit India Movement of 1942, he along with Gandhiji was arrested and sent to the Agakhan Palace for imprisonment where he died peacefully on 15 August 1942, deeply mourned by the nation and by Gandhiji in particular who now considered himself an orphan.

After 1917 it was of course Gandhiji who profoundly influenced Mahadev Desai. Mainly through his writings, Mahadevbhai interpreted Gandhian philosophy. That is why his friend Dr. Verrier Elwin called him, "Bapu's Boswell". His learned introduction to the English translation of Gandhiji's 'Anasakti Yoga' not only reveals Gandhiji's ideas but his own understanding of Eastern and Western philosophies and religions. He also very effectively wielded his pen to explain some of the basic Gandhian tenets like Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, improving the lot of women, promotion of khaddar and cottage industries, labour welfare, need for Basic Education, freedom for suppressed nationalities and Truth and non-violence. He has to his credit scores of articles published in the Bombay, Chronicle the *Navjivan* and the *Harijan* on a variety of subjects from 'Garud Puran' to the British policy in India. Due to his Profound scholarship, clarity of mind, lucid style and chaste language, they carried great weight. His habit of keeping a diary with meticulous details has given eight voluminous works, published after his death, called Mahadevbhai's Diary. His original works either in English or in Gujarati include "With Gandhi in Ceylon' (1928) *'The Story of Bardoli', 'Swadeshi True and False', 'Unworthy of wardha', 'Eclipse of Faith'* (1929); *'The Nations' Voice (1932); 'The Epic of Travancore'* (1937); *'Gandhi Seva Sangh'* and *'Maulana Abul Kalam Azad'* (1940); *'Kheti in Jamin'* (Gujarati 1942); and *'The Gita according to Gandhi'* (1946). His other Gujarati works are on *Veer Vallabhbhai;* a biography of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in *'Khudai khimatgar' 'Ek Dharma yuddha'* and *'Saint Francis Xavier's Jeevancharitra'.* His translations include those from English and Bengali, *'Satyagrahni Maryada'* (a translation of Morleys' 'On compromise'), *Sarat chandra chattopadhyaya's Viraj Vahu',* and Rabindranath Tagore's *'Prachim Sahitya; 'Chitrangada'* and *'Vidaya Abhishap'.* Mahadev Desai, presided over the twelfh Gujarati Journalists' Conference.

Devadas Gandhi is recorded to have said, "I wonder if half a dozen secretaries could do the work which Mahadev did alone". To day Mahadev Desai Samaj Mahavidyalaya in Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, stands as a living monument to Mahadevbhai's memory.

Gandhi and Pyarelal

Babu Pyarelal was born in the Khatri caste in 1899 in Delhi. His ancestors came from Kunjoh, Gujarat (now in Pakistan). His father was an Extra Assistant Commissioner. Some of his relations lived in the North West Frontier and were mostly in Government Service.

Pyarelal passed the B.A. Hons examination in English literature from the Government College, Lahore. He joined the M.A. class at the same college, but six months before the examination he left the college to join the Non-cooperation Movement in 1920.

He married a Bengali lady, Bela, in 1950. His close associates were Mahadev Desai, Devdas Gandhi and Kasturba Gandhi.

Pyarelal accompanied Gandhiji in 1930 to London for the Round Table Conference. He also went with Gandhiji to Burma and Ceylon. He was Gandhiji's private secretary for a long time. He visited Kabul in 1965 to meet Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi.

Pyarelal was a notable journalist. He edited the *Harijan* (weekly) which Gandhiji was conduting. Pyarelal wrote many articles in the *Young India* also. He is an authoritative chronicler and interpreter of Gandhiji's life and Gandhian philosophy. Among his publications may be mentioned: *'The Epic Fast', 'Status of Indian Princes', 'A Pilgrimage for Peace', 'A nation Builder at work', 'Gandhian Techniques in the Modern world' 'Mahatma Gandhi: The Early phase'* and *Mahatma Gandhi: the last phase*

Pyarelal was arrested seven or eight times during the Independence struggle. In 1946 when communal riots broke out he went to Bengal and several other places along with Gandhiji. In Noakhali he did creditable work to restore communal harmony.

Pyarelal was a modest and unassuming person and never cared for publicity or high position in the party organization. In his political views he held the same ideas as Gandhiji and was a confirmed believer in non-violence. He had, no doubt, admiration for many of the revolutionaries who cheerfully sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country. But he felt that their energies could have been better utilized if they had followed the non-violent way. In his economic views also, his ideas were identical with those of Gandhiji. He did not believe in large-scale industrialization but was in favour of cottage industries and a self-sufficient village economy. Although a life-long, freedom fighter, he had no grudge against English men as individuals. On the other hand, he admired many of the great national virtues of the English. He also favoured the continu-

ance of India in the British Commonwealth. In matters of religion he was a mixture of modernism and orthodoxy. He did not condemn the 'Varnashram' system as such, but he firmly opposed the prevailing evils in the Hindu social strucure. His mind was influenced not only by Indian traditions and specially the epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata,* but also by western thought and philosophy which he loved and admired. Pyarelal belonged to that group of selfless freedom fighters, who always kept themselves in the political back-ground but concentrated on sustained constructive work.

Gandhi and J.B Kripalani

J.B. Kripalani, popularly known as Acharya Kripalani, was born at Hyderabad (Sind) in 1888 in an upper middle-class, Hindu Kshatriya Anil family. His father, Kaka Bhagwandas, was a Tahsildar (revenue and Judicial officer) in Government service. He was a staunch Vaishnava, who lived an austere life in his cottage built in front of the main family house. He was respected by his family and his neighbours, but there was a large element of fear in that respect. For with a venerable figure he had a quick temper that spared no one. He had seven sons and one daughter, J. B. Kripalani being the sixth among the children. The second and the third brothers of Kripalani became converts to Islam. One died as an abscander during the Khilafat movement and was believed to have intrigued with Afghanistan for the invasion of India. The other died in Turkey while defending it against the Greeks before the First Great War. The eldest brother was the first Hindu to open a Swadeshi shop and later a leather shop. The seventh brother put on the robe of a Sanyasi, with so much fire in it that Kripalani feared him if he feared anybody. Kripalani's sister Kikiben devoted herself to the national cause. It was a family of highstrung individuals, with their lips, pinched faces, but alert eyes and warm hearts. All of them slept very little, had sharp tongues, with strong likes along with dislikes. It was fundamentally a religious minded family in a community which had little value for religion.

Having passed the articulation examination in Sind, Kripalani joined the Wilson college, Bombay for higher studies. He was however, not very serious about his studies and detested all subjects of study except English poetry. He doted on English poets as much as he later hated the English ruler. Those were days of the Bengal partition when there was a restlessness among students. Kripalani also caught the spirit and raised enough trouble for the authorities of the Wilson college to be forced to migrate to the quieter atmosphere of the D.J. Sind college at Karachi. Here too he got himself involved in trouble. It was in 1907 and Kripalani was then in the B.A. class. The principal of the college made an indiscreet remark about Indians being liars. Immediately there was a strike in which Kripalani and his fellow students got their first lesson in political agitation. Kripalani was rusticated, and since he could not get admitted in any of the colleges in Bombay he went to Poona and joined the Fergussan college run by a group of nationalists. Kripalani was warned by the authorities of the

college not to get involved in agitations. In 1908 he graduated from the Fergusson college. Later he took his M.A. in History and Economics.

Although he was not a bookish person Kripalani chose teaching as his career. From 1912 to 1917 he worked as a professor of English and History at Muzaffarpur College in Bihar. For a short period, he taught at the Benares Hindu University (1919-20) and from 1920 to 27 he served as the principal of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth founded by Mahatma Gandhi. From 1927 he became fully engrossed in the Ashram work and in the political movements of the Indian National Congress. It was during his days at the Gujarat Vidyapeeth that he came to be called as Acharya which stuck to his name ever since. Among his political co-workers he is known 'as Dada' or elder brother.

Kripalani first came into contact with Gandhiji in 1917 during the Champaran Satyagraha and that proved to be a turning point in his life. He had met Gandhi earlier at Shantiniketan in 1915 but did not like his ideas. It was the Champaran satyagraha which completely converted him to Gandhian ideology. Since then Kripalani has been an ardent and devoted follower of Gandhi and an exponent of Gandhian philosophy. He is, however, not a Gandhian in the ordinary sense. Probably he loved the man Gandhi more than the creed known as Gandhism. Gandhiji had many followers who had adopted his creed. Generally the followers of a great man soon reduce the living master to a dead idol. Kripalani wrote and spoke enough to keep the master living even after his death.

Another turning point in his life was his marriage with Sucheta in 1936. She was then teaching in the women's college at the Benaras Hindu University. Her cousin was the Secretary of the Gandhi Ashram at Banares started by Kripalani, and it was through him that he came to know his wife to be. The marriage was celebrated with the blessings of Gandhiji and there was also a special ceremony at the Anand Bhavan of the Nehru family. It turned out to be the happiest partnership in life. For nearly four decades there has been the close understanding between the husband and the wife. And although in the post-independence period the two differed in their political ideas and alterations, if did not in the least tough their home life.

From the late twenties Kripalani devoted himself wholly to Congress work. He steadily built up his position in the Organization, and from 1934 to 1945 he served as the General Secretary. He, however, always kept himslef in the background and never tried to push himself into prominence like many others in the Congress. As Bapuji's disciple, he was content with being a silent worker. During the Congress rift in 1938 over the election of Subhas Chandra Bose as President, Kripalani sided with Gandhi. He took part in all the Congress movements since 1921 and had his share of jail-life on different occasions. During the Quit India movements in 1942 he was arrested and was released along with the other congress leaders in 1945. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in November 1947. He presided over a very crucial meeting of the A.I.C.C. where differences arose among his former colleagues. He

insisted on retaining the supremacy of the organizational wing of the Congress over the parliamentary its wing, which was assisted by Nehru, Patel and others who were now in the Government. To prevent disharmony within the Congress, Kripalani finally tendered his resignation as president, being succeeded by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Though he remained a member of the Constituent Assembly Kripalani gradually drifted away from his old comrades until he resigned from the Congress Party itself in 1951. He when started a weekly called the *Vigil* and a new political party known as the Krishak Mazdor Praja Party which subsequently merged into the Praja Socialist Party. But in 1954 he resigned from the P.S.P and became an independent for the rest of his parliamentary life. Really he is an 'Independent' not only in politics but in his very nature, for he dislikes the rulers and the obligations of party life which irk him.

He has now grown into an old experienced parliamentarian who is a distinguished opposition leader without being a member of any opposition party. His parliamentary career came to an end in 1971 and no party wanted to support him during elections.

Kripalani has written a number of books on Gandhian philosophy the more important being, *Non violent Revolution, 'The Gandhian way'. 'The Indian National Congress'. 'The Fateful Years', 'The politics of Charka', 'The Future of the Congress and' The Gandhian Critique'.*

The booklet on "Gandhian Revolution of Values" by J.B. Kirpalani reiterates the central significance of Truth and Nonviolence is Gandhian philosophy. All values of life flow out of them only which means values can never be relative. He was the torch bearer of Gandhism. Therefore he passionaely insists that Gandhism demands total integrity. Every true Gandhian must first search within himslef whether he has total integrity.

Kripalani is certainly one of the very few who wrote with authority on Gandhism. As he himself has said in many personal conversations, it was impossible, once contact had been established, to free oneself from the magic of that great personality. He himself was never able to withstand the charm laid on him. It is doubtful whether he strived very hard. In fact it is an open question whether he strived at all.

J.B. Kripalani was close to Gandhiji till the untimely moment of the latter's assasination. He was calling our attention to a precept almost forgotten, a teaching under the inspiration of which, India won her freedom. He rightly pointed out Gandhiji was all of one piece. His life was one whole, never compartmentalized nor fragmented. The same unified ethic inspired his daily life, his political preoccupation: his vision of industrial reorganization: social reform and hundred other schemes that his brain teemed with.

created no impression on him though he examined meticulously every proposition that was put before him. The Acharya enumerates the eleven principles according to which Gandhiji lived his life and which he exhorted his followers to adopt. Stated to put it simply, they seem like copy book maxims but how difficult they are to follow and how valid they are for all time.

J.B.Kripalani invites, "if Gandhiji's work consisted merely in enunciating the theory of decentralized industry through charkha, the loom and other cottage and village industries, to increase production and employment, he might pass for an economist. If he had only devised a new method of fighting foreign rule and establishing independence in India he would be looked upon as a great patriot, a liberator of his country and his people".

Gandhi and C.F.Andrews:

Charles Freer Andrews was born on 12 February 1871 at Newcastle- on- Tyne in England. His parents, Rev. John Edwin Andrews and Mary Charlotte Andrews, were devout Christians. Charles, the second son in the family, had a number of brothers and sisters. The family moved to Birmingham in 1877. Andrews was brought up in a well-knit family that believed in Jesus.

Andrews had his elementary education in the local schools. Then he studied at King Edward VI School with Rev. A.R. Vardy as the Head Master. Andrews had his first experience of writting for press, in a way, at this school where he was the Assistant Editor of the school chronicle. He next came to Pembroke college, Cambridge, by his election to the open classical scholarship at the age of nineteen. Here he took great interest in the Campridge Inter-Collegite Christian Union and attended the meetings for prayer and for evangelism. He was also a devoted member of the Cambridge branch of the Christian Social Union of which he became the Secretary. In 1895, he was awarded the Bumey Prize at Cambridge for his essay on "The Relation of Christianity to the conflict between Capital and Labour".

Andrews developed a searching mind which inquired into the various Christian aspects of Christianity. He wanted to link the main teachings of Christianity with a rational approach to contemporary problem of intellectuals and society.

Bishop Westcott also influenced Andrews to take interest in the very useful work that was being done by the Cambridge Mission at Delhi. As a priest, he had worked at Southwark Cathedral and elsewhere and he tried to interest his parishioners in the work of the various Christian missions in different parts of the world. Already an ardent student of classics, he devoted himself to the study of the history of religion. He developed an eclectic approach towards the different faiths. Basil Westcott's death in 1900 at Delhi was a great shock to

him and appeared to have indirectly stimulated his desire to go to India. His mother actively encouraged him in his idea.

By 1903, he felt he must join the Cambridge Mission of Delhi. The Pembroke college gave him a touching and sincere send off. The benediction service was conducted by Bishop Talbot in Southwark Cathedral. The parents railled to the occasion nobly and the family prayers were joined by Andrews. He sailed for India on 28 February 1904 and reached Bombay on 20 March, 1904.

He joined the St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The principal was his Cambridge Contemporary, Hibber Ware, Sushil Kumar Rudra was the Vice-principal of the college Andrews was immediately drawn to Rudra and his Family. Rudra had considerable influence on Andrews. Rudra was the first Indian Principal of St. Stephen's college which was the second college to be set up in Delhi.

Andrews was formally admitted to the Brotherhood on 12 April. 1904 and was deputed to Simla to learn Urdu. There he was a tutor for sometime to the Children of the officiating Viceroy, Lord Ampthill. The Government House at Simla thus came to be known to Andrews with a few days of his coming to India. He had to come to the same Government House on various missions later.

The life of Andrews could roughly be divided into some periods. Upto 1903 he was an Englishman brought up in the best tradition and culture of a well established middle class family presided over by a Patriarch Father, who had reared a large family and a Clergy man looked after by a devoted and kind mother. Andrews had inherited the large heartedness of his mother. This was his preparatory period. He studied the classics and Christian theology, took part in sports and loved both outdoor and indoor life. He impressed everyone as a serious type of youth, kind and lovable. He was told that British culture and institutions were the best and he had a certain amount of belief in it. As a Christian he was not dogmatic and had developed a rational mind. His formative period in England was exacting as he took his life and vocation, seriously.

He came to India in 1904 and from this year to 1912 was an intense period of discipline, mental turmoil and clash of ideas. These eight years were spent in training himself for the great role he was to play in India till 1940 when death gathered him. We could describe it vaguely as a period of philosophy and mental tension settling down and a crystalisation of ideas. He received a rude shock by the racialism he saw in India. He was astonished to see how Indians even the best of them educated in western lore and highly cultured, were treated by the Britishers in India. He was deeply grieved to find a racial chasm even in the Christian churches. He discovered, as he conceded, that he had not found

Christ in the west. He devoted himself to the study of the Bhakti school of mediaeval saints. He came in active touch with the reformist Indian schools of religion and thought, notably the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. He developed friendship with Maulavi Zakaullah, a devout Muslim, Munshi Ram, who later led Arya Samaj as Swami Shradhanand, Christian devotees like Sushil Rudra, Sadhu Sunder Singh and Strokes. Social work in and around Delhi, and in the villages of the Punjab opened his eyes all the more to the astounding fact that social work could hardly he carried out without some encouragement from the bureaucracy. He knew quite a few of the top people of the bureaucracy in Delhi. He cultivated contacts with the military and civil authorities in Delhi, and Simla with the viceregal House to the homes of the Indians of different levels. Andrews kept his eyes and ears open. He very soon found out that India was destined to change rapidly. He felt that India was coming into her own.

C.F.Andrews came to India in 1904. He passed away in 1940. The period he lived in India was momentous. Andrews was intimately associated during this period, with all the important phases of India's life-political, social or cultural. He was the valued friend and associate of Rabindranath Tagore. He was the philosopher, critic and guide of M.K. Gandhi. He was associated with Dadabhai Naoroji, Lala Lajapati Raj, Swami Shradhanand, Gopal Krishnas Gokhle, Ramlal Chatterji, **C.R.** Das, J.M. Sen Guptaji, Subhas Bose, Gopal Bandu Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and others in India. He did home-work for Gandhi in England and had a host of friends in England and the United States, some who admired him and some who did not. He had visited a number of colonies and the United states to acquaint himself with the cause of Indians. He was the first man to take up the cause of the **II** indentured labour from India. History was made in India in his times and his share in its making was considerable

Andrews was a born worker. He dedicated himself to work and kept himself occupied with work of multifarious type-scholastic social, religious and political and all this in spite of his feeble health. He was one of the greatest Indian nationalists and co-worker of Gandhi and Tagore. He gave his life for India's social amelioration and political freedom.

There are not many instances in the world history where three man devoted to their beliefs and disciplines and often differing from one another were so closely knit as Gandhi, Andrews and Tagore. When Gandhi raised the storm of Non cooperation Movement, both Tagore and Andrews differed from him on various principles. Tagore did not approve of Gandhi's, call to the students to leave schools and colleges, the burning of the foreign cloth or the indiscriminate manner in which Gandhi was recruting his followers. Tagore's poetic mind was hurt

seeing the outburst of violence and release of forces which he thought Gandhi would not be able to control. Andrews also differed from Gandhi on various points. He did not approve of the bonfire of foreign cloth or the student's participation in politics. Andrews had reacted strongly against certain writings of Gandhi on the Christian missionaries and his fasts. He was of the considered opinion that Gandhi was frittering his energy in political work and that he should do more work for the untouchables. Once Be wrote to Gandhi in 1933.

"Haven't you been trying to serve two masters-and if you have given your life as a hostage for the 'untouchability removal', does not mean that entire concentration on that issue for the whole remainder of your life without throwing to the right hand or the left?"

Gandhi fully utilised Andrews for multifarious humanitarian work abroad in Malaysia, Fiji, South Africa, England and other countries. Andrews had visited Champaran in Bihar in 1917 when Gandhi was opposing the European Indigo planters against enforced Indigo cultivation and had later worked as a link with the government which led to the withdrawal of prosecution against Gandhi in Champaran court. Andrews was sent by Gandhi to Amritsar when the Akali Sikhs were fighting for their *gurudwaras* (religious places) in 1918-1919, to Vykom in Kerala in 1924 where the untouchables were fighting for the bare use of the roads leading to the Vykom temple that could be used by Muslims, Christians and even dogs but not the untouchables. Again, Andrews played an important role in Assam tea labour unrest in 1921, which was followed by a strike by the employees of Assam-Bengal railway, probably the first gigantic labour strike in India. Andrews was moving from Chandpur, where hundreds of tea labourers had been brutally assaulted by the military Gurkha police and hundred of them were dying of cholera and starvation, to Darjeeling, the Bengal Government headquarters, for meeting the powers that be; to Calcutta for addressing public meetings and to raise funds, and back again to Chandpur, Chittagong and other places, nursing the sick and bringing a ray of joy to their afflicted mind.

The God-fearing personality of Andrews had an inner core of steel too. He had the courage to stand up in the Calcutta Congress session dressed in European clothes and speak against the burning of foreign cloth, though he had by then started wearing Indian hand-loom textile. Again and again Andrews showed his inner strength when he met officials in Darjeeling, Delhi, Simla or at Whitewall in the course of his various negotiations for and on behalf of Gandhi.

The letters that passed between Andrews and Gandhi, Tagore and Munshiram (later Swami Shraddhanand), show Andrew's stature and his devotion to India. His large number of articles published in Modem Review, Civil and Military Gazette, *The Hindu* and other

periodicals full of love and sympathy for Indian problem, depict him to be one, whose nature was over flowing with love, who had laid his whole life, body, soul and spirit on the altar of his adopted country, and who had borne praise and blame alike, the soul of honour and truth.

The poor, the lowly, the depressed, the oppressed, the afflicted, the weak, the students and the children were his first and foremost love. He loved the village and the villagers. He loved nature, solitude and books. He was not bothered if his clothes were not washed for months. He did not know whose rugs or sheets he was using. He would borrow a flask while going on tour and return without it. When asked, he would wonder if he ever had a flask, and then recollect that he had given it to a lady on the train to keep the warm milk for her child. He never actively joined the Non-cooperation movement. He did not give up his Christian faith, nor did he become a recluse in the laps of the Himalayas. He thought of India and gave to India every drop of his blood.

His spirit of nationalism was more militant than that of Gandhi. On September 10, 1920 the Non-cooperation Resolution was passed in the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress. Gandhi's original resolution had been turned down by the introduction of the adjectives "progressive and gradual".

Still there was no clear call as to the shape of India's demand. The upsurge was there, a wave of discontent was sweeping through the country but the leaders were themselves not sure of what they wanted. Earlier, Gandhi had helped the war-efforts. He openly gave out that Britain's adversity should not be exploited for India's efforts to help and reward India at the conclusion of the War.

On January 19,1921, addressing a large meeting of the Calcutta students, Andrews advocated "independence, complete and perfect, for India as against the soul-sapping white supremacy....It was left for an Englishman, a Christian missionary, to come out with a clear statement as to the objective when the Indian leaders were thinking in terms of British Dominion. This theme of Andrews before the Calcutta students was repeated by him later from hundreds of platforms and in his numerous articles published in India and abroad. In 1932 when Gandhi resolved to fast unto death, Andrews was very critical in a letter to Gandhi and mentioned that he had to persuade himself that this was not a bid for suicide, particularly because his religious up-bringing was such, as to make any thought of suicide on his part impossible. Nor did he like the ultimate object of a fast of this type to force the issue. Andrews had never been convinced of the need for the Khilafat agitation. He deprecated Gandhi's method of insisting on vows.

Andrews was also keen that the Congress should be able to bring the non-Brahmins and untouchables with its fold. He said:

"We must honestly and fairly and squarely face the Non-Brahmin Movement and all that it implies. The great 70,000,000, Mussulmans have now been brought within the Congress, but what of the 70,000,000. or more non-Brahmins and untouchables and others?. In spite of what you told me in Bombay, Which relieved my mind very much indeed, I feel that there is something which makes you shrink from really tackling this vital question."

In the same letter Andrews had clearly advanced the view that "self-government within the empire" was historically impossible for India.

Andrews was a delightful letter writer. Some of his letters to Gandhi when he always addressed "My dearest Mohan" are gems. His last words to Gandhi on his death bed in a Calcutta hospital in 1942 were: "Mohan, Swaraj is coming; I feel Swaraj is Coming".

Gandhi and Louis Fischer

Louis Fischer is one of the best well known biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. The significance of his biography lies in the fact that Fischer was converted to the Gandhian approach after being disillusioned with Marxian Socialism as practised in the Soviet Union.

Mahatma Gandhi whose portrayal of Gandhi has left a deep mark on the subsequent biographers of Gandhi as well as Gandhian Scholars all over the world. His biography of Gandhi was used as the basis of the Hollywood motion picture. He was awarded the Watumill prize of the Amercian Historical Association in 1957 for his *Life of Mahatma Gandhi* and the national Book Award in History and Biography in 1965 for his *Life of Lenin.* The major reason for the popularity and authenticity of his work is that he combined in himself the scholarship of a work and of a laborious and meticulous researcher and the skills and first-hand experience of a journalist having an instinct for digging up dramatic episodes that can catch the public eye. Being a reputed journalist, Fischer had access to the topmost men of the world with whom he could discuss freely, the contemporary problems that gave authenticity to his account.

Fischer was born in 1896 in Philadelphia. After teaching in a school for sometime, he became a journalist, and was a European correspondent of the New York Post in 1921. Born and bred in poverty, he was drawn towards Russia as the Bolshevik revolution raised in him hopes of heralding a new world free from war, poverty and suffering. He went to Russia not only to acquire the first-hand knowledge about the way the revolutionary regime sought to carry out its mission,

but also to identify himself with the endeavours and aspirations of the ordinary men and women in the Soviet Union who, he thought, readily accepted discipline, sufferings and sacrifices for the uplift of the down-trodden. He stayed there for fourteen years as a free-lance journalist. For some time he appeared to be a partisan of the soviet union. He was the first American to join the International Brigade which was fighting against France's militarism and dictatorship and was appointed as the quartermaster by the French Communist leader who was the chief commissar of the Brigade. However, he became disillusioned with the new regime because of its policy of suppression of individual liberty, ruthlessness, and total disregard of the moral values for the realization of the end. But the process of disillusionment was not sudden. It took several years of deep study, mental shocks and spiritual suffering.

Collectivisation that caused enormous suffering to peasants in the Soviet Union first bothered him. Then the industrial development and mechanized farming at the cost of human suffering and individual liberty, raised doubts in his mind. He asked himself the question: "was he not glorifying steel and kilowatts and forgetting the human beings?" "All the schools, books, tractors, 'electric light and subways in the world", he felt, would not add up to the world. "I dreamt of, if the system that produced them was immoral and inhuman", further, Stalin's purges, the Moscow Trials of 1928,1936,1937 and 1938,, the role of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, the use of the secret police to end a dispute and extermination of 'dissenters' added to his disgust for the Soviet regime. He was repelled by the fawning adulation and glorification of Stalin. He had been slowly realizing that it was a folly to believe that a system founded on the principle of end justifying the means' could never create a better world. The process of disillusionment culminated with the Russo-German pact and the Soviet invasion of Poland in 1933.

Fischer considered imperialism as a form of dictatorship which he hated most. This accounts for his attack on British imperialism and American racialism and his sympathy with India's fight for freedom which he viewed as a stepping stone to a free and better world. Like Gandhi, he was not satisfied with the western mechanism of democracy, whether English or Amercian, for it did not assure liberty to the individual. In his view, real democracy could be realized only if servants of democracy would devote themselves to the service of the poor assuring them minimum wages, development of all backward areas, free speech and free medical aid.

However, Hitler and Stalin in his view, posed a greater challenge to liberty and peace in the world at that time. Consequently, he passionately worked for seeking support for the Allies during second

world war. His visit to England in 1942 as a correspondent was an exhilarating experience for him because of the British determination to defeat Hitler even in that hour of great distress and gloom. He therefore expressed great appreciation for Churchill when he described as the only sum in the British Cabinet, at that time whose light hides all his ministers because of the hope of victory, that he had generated among his people.

Possibly it was the mission of seeking support for the Allies that brought him in touch with Gandhi on his discovery that the Mahatma was the tallest man in Indian politics and so on without his political settlement in India was possible without his consent. He even urged Nehru to go to the United States and seek the help of President Roosevelt in gaining India's independence, who he thought would respond spontaneously, as the economic interests of the United States were different from those of Britain. His stay in Gandhi's Ashram where he discussed with the Indian leader various problems touching both his public and private life. was a unique experience for him. Here, he felt that Gandhi had discovered an alternative path that assured lasting peace and happiness to humanity. The god that he had extoled for more than a decade in the hope that it would create new world free from poverty, war and slavery had failed him. But here in India stood before him a godly figure, half naked and emaciated but having eyes emitting exuberant light communicating new hope for humanity. Gandhi's identification with the poor, his intense desire for freedom, his devotion to truth, his total commitment to peaceful solutions of all disputes, and his search for a social order that would safeguard individuality against the claims of collectivities such as nation, state, society etc. drew him closer to the Mahatma. For he found in Gandhi's experiments not only answers to some of the questions that had troubled him but also a reassurance of the soundness of his own approach to the problems of humanity.

Fischer was a prolific writer. Besides sending his despatches to the newspapers and magazines he wrote or edited about two dozen books. He is generally acknowledged as one of America's greatest journalists and knowledgeable authority on Soviet history and foreign affairs. As a correspondent, he visited several countries where he met important men and women, enquired about their foremost problems and their methods of solving them. These interviews supplied him enough material for his books and despatches. However, there is plenty of overlapping and repetition in his worlds as he made use of the same material for different titles.

He was persuaded to write a full-length biography of Gandhi by a publisher immediately after Gandhi's assassination, at the hand of one of his co-religionists. This sent a wave of shock all over the world and created deep interest in his life and mission. Coincidentally he was at that time busy in collecting material for writing the biography

of Lenin. His emotional attachment to Gandhi and his professional equipment weighed with him to abandon that project in order to devote himself to writing the life of the Indian leader. For, he had observed Gandhi from the closet quarters during his stay with the latter in his Ashram for a number of days and had peeped deep into the recesses of his mind through discussions, formal and informal, concerning his public and private life besides meeting his friends, followers and foes. Gandhi's commitment to truth and the openness of his power and the basis of his mind helped him in understanding the sources of his power and the basis of his action or inaction. An interview with Gandhi, the author felt, was "a voyage of discovery or a creative process" for one could "see and hear his mind and work". He did not merely state facts and opinions. He revealed himself. He could even supply ammunition against himself. For he would enunciate a principle, defend and then admit that it was unworkable. *A week with Gandhi* was published immediately after his first meeting with the Indian leader records his first impression about the Mahatma and his mission which was only an introduction to his full-length biography of Gandhi.

The book is divided into three parts. At the very outset the author leaves the impression on the reader that this is the story of an extraordinary man. The chapters are short, each dealing with a host of experiences of a year or two. The headings of the chapters are significant. They not only communicate their contents but also reveal the biographer's interpretation and assessment of the events of the life of his subject. The story of the early years moves very fast possibly because the author has greater attraction for the events that reveal the uniqueness of his subject. A paragraph sums up several pages of the autobiography.

He starts Gandhiji's account from his assassination, his unusual funeral and the tributes and homage paid to him by the topmost men of the world and concluding with the remarks that "never in the modem history has any man been mourned more deeply and more widely". Similarly, Chapter II, describing the early life of Gan-dhi bears the title "Beginning of an Extraordinary Man". The year ofhis birth is described as a memorable year in the history of humankindas it was during this year that several important developments tookplace in the world. It was in this year that the Suez canal was opened. Thomas Edison patented his first invention, and the French celebrated the hundred anniversary of the birth of Napolean, etc.

Part I deals with the period from Gandhi's birth to the end of Satyagraha in South Africa, the years of trials and tribulations that transformed an ordinary lawyer into a crusader for the cause of suffering humanity. Part II covers the period of Gandhi's struggle in India for freedom. The major effort of the author appears to reveal the uniqueness of Gandhi's personality as it was the product of the synthesis of two cultures Eastern and western.

In accord with his style, the author reveals the multifaceted personality of his subject through comparisons with his contem poraries his friends and political rivals, such as Tagore, Tilak and others. The comparison between Gandhi and Tagore throws an insight into the characters of the two path makers of modem India who developed tremendous love and regard for each other in spite of the personal differences.

Gandhi's struggles in various fields are discussed in historical perspective in order to bring home the importance of his approach to the social, economic and political problems of India, though, at times, the account removes reader's eye from the life of the Mahatma. The account becomes more scholastic as one comes across a number of quotations from Gandhi's speeches and writings. The events of his life only serve as an illustrative role in revealing Gandhi's approach to the various problems confronted by him in India.

Part III of Fischer's biography of Gandhi covers the last phase of Gandhi's life, i.e. from March 1946 to 30 January 1948. Events during this period move very fast resulting in tremendous changes not only in India but in the whole world as old relationship between the European and Asiatic nations starts vanishing. Gandhi's life is studied in the background of these events. It is on this account that the auther makes his second visit to Gandhi and meet all such persons who were involved in the decision making at this time. Though India was standing at the threshold of freedom Gandhi was engaged in a Herculean effort to wipe the tears and nurse the wounds of those who had fallen victim to the fratricidal war that had shattered to pieces his vision of the future of India. He is moving from place to place, from the big cities of Calcutta and Delhi to the remote villages of Noakhali and Bihar carrying the message of communal harmony and human brotherhood. For Gandhi, it is nothing short of a pilgrimage, for to serve humanity was his religion. So, the chapter is adeptly given the title, "Pilgrim's Progress".

The author really had an edge over several biographers of Gandhi. For as a journalist he had an access to most of the contemporary leaders who, in one way or the other, had come in contact with Gandhi and whose experiences with the Mahatma helped him to acquire a better view of the personality of his subject. In addition to it, Gandhi's friends and followers not only supplied him material for this project but also helped him in understanding the mind of the Mahatma by explaining to him some of the difficult concepts and acts ofGandhi.

Gandhi and Richard B. Gregg.

Mr. Richard B. Gregg is an ex-American lawyer with a wide experience of his own country. Mr. Gregg is a most deligent and methodical worker. He had firsthand knowledge of Satyagraha,

having lived in India and that too for nearly a year in the Sabarmathi Ashram. His qualifications for writing the book, *"The power of Nonviolence "* are experiences of conflict involved in his three years practice of law and seven years in industrial relations work, followed by a stay in India for nearly four years beginning early in 1924 of which about seven months altogether were spent at Gandhi's own ashram at Sabarmathi, another six week visit to India in March and April, 1930, another visit there of about the same length in the winter of 1949-50, and eighteen months of teaching, writing and travel in India in 1956_58, many discussions with Gandhi and a careful study of most of what Gandhiji wrote, so far as he could find it: also a study of much of the other literature of the entire subject of conflict and peace.

Each time the ideals of nonviolence stepped out in space and time it seemed to gather meaning, organization, momentum, dramatic and practical effectiveness and power. When India thereby won her freedom, the idea of Nonviolence spread all over the world, like rippleson the surface of a pond when a stone is thrown in it. The book *"The Power of Non-violence"* is a little part of one of these ripples,

When the great Quaker leader, Rufus Janes, wrote an introduction to the first edition of *The power of Non-violence* he observed that."here is a new kind of book....a fine blend of what is and what ought to be...There is as much realism is the book as there is idealism".

Martin Luther King Jr. in his foreword to *"The Power of Nonviolence'*, wrote.

"That was in 1935. Since then history's most devastating war has **swept** the globe, and new weapons of terrifying dimensions have made it more clear than ever that war and civilization can not both continue into man's future. New ways of solving conflicts, without violence, must be discovered and put into operation.

"The years since 1935 have not only demonstrated how uncontrollable war is when it breaks out they have shown also how right Richard B. Gregg was in preparing this perceptive study in the first place. The heroic, though unanticipated non-violent resistance against the Nazis in Denmark and Norway, recounted in his new edition, and by small groups in France, the Netherlands and in Germany itself, was such a demonstration. So has been the struggle in South Africa against unjust laws, the winning of its freedom by the new nation of Ghana and our own experience in Montgomery.

"I am delighted that Richard B.Gregg after spending another eighteen months in India, in more research into this vital new kind of action, should have put the time and effort into this new version of his classic book. I hope it gets a wide readership particularly among those, in this country and throughout the world who were seeking ways of

achieving full social, personal and political freedom in a manner consistent with human dignity".

This book is a partial examination of how and why human unity can help solve human conflicts. There have been instances in history where great courage, deep conviction and a fine cause have prevailed without violence against armed might. Gandhi's struggle for the freedom of India was one instance. In this book we shall examine the nature of the force used in such instances and see whether it can be applied to other conflict situations.

Gregg writes, "I have not limited the explanation merely to Gandhi's own concepts or to India, but have tried to explain and evaluate the principle in its application in any country at any time, under any circumstances and for any cause I have attempted to show why persuasion of this sort is more powerful and more permanently advantageous than physical coercion".

He adds, "If we want a better world, we must be prepared to do some careful thinking. It is time we stopped being sketchy on a matter that touches us all so closely. For in reality this matter of handling conflict constructively is of immediate concern to everyone who has ever been angry or afraid, resentful, revengeful or bitter, who has ever taken part in a fight, mob violence or war, or who has been the object of anger, hatred, exploitation or oppression. It touches all those who are troubled lest the vast economic, political and social questions that are pressing upon all nations will issue in still more appalling violence and increased security for everyone, or even destruction of the human race. It is also important to those who hope that somehow the ideals of mankind can be made practical and harmonized with its conduct".

The first edition of *"The Power of Nonviolence'* was published in 1934. **It was revised in 1946**

A *Discipline for Non-violence* is a pamphlet written by Mr. Richard B. Gregg for the guidance of those westerners who endeavour to follow the law of Satyagraha. Gandhiji wrote a forward to this pamphlet. His pamphlet is reasonable and cannot fail to help the Satyagrahis of India for though the pamphlet is written in a manner attractive for the west, the substance is the same for both the Western and Eastern Satyagrahi. A cheap edition of the pamphlet is therefore being printed locally for the benefit of Indian readers in the hope that many will make use of it and profit by it. A special responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Indian Satyagrahis for Mr. Gregg has based the pamphlet on his observation of the working of Satyagraha in India.

On May 17.1935 Gandhiji wrote to Richard B. Gregg:

"Of course I know that absence of letters does not mean decrease of love. I know what you are doing to spread the gospel of love. It must tax your energy to the full.

If America will take to an equivalent of Khadi, it will be a great thing".

While writing about "Morals of Machinery", Richard B.Gregg says.

"Most people accept mechanism for its immediate results and are quite blind to the secondary results of slower growth. But these latter are the most important. He then recounts in detail the evils of multiplication of machinery. He puts, enormous concentration of material power and wealth in the hands of the 'few' first in the list. Mr. Gregg truly says:

"Machinery and modem history have taken the money of millions of people and concentrated its management and control into relatively a few hands and modem developments of banking and credit have concentrated the control of all the materials and factories and mills into still fewer hands.

"Economics of Khaddar" was also a famous book written by Richard B.Gregg

On January 18,1929 Gandhi wrote to Richard B. Gregg.

"I have been receiving your letters regularly. But I have not hitherto written to you as I was waiting for your reaching New York before I commenced writing. This is to tell you that the preparations are now being made to print your scientific handbook or whatever it should be called I have not fixed upon the name by which it will be called. I am ashamed to confess to you that I have not yet finished reading the book. But the publication has been decided upon and as it has been decided upon. I am trying to finish reading it quickly.

I am now again trying my milkless experiment, confining myself to almond milk, tomatoes, some other vegetables and bread that has become the principal diet. You will therefore send me all the latest information about diet...Common kitchen is making steady progress".

On January 28, 1928 Gandhiji wrote.

"I am glad you are now in Poona, I hope that your recovery will be rapid. I shall look forward to your coming here as soon as you can. I would like you to dismiss from your mind the idea that you own anything either to the doctors or to me. After all, we are on this earth to serve one another without expectation of reward..."

The leaders of young India were familiar with Mr. Gregg's name. He was studying in a very concrete manner and with a passion

worthy of a patriotic son of the soil the many questions affecting this land. His studies and experiments in hand-spinning continued unabated. He was experimenting in education of the children of backward class. He was interested in the welfare of these classes. And in that connection, he was studying the question of agriculture.

Gandhiji and Horace Alexander:

Horace Alexander was born at Croydon, England in 1889. He grew up at Tunbridge Wells, in southeast England and was educated at the Quaker school, Bootham, in York, England and later at Kings college, Cambridge where he studied modem histroy. He has been an active Quaker throughout his life and was a conscientious objector during the first world war but he was allowed to teach. In 1919 he was appointed lecturer in International Relations at the Quaker school of religion and social study, Woddbrooke, in Brimingham. This work was continued for over twenty years. He spent six months in India during a sabbatical year in 1927-28 where he was guided by Gandhi's English friend C.F.Andrews. He spent a week at Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati, Gujarat and also staved at Tagore's educational center, Shantiniketan in Bengal.

When Gandhi visited England in 1931 for the Round Table Conference, Horace Alexander spent part of each week with the Gandhi party in London. During the second world war he again visited India with Friends Ambulance unit. He returned to India in 1949 and spent several years there in close cooperation with the leaders of Indian Nationalism.

He has twice been married. His second wife is an American Quaker and for the past fifteen years their home has been near Philadelphia. Throughout his life he has enjoyed watching birds, and one of his published books is called Seventy years of Bird watching. His other works include *Indian Ferment: Consider India, Revival of Europe, Justice Among Nations and India since Cripps.*

Gandhi Through Western Eyes was the famous book written by Alexander Horace. It was completed in 1969. In the preface to this book he writes.

"Mahatma Gandhi died in January 1948, I complete this book in 1969. Twentyone years is a long time in this century of revolutionary change. To those who are under thirty, Gandhi belongs to a forgotten generation. Soon we shall be celebrating his centenary. He is becoming a myth rather than a real men of flesh and blood. One purpose of the pages that follow is to try to save Gandhi from this fate.

"He adds, "During his life time I recall that I would sometime say to him: "you mean this, don't you"? And he would reply" No you have misunderstood

me". Now he is not here to check what I have written, so I can only warn the reader not to assume that I have always got it right.

"I first know Gandhi in the spring of 1928, when I spent a month in his ashram near Ahmedabad. At that time he had recently completed his autobiography. He never attempted to carry his own story of his "experiments with truth" any further. So I have given more attention to the later years when I was in personal contact with him than to the first sixty years. Moreover, there were a few brief weeks when I was close to him, day by day. These times include some of the most dramatic of significant episode in his later life, such as the days of the Round Table Conference in London (1931) and the days of the Cabinet Mission in India and the final withdrawal of British rule (summers of 1946 and 47). These periods I have written in much greater detail than the rest. The result is an unequal balance or events, but I think this is justified by the circumstances.

Just I was concluding this preface I found in the pages of that excellent weekly periodical Manas (February 16, 1966) the following paragraph, which expresses concisely what I have been struggling to say in the first part of this Preface. So, I quote it:

"There are some men whose achievements begin mainly in the world of imaginative synthesis and whose being, therefore, can be understood only by a corresponding use of the mind. In such case a lot of particulars about their personal lives may diminish their stature instead of adding to it. It is for this reason, no doubt that thoughtful men often observe that myth contains more truth than history,. Since myths provide summations of meaning that are easily lost in the foliage of historical fact. So with Gandhi's life work.

Another sentence from this article in *Manas* deserves quotation here. The writer says." What are seen as 'oddities' by Gandhi's critics can almost always be found to embody a deep consistency with some basic principle of Indian philosophy, brought up to date and freshly applied to a contemporary situation," In other words, his sense of values, his sense of preparation, were often striking different from prevailing world view of educated Westerners whenever we meet in his life or thought some thing that is hard to understand, we may well to consider, before impatiently rejecting it as nonsense, whether perhaps here Gandhi has something to say to us that we need to attend to. Especially, perhaps, in his tendency to mix together in his writings in *Harijan*, what look like trivial personal matters with discussion of great issues, he is often deliberately asserting that the seemingly trivial things in human relations often contain the keys to big issues. Perhaps I warned the reader enough. We had better turn to the story of his life.

Between 1927 and his death, Mahatma Gandhi wrote some thirty or forty letters and notes to Horace Alexander. Most of them illustrate the endless variety of the man and his ways of looking at things and people. He was a most voluminous correspondent. It is hardly credible that a man who carried

such heavy responsibilities as he did, and was at the beck and call of so many, found time to write in his own hand (or rather, his two hands) such quantities of letters. They were never perfunctory. Everyone of his innumerable friends was to him a single identifiable man or woman. He did not sit down to write the same letter to several different people. Even if he was asking his friends to uphold him, through a fast, he would still make each letter special for the friend he was addressing. It will be noted that in the earlier letters Horace Alexander was either "friend" or "Mr. Alexander", after the Round Table Conference in London he become "Horrace" to him and the then began to sign himself as "Bapu", the name he was caused by his closet circle of friends at the ashram and in the Congress leadership. It really means just simply means "father", but in India this term is used more widely beyond the immediate family circle than in the west.

Horace Alexander visited Gandhi's ashram near Ahmedabad in March 1932, where he stayed for a week. On the day he left, Gandhiji said that as he had spent some days with them he might have noticed things that seemed to need improvement: if so, Gandhiji hoped Horace should write to him about them for Gandhiji was always glad to have suggestions for improvement. Then Gandhiji pointed to tap under which the members of the ashram washed their hands after meal. There was no drainage under the tap, so the water rain down into the earth, and made a muddy patch. This Gandhiji said, was hygienically bad, so an Englishman, such as Horace was would very likely notice this failure of hygiene and might suggest that it should be put right soon. But the ashram was rather short of money.

Horace writes, "I think I wrote on my return to England; and having first said, apparently, that I would not feel inclined to bother to write about small matters of hygiene, I did nevertheless wonder whether he might find it a good plan to introduce a period of silence into the daily prayers" Here is Gandhi's reply.

"I have long delayed replying to your letter, as I have hoped to send you a fairly lengthy reply. But I see that I am not likely to get sufficient leisure for attempting a full reply in the near future.

What you say about silent prayer, congregational silenced understanding, I appreciate also in theory. When I was in South Africa. I attended several such meetings. But I was not much struck with the performance...If some of us in the Ashram really have that mood whilst at prayer, it is bound to have its effect in due course. It is because of the belief that there are earnest souls in the Ashram who approach the prayer time in a proper devotional mood, that I have persisted in retaining the congregational prayer meetings in spite of odds and sometimes even severe disappointments. I may be partial, but my own experience is that our prayer meetings are very slowly but surely growing in dignity and strength. But I am painfully aware of the fact that we are far away from what we want to achieve. Nevertheless, I shall bear your suggestions in mind. I have already discussed them with friends.

.....To me sanitation in a community such as ours is based upon common spiritual effort. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty. It is a sign of inattention and neglect of duty.....".

Mahatma Gandhi and Joseph J. Doke

The first biography on Gandhi was written by Rev Joseph J. Doke in 1900. We get most of the information about Doke either from an article obviously written by Gandhi on formers death in August 1913 or from Gandhi's biography that Doke wrote since he himself was associated with the movement of his subject. He belonged to the family of British Christian missionaries. His father was the Baptist minister of Chudleigh and his brother William H. Doke died as a missionary at the end of 1882 in African soil. Doke was born in November, 1861. At the Age of 17, on the resignations of his father from the pastorate he became a pastor. At the age of 20 he came to South Africa where he was sent by the South African Baptist Union to open up a new church in Great Reinet. Later, he became the pastor of The City Road Baptist Church. Bristol, where with the exception of a visit to Egypt, Palestine, and India, he remained until 1894 from where he moved with his family to New zeland. Here he was minister to the Oxford Terrace Baptist Church, Christ Church, for a period of seven and a half years after which returned to England in 1902. Towards the end of 1903 he took up his work in South Africa as he became minister of Grahamstown Baptist Church where he remained for four years. Later he came to Rand as a minister of the Central Baptist Church where he remained till his death. Doke was deeply interested in the missionary work and he died while visiting some lonely mission stations in North Western Rhodesia. He even made efforts to convert Gandhi and it could be his initial motive in getting close to the Indian leader. However, their relations did not suffer when Doke discovered that it was a futile effort in view of Gandhi's concept of religion and his opposition to conversion. Gandhi's admiration for the teachings of Jesus his devotion to the good of his people, his unselfishness and his supreme forgiveness buttressed the bonds between the two. When Gandhi was assaulted by one of his own people, it was Doke and his family that nursed him. Paying tributes to the High moral stature of early life of Gandhi, the pedigree of his family, his education and his faith in the best of all that the European culture and Christianity could offer to the world in order to create the impression that the demands of Gandhi were the demands of a cultured society. For, in his view the Europeans would judge the nature of Gandhi's movement by his own. Character and personality with this end in view, he persuades Gandhi, thus : "You must tell me about your childhood and youth, allow me picture your personality and depict your character and if I know anything of you, to submit this will be the severest kind of martyrdom that you can offer" Gandhi reluctantly submitted to this demand which provides him the first opportunity to narrate the story of his own life. It is Gandhi's first attempt at autobiography. It was not difficult for him as he had the habit of maintaining a diary and even as a child he would repeat the family pedigree with all its ramifications. The story narrated by Doke is mostly in accord with that nar-

rated by Gandhi in his autobiography, However, the former at places becomes more eloquent and narrates the incidents more grapahclly or with literary flourish. For instance, description of birth place of Gandhi receives a picturesque treatment at the hand of Doke. Similarly, the court intrigues that forces his grandfather to flee Porbandar is described in detail by him while Gandhi confines himself to stating only that his grandfather had to leave Porbandar on account of court intrigues, Probably at the time of writing his autobiograpny, Gandhi did not consider it important enough to mention the detail very likely earthier he described it on the insistence of Doke. However, Gandhi appeared to be satisfied with Doke's effort as he sent his biography to Tolstoy to introduce himself to him. It might have provided him later on with a guideline for writing his *Autobiography* and *Satyagraha in South Africa.*

The author supplemented the information supplied by Gandhi by questioning latter's friends and followers besides making use of documents available to him about his activities and his movement. He had close contacts with his subject and had the advantage of working with him and discussing with him certain important issues relating to his movement. At places, he quotes his conversation with him to bring about the true state of mind of his subject. His assessment of Gandhi as a speaker based on personal observations appears to be convincing, as he writes : "His speech is calm and slow, appealing chiefly to the intellect. But with this quiet way, he has the gift of placing a subject in the clearest light, simply and with great force. I have listened to him often, watching the faces of his audience, and while I should not call him an orator .. I have never met with a more convincing speaker". Such observations as, "few can with stand the charm of his personality," or "he is one of those outstanding characters with whom to talk is liberal education" based on personal experience, add force to the account of the character of the subject given by him. Similarly, a vivid description of events such as, the attack on him by a pathan, or the scene that the draws of the court where Gandhi is tried and sentenced to two months' imprisonment for the sake of his suffering people, add authenticity to the account. They are stated to reveal the man.

Since the purpose of writing the biography was to help the cause, the biography opens with a dramatic account of Passive Resistance movement which was going on in Johannesburg against the Asiastic Law Amendment Act. It takes us logically to the man leading it as its success depended upon his vision and character.

Being himself an ardent religious man, the religious aspect of life of the subject receives greater attention of the biographer. He was struck by the beautiful picture of Jesus Christ hanging on a wall of Gandhi's office along with the photographs of several Indian leaders. While Gandhi was explaining the case of Asiastics to the other, the latter was more anxious to know the religious elements in Gandhi's struggle which he stated with convincing clearness. But he admits that Gandhi's view of religion was different from that of any devotee of a denomination religion. For, it did not mean formal or customary

religion but the principle underlying all religions. It means moral dignity or sense of honour, without which no man deserves to be treated as man and so have no claim over the rights of man. Gandhi's early observations and his stint with atheism is viewed as a part of his search for the religion. As a result of his analytical study and questioning mind, he could rise above the formal Hindu religion surrounded by the overgrowth of superstitions and obsolete institutions. Gandhi's experiences in London receive good attention and are mostly in accord with those stated by him in the autobiography. These must have been fresh in Gandhi's mind at that time, has he had described them in his diary. The author must have been keenly interested, in his experiences in London as this would show that the leader of the Indians in South Africa was no less a gentleman than any Englishman. It could not go unnoticed by a Christian that the leaders of the Indians had been influenced by the life of Christ and the Sermon on the Mount. Though a Hindu, he was really one of them as he was animated by the spirit of Christianity. For the same reason, he is interested in projecting Gandhi's admiration for the English life. Gandhi is quoted as saying in replay to a question that he admired English life to such an extent that next to India he would rather live in London than in any other place in the world. Similarly, he depicts Gandhi as an individual for greater than any other official of the South African Government. His magnanimity, his greatness of heart, his refusal to take any action against the Pathan who made a murderous attempt on him which is stated even before the story begins. The idea is to show that the Indian leader lives on a higher plane than most men. Gandhi's refusal to prosecute to white young men who nearly lynched him while he was returning from India with his family is stated at length to create the same effect. Similarly after of help to the British colony in the Boer war, Zulu rebellion and on the outbreak, of plague epidemic shows his sense of loyalty to the British Empire and his responsibility to the administration in South Africa. The central point of the whole story is that the trouble was the result of the failure of the Europeans to appreciate the position of the Indians in south Africa. "If the government had been represented by gentlemen of unity and discrimination, who could appreciate the delicate work of dealing with Orientals, and would take pains to understand their mode of thought, refusing to treat them as coolies, the whole of this trouble might have been avoided".

Since the object of the biographer is limited to promoting the cause of the movement, he does not dwell upon the personal or domestic life of Gandhi in South Africa which was equally fascinating as revealed by Millie Polak, wife of Polak, another close, English friend of Gandhi in South Africa. It does not tell the complete story of the man. It is more a story of a leader of a movement than that of a man who equally fascinates because of his idiosyncracies, eccentricities, and credulity. The readers miss the man making, various kinds of experiments, facing dilemma, shedding his angularities, and overcoming his passions.

Gandhi and H.S.L Polak

On receipt of Mr. West's letter Gandhiji left for Natal. He had taken Mr.

Polak into his fullest confidence. He came to see him off at the station and left with Gandhiji a book to read during the journey, which he said Gandhiji was sure to like. It was Ruskin's *Unto This Lest.* This was the first book of Ruskin Gandhiji had ever read. The book was impossible to lay aside, once he had begun it. It was gripping Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours' journey. The train reached there in the evening. He could not get any sleep that night. He determined to change his life in accordance with the ideals of the book.

The teaching of *Unto This Last* I understood to be:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

3. That a life of labour. ie, the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicrafts is the life worth living.

The first of these he knew. The second he had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to him. Unto This Last made it as clear as daylight for him that the second and third were contained in the first. He arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.

Phoenix Settlement was founded by Gandhi and his friends. Albert west and H.S.L. Polak. H.S.L. Polak was the European editor of *Indian opinion* and one of Gandhiji's closest associates.

During the Satyagraha in south Africa, Gandhi was sentenced to three month's imprisonment or the payment of a 50 fine, and without hesitation, chose to go to jail. H.S.L. Polak described Gandhi's condition.

"In Pretoria, I am informed, he is kept in what might be called solitary confinement. I believe that the work that he is given is not very severe but that he is subjected to every possible humiliation, with a view to break his spirit.

"In all probability Mr.Gandhi is being half starved, as he was in Johannesburg fort in January of last year, and, in addition, the lack of proper exercise and fresh air is telling upon his constitution.

"I am quite sure that Mr.Gandhi himself will make no complaints so long as he is in gaol, you know the spirit of the man,but it is heart-breaking for me, as an Englishman and as a friend, to feel that this high minded gentleman who has all along conducted a campaign with clean hands and in a lofty spirit, is being tortured in this way."

As soon as the news reached South Africa that Gandhi along with other Indians had offered his services in the Boer war, he received two cables. One of these was from Mr. Polak who questioned the consistency of his action with his profession or ahimsa.

Gandhiji invited Polak to come and stay with him, and they began to live like blood-brothers. The lady who was soon to be Mrs. Polak and Polak had been engaged for some years, but the marriage had been postponed for a propitious time. He had an impression that Polak wanted to put some money before he settled down to a married life. Polak knew Ruskin much better than Gandhiji but his western surroundings were preventing his translating Ruskin's teaching immediately into practice. But he pleaded with Polak : "when there is a heart union, as in your case, it is hardly right to postpone marriage merely for financial considerations. If poverty is a bar, poor men can never marry. And then you are now staying with me. There is no question of household expenses. I think you should get married as soon as possible". Gandhi had never to argue a thing twice with Polak. He appreciated the force of Gandhiji's argument and immediately opened correspondence on the subject with Mrs.Polak, who was then in England. She gladly accepted the proposal and in a few months reached Johannesburg. Any expense over the wedding was out of the question, not even a special dress was thought necessary. They needed no religious rites to seal the bond. Mrs.Polak was a Christian by birth and Polak a Jew. Their common religion was the religion of ethics.

Gandhiji wrote regarding Polak's marriage.

"I may mention in passing an amusing incident in connection with this wedding. The Registrar of European marriages in the Transvaal could not register marriages between black or coloured people. In the wedding in question, I acted as the best man. Not that we could not have got a European friend for the purpose, but Polak would not book the suggestion. So we then went to the Registrar of marriages. How could he be sure that the parties to a marriage in which I acted as the best man would be whites? He proposed to postpone registration pending inquiries. The next day was a Sunday. The day following was a New Years' Day, a public holiday. To postpone the date of a solemnly arranged wedding on such a flimsy pretext was more than one could put up with. I knew the Chief Magistrate, who was head of the Registration Department. So I appeared before him with the couple. He laughed and gave me a note to the Registrar and the marriage was duly registered: He further wrote.

"Upto now the Europeans living with us had been more or less known to me before. But now an English lady who was an utter stranger to us entered the family. I do not remember our ever having had a difference with the newly-married couple, but even if Mrs.Polak and my wife had some unpleasant experiences, they would have been no more than what happen in the best-regulated homogeneous families. And led it be remembered that mine would be considered as essentially heterogeneous family, where people of all kinds and temperaments were freely admitted. When we came to think of it, the distinction between heterogeneous and homogeneous discovered to be merely imaginary. We are all one family".

Mr. Polak was the Assistant Editor of the newspaper. *"The Critic"* and drew a good salary. Since he was a man of much simplicity and believed that

could freely express his feelings against oppression through *Indian Opinion*, he had informed his chief of his intention to resign. Mr.Polak wrote a full report in English about a big anti-Indian meeting held at Potchefstroam. He also wrote an account of the late president Kruger's funeral.

Gandhiji met Henry S.L. Polak also at the Johannesburg vegetarian restaurant. Polak qualified himself to be an attorney at Gandhiji's instance and joined him in his work. He succeeded as Editor of *Indian Opinion*. He visited India and England to help south African Indians in their struggle and went to prison during the passive resistance movement.

Mr. Gandhi gave evidence that the march to the Transvaal was fixed without consultation with Mr.Polak who intended leaving for India on November 14th, and he knew all arrangements had been made for Mr.Polak's departure from Durban had it not been for witness's arrest before reaching Greylingstad. Mr.Polak would certainly have left at the station. Under the circumstances, Mr.Gandhi thought Mr.Polak should lead the column to its destination, so that the men would not disperse. In Mr.Gandhi's opinion if Mr.Polak was guilty of aiding and abetting, so also were the troopers who guided the column on its way. He considered that Mr. Polak had rendered service to the state, and to his race, by action as he had. The men had been handed over to Mr.Polak because Mr. Cachalia had not then arrived on the scene.

Polak and Kallenbach were arrested at Charlestown on November 10. Polak was charged before Mr.Jooste, Assistant Magistrate, under Section 20 of the immigration Act, but declined to plead guilty to the charge. Constable keen stated that polak had addressed the Indian and advised them to return to Durban. His purpose was to discuss certain matters withGandhiji regarding his departure for India. Polak was found guiily and was awarded three month's simple imprisonment without hard labour. Earlier, while awaiting trial in Volksrust Gaol, Polak had addressed a communication to Lord Ampthill, which furnished detailed account of incidents leading to his arrest.

Mahatma Gandhi and J.C. Kumarappa

Joseph Chelladurai Kumarappa was born on 4 January 1892 at Thanjavur in an orthodox Christian middle-class family of Madurai. He was the ninth child of S.D. Cornelius, an officer of the Madras Public works Department. He owed his moral and spiritual upbringing to his mother and his educational and social outlook to his father, a strict disciplinarian.

Kumarappa was a bright student and appeared at the, Matriculation examination before the prescribed minimum age. He took up history at the college level and later on qualified himself as an Incorporated Accountant in London (1919). He took his B.Sc. degree. In Business Administration from the Syracuse University. (U.S.A) in 1928 and M.A. from Columbia University (U.S.A) in 1929. At Columbia University he came into very close contact with Dr.H.A. Davenport, Professor of Public finance, who deeply influenced

Kumarappa's economic thinking. The Professor inspired him moved away from the study of capitalistic economic ideas and organizations to concentrate on a study of his own country's economic problems. Kumarappa's scholarly thesis on the economic exploitation of India by the British through their taxation policy won the admiration of Mahatma Gandhi who published it in a series in his *Young India.*

After his return to India in 1929, Kumarappa practised for some time as an auditor in Bombay. But his intense dislike, for the capitalistic economic structure led him to sacrifice his professional carrier and personal comforts and to associate himself with Gandhiji. He undertook the laborious tasks of conducing a rural survey in Gujarat and industrial survey in the central provinces. He edited the *Young India* off and on during the absence of Gandhiji, and also taught at the Gujarat Villagers, (1929-31). Deeply interested in the plight of the villagers, he exposed the evils of foreign rule in strong and provocative words for which he had to go to jail more than once. Undaunted by the confiscation of the press, he continued to publish the *Young India* in a cyclostyled form. For his writings in the *Young India* he was arrested in February 1931 and sent to jail. After release, he served as the convener of a committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to go into details of the financial relations between Great Britain and India. In 1934 he became the organizer and Secretary of the All India village Industries Association and became its president after the death of Gandhiji. Deeply devoted to the cause of village improvement he even declined the offer of Provincial ministership after the introduction of the Act of 1935.

Kumarappa was a prolific writer and produced not less than eighteen books and several articles. His writings won the appreciation of Gandhiji who wrote forewords to many of his books. The most important of Kumarappa's works are *'Why the Village Movement?" 'Economy of permanence'. Gandhian Economic Thought', 'Unitary Basis for a Nonviolent Democracy; 'Stone walls and Iron Bars'; 'A plan for the Economic Development of North west frontier province'. An over all plan or Rural Development, 'Practice and Precepts of Jesus' : and 'Lessons from Europe'.*

Due to overwork in many fields of activity Kumarappa developed high blood pressure and on the strong advice of physicians he had to take complete rest after 1945 in Gandhi Niketan Ashram at Kallupatti (Madurai District), where he later died at the age of sixty-five.

Though his early background was highly westernised and capitalistic and till 1929 he was living in western style in dress and food, his association with Gandhiji changed him completely. He became very simple in dress, food and habits and fully imbibed the Gandhian way of life.

He was opposed to religion as it was practised in India and considered it as largely institutional and ritualistic, losing its grip over the every-day actions of men. The true worship of God, according to him, was a life consecrated to

the living service of those in need. As a supporter of basic education, he played a leading part at the conference of Educationists at Wardha in 1938. In his economic views he advocated national self-sufficiency. He said that nations should be contented in producing the prime necessities of life and international trade should confine itself mainly to surpluses and luxuries. He was opposed to the policy of industrializing India after the American and British model. He favoured cottage industries against large-scale enterprise; and pleaded for self-sufficiency and for the union and cooperation of the producer the middleman, and the consumers as partners in a business. He pointed out in his works that as a natural consequence excluding religion from life, economics has been divorced from moral considerations.

Kumarappa was a man of rare gifts, a faithful follower of Gandhi, not only in words but also in deeds. He gave a scientific interpretation to Gandhian economic ideas in a manner acceptable to the educated community. Though many came to regard him as an economist and impractical theorist he had a living faith in nonviolence and the Gandhian way of life. The outcome of his efforts was the rise of a new school of Economics of Non-Violence, inspired by Gandhiji and brilliantly elucidated by Kumarappa. He could have chosen the easy way of life and distinguished himself in the profession for which he had been trained. But its patriotism and high ideals led him to place his services at the feet of Mahatma.

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Lesson - 22

GANDHI AND C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Introduction

Rajaji, a lawyer, journalist, author, and Governor-General of India (1948-'50) holds a place in the freedom movement of India. Gandhiji wrote 'Panditji, Rajaji, Vallabhai and all others are trying to think of ways and means to consolidate our independence which we are about to attain. They are making efforts so that there may be peace and calm in the country and the defects of foreign rule may be removed".

However, 'Rajaji had mortgaged his heart to Gandhiji even before he had met him since the fame of Mahatma's South African deeds had reached India and Gandhiji -the fisher of men-on his part had even sworn that richer haul than Rajaji had not come into his net"

With a failure of the 1857 rising, the last hope of India to drive out the British by the force of arms vanished. Then British became strong in India. History is replete with so many revolutionary struggles. The Indian scene is entirely different. The Indian National congress, founded in 1885, embodied the anglicized elite. Indeed, its moving spirit in the early years was an European, A.O. Hume. Congress meeting were held annually in the cool weather of December when the courts were in recess and the schools on holiday. These speech making conventions, modelled on English public meetings, attracted a few hundred delegates who convened themselves with issues that reflected their own interests. There were no attempts to discuss the problem of peasants, and until 1906, no demand for self-government.

Within the Congress divisions emerged between moderates and extremists. Moderates, like G.K. Gokhale, contented that constitutional politics would bring from British Government constitutional reforms and they expected with confidence that the Liberal party in Britain, in power less than three years between 1885 and 1906 would grant increased responsibility to Indians. 'Extremists' like Tilak ridiculed such confidence.

In 1906, this growing militancy and tension within the Congress produced a resolution which for the first time called for 'self-government' as the only and chief remedy' for India's problems. After Gandhiji appeared in the Indian scene the moderates and extremists met again on the same Congress platform, after 1916.

For the first time, Rajaji attended the Congress session at Calcutta in the year 1906, along with C. Vijayaraghavachariar who infused in him the love of politics. All these years upto 1919, the year in which he met Gandhiji at Madras he favoured with extremists and considered Tilak as his hero.

From the very first meeting Rajaji came closer to Gandhiji. He became the Southern commander of Gandhiji, Mahadev Desai asked Gandhi one day "You should cultivate this man". And so he did. And also he declared once "Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, the Keeper of my conscience".

Early life

Chakravarthi venkatarya, father of Rajagopalachari, was the munshiff of Thorapalli village in a north-western corner of Salem district. He was a Tamil speaking Brahmin. The farthest back that Rajaji's ancestry can be traced is Nallan Chakravarthi. Living in a distant and unknown century, Nallan ('the good') is believed to have defied orthodox rules by performing the last rites for a dying wanderer from a lower caste. His ancestors had resided, it would seem, near Tirupati, the trusted Hindu shrine. From this Telugu region they moved to the village of Ponnapalli in the Palghat plateau in the domain of the rulers of Mysore. At that time Palghat was included in the district of Salem and it was also a separate taluk of Hosur, that being the name of the principal settlement of Palghat.

Around the year 1840 Narasimhachari, the father of Venkatarya, moved fourteen miles from Panapalli to the village of Thorapalli, also in Hosur taluk. He married a girl Rangamma. Rangamma and Narasimhachari had three sons, of whom Venkatarya was made the munshiff of Thorapalli. He married a girl, named Singaramma from Kuppam In Bhirtur district, now part of Andhra while he was fifteen. Rajaji was born on December 10, 1878 as a third and last son to this couple.

Called Rajan who is later known as Rajagopalachari by his parents went to the Government village school at Hosur. He was not considered a very diligent student, may be because he suffered from acute myopia.

At the age of thirteen, having spent two years at Central College at Bangalore, he matriculated. Since the Central College was affiliated, at that time, to Madras University it was in Madras, in January 1896, that Rajan wrote his B.A., Examinations, in the three branches of English Science and Tamil. He was seventeen. Rajan claimed to be a skilled craftsman of language, failed in his test in Tamil. Destpite his Tamil result he was declared a graduate.

He decided to study law. This could be done in Madras, Because of his failure in Tamil Rajan was obliged, for the first two terms, also to attend lectures in Tamil in the Presidency college, five hundred yards down the beach from Senate House in which building the subject of law was taught to the students, and to write a fresh exam. In January 1897 he narrowly cleared the hurdle. Rajan stayed in the hostel castle Kerhan, popularly known as Ice House In Janu-

ary 1891 Swami Vivekananda visited the Ice House after his return from America. In a meeting Vivekananda put a question 'why is krishna painted blue?. Rajan's hand went up and his voice followed with answer "Because the sky and the ocean, the symbols of infinity, are blue".

He took the B.L. Degree in 1899. He was married a little before he was to sit for his B.L. Degree. Rajan was shown Manga, his future bride, while offering prayers in the temple in Lakshmipuram, The marriage ceremony lasted five days in Kuppam in Chittoor district of Andhra State, his mother's native place. Manga at that time was 10 years old and Rajan 18 years. The child wife remained with her parents and Rajan returned to Madras and resumed his studies.

As a Lawyer and Public Life

After getting his degree in Law Rajan started practice in Salem in 1900. Manga lived with her parents in Lakshmipuram until the end of 1901. Twelve when she went to her husband's home, Manga gave birth to a boy, Krishnaswami, on the day following her thirteenth birth day. In less than two years another boy, Rama was born. That his wife faced the pains of child birth at so early an age was to embarrass C.R. all his life. "His flair in the courtroom was bringing a new comer had to wait for crumbs from a senior lawyer cases that discovered that he was a senior from the beginning."

In 1906 Rajaji had been enrolled for practice in the Madras High Court. That year Manga have him a daughter Namagiri. Their third son Narashimhan, was born in 1909. Lakshmi, their second daughter and the last child was to come in 1912.

Between 1900 and 1919 Rajaji and his senior friend. C. Vijayaraghavachariar were perhaps the best-known lawyers in the district of Salem, Coimbatore, and Trichnopoly. Since Rajaji used to practice in subordinate courts he had to go from one place to another at night in carts. However, he often made the overnight bullock cart journey South to Namakkal. Once he was travelling at night. Rajaji had a licence to have a pistol and he was carrying one. He was sleeping comfortably when he woke up from his slumber hearing Panam, which in Tamil means money Rajaji thought that he had been accosted by a highway robber. In the darkness he lifted his gun and shot at the voice. A man hurried with a lantern and Rajaji saw in its light that he had shot some one posted at the railway gate. He took him in his cart to the hospital where it was found the man was died. Compensating the man, Rajaji went to C. Vijayarshavachariar to tell him what had happened. The old gentleman appeared for Rajaji in the prosecution and won the case.

In February 1915 he fell seriously ill however he recovered. Anyhow in August 22, his wife died because of the serious illness at the age of 28. About his deep devotion to his wife, T. Vijayaraghavachariyar of Namakkal (a friend of Rajaji) wrote to Krishna Iyer.

"I have not come across in my life any man who nursed his wife with such care and loving attention and who tried to be such a source of courage and hope to her as C.R. was during the last months of his wife's illness".

After Manga's death Rajaji rejected the remarriage proposals and his soul turned outward. C. Vijayaraghavachariyar was the leading lawyer at Salem. He was great patriot and infused in Rajaji his love for politics, C.R. went all the way to Calcutta along with C. Vijayaraghavachariyar to Calcutta in 1906, to attend the Congress session held there. At that time moderate-extremist contest become inevitable at the Congress. Rajaji and C. Vijayaraghavachariyar both stood for the extremists and under their influence Salem became an extremist strong hold. Extremist in Politics, its intellectuals exploring social reform, Salem was spoken of in this period as the Poona of the South.

During his stay at Salem, Rajaji had acted as a member of the Salem municipality for a spell of three years till 1914. In 1917 he was elected chairman of the Salem municipal council.

The Congress had met in Madras and extremists, such as Rajaji were still kept out. Returning from South Africa to India in January 1915 M.K.Gandhi set out on a countrywide study tour. Though he spent four weeks in April and May in Madras presidency and in Bangalore he did not visit Salem and C.R. did not, it seems, meet him else where in South India.

As an extremist, C.R. was not enthused by the opponent agreement between the moderates and the Raj on the limits of dissent.

Impact of Gandhiji

Even before Rajaji met Gandhi in 1919 when the latter was in Madras at the invitation of Mr.Kasturi Renga Iyengar, the editor of *The Hindu,* he came to know about him through the news paper while Gandhiji fought against the racial discrimination in South Africa.

"Something however, was animating South Africa. From 1906 onwards, newspapers has published items about a Gujarati barrister called M.K.Gandhi, of the Bania, as trade caste, who was battling there for the rights of Indians. The accounts impressed C.R.

An Indian deported from South Africa called Ansari had visited Salem in 1907, stayed a while in C.R.'S home and tolled a group, Gandhi is small in size but his heart is bigger than the shevaroys seen from Salem.

Then C.R. picked up, by chance, from the desk of his friend Narasimha Iyer, *Civil Disobedience* by Henry Thoreau. He found the book very interesting. It seemed to supply the theory for what Gandhi was practising.

Soon another book made an impact-Gandhi's *Indian Home Rule* (Hind Swaraj) banned in South Africa, and sent to C.R., by a deported person whom he met in Karnool in 1900.

Reading the book with very great avidity, C.R. was struck more by Gandhi's freedom from timidity and by his refusal to recognize the English as superior, than by his defence of nonviolence.

"Indian Home Rule" was written as a dialogue between the author cast as 'Editor' who advocates a non-violent struggle, and a friend, described as 'Reader', who often argues as a believer in violence. It seems that book was first reviewed in India by C.R."

Rajaji, Jawaharlal, Patel, Prasad and Azad joined with Gandhi and they were to form for nearly three decades the core of Gandhi's political team. Of the five Rajaji was the fourth to meet Gandhi. Azad being the last but perhaps the first to note the glimmer on the horizon.

He actively participated in the Congress Movement and considered Tilak as his hero and thus remained an extremist upto 1919.

It was in the second half of January 1919 that Rajaji finally made up his mind to migrate to Madras city to participate actively in politics. At last Rajaji became a follower of Gandhiji.

"The invitation had come over the signature of the late Kasturi Renga Iyengar. But man behind the invitation, as I subsequently learnt on my way to Madras, was Rajagopalachari. This might be said to be my first acquaintance with him. At any rate, this was the first time, that we came to know each other personally. Rajagopalachari then recently left Salem to settle down for legal practice in Madras at the pressing invitation of friends like the late Kasturi Renga Iyengar, and that with a view to taking a more active part in public life. It was with him that we had put up in Madras. This discovery I made, only after we had stayed with him for a couple of days. For since the bungalow that we were staying is belonged to Kasturi renga Iyengar. I was under the impression that we were his guests. Mahadev Desai, however, corrected me. He very soon formed a close acquaintance with Rajagopalachari who, from his innate shyness, kept himself constantly in the background. Back Mahadev put me on my guard, 'You should cultivate this man', he said to me, one day. "And so I did. We daily discussed together plans of the fight but beyond the holding of public meetings, I could not then think of any other programme."

Noncooperation Movement

The sword fell on February 6, 1919. The Rowlatt bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. "I felt myself at a loss to discover how to offer civil disobedience against the Rowlatt Bill. That night I fell asleep while thinking over the question. Towards the small hours of the morning I woke up some what earlier than usual. I was still in twilight conditions between sleep and

consciousness when suddenly the idea broke upon me. It was as if in a dream. Early in the morning I related the whole story to Rajagopalachari.

The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general hartal. Satyagraha is a process of self-purification, and ours is a sacred fight and it seems to me to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification.Let all the people of India, therefore suspend their business that day and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer. The duration of fasting should be 24 hours."

Rajagopalachari at once took up with Gandhiji's suggestion. The date of hartal was first fixed on the 30th March 1919 but was subsequently changed to 6th April. The problem came again how to meet the Punjab and Khilafalt wrongs and whether the men of Congress should contest the elections under the new constitution scheduled for November 1920. At a special meeting of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920, many of them opposed Gandhiji's resolution for noncooperation, including boycott of the elections. The resolution passed narrowly.

However in Tamilnadu he was able to get the support of E.V. Ramasamy naicker, the future founder of the self-respect movement, T.V. Kalyanasundara mudaliar, editor of Navasakthi, and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Dr. T.S. Rajan of Trichy and other and Muslims to balance the opposition. Rajaji was sentenced to three months simple imprisonment and was jailed on December 21, 1921.

While noncooperation movement was suspended Rajaji asked the Southern people to honour it though he became sad to receive it.

Gandhiji wrote to Rajagopalachari thus,

"I am on my way to Delhi for quarrel. I read your letter. I am sad because you are sad. I wish you were by my side. How can you continue? When we (are) so helplessly divided? Read my article ("The Realities," 11-9-1924) in current *Young India* fifty times if necessary and you will find out my meaning perhaps. (Refer Appendix). It is written mostly for you. Your letter to S, suggested it, we are not giving up boycotts because they are removed from the nations programme for a time. Surely, if we have courage of our convictions we can revive them any movement. Why should suspension mean abandonment if we have trust in ourselves?"

Intervel

With the suspension of noncooperation movement, March 1922, the moderates of the Congress formed the Swaraj Party to contest the 1923 elections. Because of the difference of opinion between Gandhi and Congressmen regarding the council-entry, he disliked the split in the Congress and preferred to retire from the Congress sense, and wished to devote his time and energy for the next five years to the constructive work namely, Hindu-Muslim Unity, removal of untouchability, equality of women, hand-spinning and the reconstruction of village economy in general.

During these five years Gandhi and Rajaji toured extensively propagating of Khadi, removal of untouchability and the promotion of communal harmony.

"Rajaji wrote in *Young India,* 15-1-1925, as follows; No changers who feel that the salvation of the country, the permanent anchor of its hope, rests on the Charkha, must not look up, on his side or that, but prayerfully carry the burden. There is no rest or fatigue for us. The wheel is our hope, our joy, our friend, our good angel. We must work on it in our waking hours, and dream about it when we sleep. I did not see fully the meaning of things at first. I therefore thought Mahatmaji went along paths where I saw no logic or light. But I now see things clearly, and hope all those who felt distracted by doubts like myself will also see. Spin, spin and spin and make others spin-this is our single mantra, our Gayatri.

"While I saw all this, I felt at the same time that there was some sort of unreality, some sort of political playing with truth, casting a shadow over all this plan of Satyagraha. But here I depend on the judgement of the guru whose instinctive sense of Truth is so much greater than mine, and I feel at ease."

Ashram at Tiruchengodu (1925-1929)

Earlier in February 1925 Rajaji had set up an ashram at Trichengodu to boost up Khadi work. The land for it was gifted by Ratnasabhapathi Gounder - the local *mitiadar* who was a great admirer of Rajaji. This ashram had run a school which taught spinning and weaving. The ashram started with a thatched hut but developed by and by. Four Harijans were the firsts to be admitted. With this ashram Tamilnadu became the centre of Khadi movement.

In this ashram Rajaji lived with his youngest son and his daughter. The inmates were about ten members, including one "untouchable." They lived as a joint family with a common mess. This created a furore and the neighbouring Gounders tried to boycott the ashram. Rajaji was altogether undisturbed. Ratnasabapathy Gounder continued to help them and in short time, the people came to be reconciled especially as they needed the guidance and help of Rajaji in many matters. They came to him for writing their letters, and settling their disputes with neighbours.

Just as Gandhi was spreading the gospel of Khadi from Sabarmathi Ashram, Rajaji was preaching it from his Tiruchengodu Ashram

Salt Satyagraha

In December 1929 Gandhiji moved the resolution in the Congress session declaring complete independence as goal of Congress policy. He fixed 26th January 1930 for the celebration of "Independence Day"

Gandhiji commenced his. Satyagraha on march 12, 1930 from Sabarmathi Ashram to Dandi along with seventy eight members of his ashram, both men and women and thus performed the first act of civil disobedience to breach the Salt Laws. His historic march on foot, reached the sea shore at Dandi on April 6,

and broke the salt law by picking up a little lump of salt left by the waves. After that hundreds or Thousands of people all over the country broke the salt law. The Government was soon alarmed and resorted to oppressive measures. They arrested Gandhiji on 4th May.

Vedaranyam March

Following the foot steps of Gandhiji Rajaji ;planned to lead a march to Vedaranyam to break the salt law at Tamilnadu. He led a 150 mile march of 98 satyagrahis from Trichy to Vedaranyam on April 13, 1930. The Vedaranyam march of Rajaji equals the famous Dandi March of Gandhiji.

The message of freedom spread from village to village and Rajaji's interpretation of that freedom reached the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women in Tamilnadu. Rajaji emerged from the Vedaranyam satyagraha as a national hero taking his place along with Sardar Patel with this difference that while the redoublable Sardar was a man of action, Rajaji was both a man of the higher intellect and of action at the same time.

The marchers reached Vedaranyam on 29th April. On April 30. Rajaji along with his 16 fellow members broke the Salt Law. As expected Rajaji was arrested and sentenced to six months rigourous imprisonment plus a fine of Rs. 200/ or another three months.

Gandhi along with Rajaji and some other Congress leaders was unconditionally released on January 25, to enable the Congress to participate in the Second Round Table Conference to be held in London. The outcome of these talks was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact which was signed on 5th March. According to this pact, all political prisoners were released. The Congress agreed to take part in Second Round Table Conference and called off the Civil Disobedience movement.

No changes changed

With Congress decision to contest for the entry into legislature Gandhiji announced his decision to resign from the Congress. The Congress had decided to take part in the state election in consequence of the new Government of India Act. Rajaji-a one time staunch "no changer' lent all his energies to ensure Congress victory. In Madras the Congress secured a clear majority and Rajaji formed a ministry in Madras and became its Premier.

During his regime as Premier of Madras Rajaji did commendable work in the fields of prohibition, removal of untouchability and in sealing down rural indebtedness.

And thus entering into the Power structure Rajaji differed from Gandhiji in many things. Rajaji also declared that he cannot go with Gandhiji in his conception of the state and ours in a political organization not working for nonviolence but for the political ideal. Gandhiji wrote "while Rajaji was developing them I felt that a wide gulf separated me from him. He thinks his will be

best able to serve his country by taking advantage of every opportunity to serve the country. He takes office in that light. I differ fundamentally from him. He may satisfy himself with the illusion he is serving nonviolence. I am not afraid of powers some day or other we will have to take it ....." Whatever I sav will embrass you"

A meeting between Gandhiji and Rajaji was an event always to be looked forward to and by none more eagerly than Gandhiji himself, whenever they met, it was a feast of wit, wisdom and sparkling good humour. But in 1942 Rajaji had differed from the Congress colleagues and Gandhiji on the "Quit India" demand, and had in consequence resigned from the Congress working committee. Though his political views became unpopular, Rajaji had deliberately been keeping himself away from Gandhiji after Gandhiji's release, at least till Gandhiji had made his first statement on his questions, of the day, as he did not want to give anyone a chance to suspect that he had influenced the Mahatma's decision. That made Gandhiji all the more eager to meet him. There was far more in common between them on the human plane than the differences that had of late marked their respective approach to some of the political problems of the day..

Ever since the arrest of the Congress leaders in August, 1942 (Rajaji was not arrested because of his known opposition to "Quit India") Rajaji had been striving to bring about a reapproachment between the Congress and Muslim league for the solution of the political dead lock. Rajaji felt that if the Congress and Muslim league could be brought together on a common platform, the battle of independence would be won in no time,

But he was wrong. Jinnah was not prepared to have any settlement with the Congress.

Rajaji formula

During Gandhiji's fast in the Detention Camp, therefore, when the jail gates were temporarily forced open, Rajaji took the opportunity to put before him a formula for bringing about a settlement between the Congress and Muslim league. The salient features of his formula, later known as the Rajaji formula were: (1) The Muslim League should endorse the Indian demand for independence and co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional interim Government for the transitional period; (2) The Congress would agree, after the termination of World War II to the appointment of a commission for demarcating contiguous districts in the north west and north east of India, wherein the Muslims were in absolute majority (3) In the areas thus demarcated a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult franchise or some equivalent device would decide the issue of separation from India. If the majority decided in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from India, such decision would be given effect to; (4) in the event of separation, mutual agreement would be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, communication and other essential matters; and finally (5) These terms

would be binding only in case of transfer by Britain on full power and responsibility for the governance of India. Gandhiji did not need a moment's consideration to give his approval, Rajaji approached Jinna, the president of muslim league, but unfortunately Jinna, expressed his inability to approve of the formula as it did not meet the League's full demand for Pakistan. Rajaji resigned from the Congress working committee because he was dissatisfied with the policy of the Congress at that time. He felt the need for a national Government and therefore criticized the congress for rejecting the Cripp's mission's proposals. He was not in the Quit India movement.

He served as the Governor of West Bengal from August to November 1947. He acted as the Governor-General in November 1947, and became the Governor-General from 1948-1950. He was a Minister without portfolio in the Government of India (May-December 1950) and Minister for Home affairs in November 1951. He became the chief Minister of Tamilnadu from 1952-1954. Slowly he moved away from the Congress and became a founder-member of the Swatantra party.

He was a powerful speaker and writer in English and Tamil. He had written many books in both languages. He wrote Viyasar's *'Bharatham'* and Valmiki's *Ramayana* in prose style in Tamil and English. In the personal life he was the embodiment of plain living and high thinking. He was awarded the Bharat Ratna in 1954 by the Government of India,

Appendix

THE REALITIES

It is possible that the reader is being disturbed by the bewildering changes he may be noticing at present in the *Young India* writings. I can assure him that they are not charges but they are a distinct advance in the direction we are going or should go. They are natural corollaries to the principles we profess.

If we will remember that non-violence is more important than non-co-operation and that the latter without the former is a sin, what I am at present developing in these pages will be as clear as daylight. The difficulty, however is that the reader does not know much of what is going on behind the scenes. I am restraining myself partly on purpose and partly because I cannot do otherwise. It is different to pass on decisions from moment to moment and from day to day to the fellow workers. I must simply trust as they are in my opinion not necessary corollary to the main principle, they will be as plain to the reader as they are to me.

The fact is action must vary with every varying circumstance. It is not inconsistent, if it springs from the same source.

What must be however apparent to everyone is that our differences are increasing. Each group is making of its programme a matter of principle. Each sincerely believes that its programme will bring us nearer to the common goal.

So long as there is body of people in the country-and it is a large if not a growing body so long will there be parties prosecuting the Councils programme. Our non-co-operation therefore has taken of non-cooperation in practice with one another instead of the Government. Without wishing it we are weakening one another and to that extent helping the system, we are all seeking to destroy. Let us recognize its chief characteristic. It is parasitical and derives nutrition from the fungi or national life.

Our non co-operation was means to be a living, active, non-violent force matched against the essential violence of the system. Unfortunately the non-co-operation never became actively non-violent. We satisfied ourselves with physical non-violence of the weak and helpless. Having failed to produce the immediate effect of destroying the system it has recoiled upon us with double strength and how bids fair to destroy us, if, we do not take care betimes. I for one, am therefore determined not to participate in the domestic wrangle but would even invite all concerned to do likewise. If we cannot actively help, we must not hinder I am just as keen a believer as ever in the five boycotts. But I clearly see, as I did not at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting, that whilst we maintain them in our own persons, there is no atmosphere for working them. There is too much distrust in the air. Every-action is suspected and misinterpreted. And whilst we carry on a war of explanation and counter-explanation, the enemy at the door is rejoicing and consolidating his forces. We must avoid this almost at any cost.

I have therefore suggested that we should find out the lowest common measure among all the political parties and invite them all to co-operate on the Congress platform for achieving that common measure. This is the work of internal political pressure. The politicians who put the external work before the internal, or who think (which is the same thing) that the internal is too slow for them, should have the greatest freedom to develop their strength, but in my opinion, this should be outside the Congress platform. The Congress must progressively represent the masses. They are as yet untouched by politics. They have no political consciousness of the type our politicians desire, for millions do not know the taste of ghee or even oil. These politics are confined to communal adjustments. It is right however to say that we the politicians do represent the masses in opposition to the Government. But if we begin to use them before they are ready, we shall cease to represent them. We must first come in living touch with them by working for them and in their difficulties and anticipate their wants. With the pariahs we must be pariahs and see how we feel to clean the closets of the upper classes and have the main of their table thrown at us. We must see how we like being in the boxes, miscalled houses, of the laborers of Bombay. We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their cloths and pots and in which their cattle drink and roll. Then and not till then shall we truly represent the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing this response to every call.

"We cannot all do, this, and if we are to do this, good-bye to Swaraj for a thousand years and more," some will say, I shall sympathize with the objection. But I do claim that some of us at least will have to go through the agony and out of it only will a nation full, vigorous and free be born. I suggest to all that they should give their mental co-operation and that they should mentally identify themselves with the masses and as a visible and tangible taken thereof, they should earnestly spin for at least thirty minutes per day in their name and for their sake. It will be a mighty prayer from the intelligensia among the Hindus. Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and others of India, rising up to heaven for their, that is, India's deliverance.

I see no way of removing the Hindu Muslim tension, which is becoming daily tenser, save by all the parties coming together on the Congress platform and devising the best method of solving a problem which seems to delay solution and to dash to pieces all the fond hope we had of securing a national freedom that is broad-based upon mutual help, If for no other reason, let us, at least for the sake of achieving unity, give up the internecine political strife.

Here is my proposal to that end:

1. The Congress should suspend all the boycotts except that of foreign cloth till the session of 1925.
2. The Congress should, subject to (1), remove the boycott of Empire goods.
3. The Congress should confine its activity solely to the propaganda of hand-spinning and hand-spun khaddar, the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity, and addition, its Hindu member's activity to the removal of untouchability.
4. The Congress should carry on the existing national educational institutions; and if possible, open more and keep them independent of Government control or influence.
5. The four Anna franchise should be abolished and in its place the qualification for membership should be spinning by every member for half an hour per day and delivery to the Congress from month to month of at least 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn cotton being supplied where the member is too poor to afford it.

It is necessary to say a word about the proposed radical change in the Congress constitution. I may be pardoned for saying that I am the principal author of the Congress constitution. It was intended to be the most democratic in the world, and if successfully worked, to bring swaraj without more. But it was not so worked. We had not sufficient honest and able workers. It must be confessed that it has broken down in the sense in which it was intended. We never had even one crore of members on the roll. At the present moment probably our nominal roll does not exceed two lakhs for all India. And the vast majority of these too are as a rule not interested in our proceedings save for

paying four annas and voting. But what we need is an effective, swift-moving, cohesive, responsive organization containing intelligent, industrious national workers. Even if we are a few only, we should give a better account of ourselves than a cumbrous and slow body with no mind of its own. The only boycott proposed to be retained is that of foreign cloth and if we are to make it successful, we can only do so by making the Congress for a time predominantly a spinners association. It will be a great triumph and a great demonstration, if we succeed in one constructive item of a striking magnitude. I hold that the only possible thing of the kind is hand-spinning and hand-spun khaddar. If we are to make of khaddar a national success, the spinning -wheel is the only thing. If we are permanently to interest the masses in the national wel-fare of the country, the spinning wheel is the only medium. If we are to banish pauperism from the land, the spinning -wheel again is the only remedy.

The implications of my proposals are that

(a) the Swarajists should be free to organize themselves without any opposition from the Congress or No-changers:

(b) the members of the political bodies should be invited and induced to join the Congress;

(c) the No-changers should be precluded from carrying on any propaqanda either direct or indirect against Council entry:

(d) those who do not personally believe in any of the four boycotts will be free, without any disgrace what so ever, to act as if they did not exist. Thus non co-operating lawyers will be free to resume practice if they chose and title holders, school-masters etc, will be free to join the Congress and be eligible to the executive.

The scheme enables all the political parties to work unitedly for the internal development. The Congress presents a suitable opportunity for a conference of all political parties and outside the Congress to frame a swaraj scheme acceptable to all and for presentation to the Government. Personally I am of opinion that time has not arrived for any such presentation, I believe that it would increases our internal strength beyond expectation if we could all simply unite to make the foregoing constructive programme a success. But a large number of those who have hitherto led the country think otherwise in any event a swaraj scheme for the sake of ourselves is a necessity. As the reader will remember, I am in this matter a complete covert to Babu Bhagwandas's view. I would therefore join any such conference, if my presence was required, and assist at framing the scheme. The reason for insisting on this matter being treated as an activity outside the Congress is to keep the Congress purely for internal development for full one year. When we have achieved a measure of success commensurate with the task before as, the Congress may function for outside political activity.

What if the proposal is not accepted and it is found difficult to bring together all parties on the Congress platform and to heal the breach between the Swarajists and ourselves? My answer is simple. If the whole fight is for "capturing" the Congress. I must refuse to enter upon it. I would advise all who think with me to do likewise. I would advise handing the Congress over to the Swarajists on their terms and leave the Swarajists to work the Councils programme unhampered by any counter-propaganda. I would engage the No-changers purely on the constructive programme and advise them to seek such help from the other parties as they can give.

Those who depend for national regeneration solely on the constructive programme may be expected to lead in the matter of self-sacrifice. Not one of the things we hold dear can be achieved by trying to retain power to the Congress in opposition to the Swarajists. We must hold it on their sufferance. Both parties will be guilty of corrupting the simple people who worship the name "Congress", if they are made at our bidding to engage in a suicidal tug-of war. Power that comes from service faithfully render dennobles Power that is sought in the name of service and can only be obtained by a majority of votes is a delusion and a share to be avoided especially at the present moment.

Whether I have convinced the reader of the soundness of my proposal or not my mind is made up. It hurts me to think that those with whom I have hitherto worked hand in glove should be working in a seemingly opposite direction.

What I have sketched above is no conditions of surrender. Mine is an unconditional surrender. I would guide the Congress next year only if all parties wish me to. I am trying to see daylight out of this imperturbable darkness. I seem to see it dimly. But I may be still wrong. All I know is that there is no fight left in me. This is much for a born fighter to say. I have fought my dearest ones. But I fight out of love, I should fight the Swarajists too out of love. But I must, I see, first prove my love I thought I had proved it. I see I was wrong I am therefore retracting my steps. I ask everyone to help me to do so and to reunite the two wings on a common platform. The Congress must, for sometime to come at least, remain largely a homogeneous body. *(Young India,* 11-9-1924)

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol: 35, pp. 120-125.

Notes:

1. Gandhi, M.K., *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi : Publications Division, from 1958 -) vol 87, p 280
2. Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi. The Last Phase* (Navajivan publishing House, Ahmedabad, 14, Sec, edition 1965) vol. 1. Book 1, p. 54.
3. Gandhi, M.K. *The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi Publication Division, form 1958-) vol. 55. p 121
4. Rajmohan Gandhi, *The Rajaji Story, Book* 1, p. 16.

5. Ibid, p. 41.
6. Ibid. pp. 29-30
7. Gandhi. M.K. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi Publications Division, from 1958-) vol. 39, p. 304
8. Ibid, vol. 39, p, 355-66.
9. Ibid, vol . 25, p. 32.
10. Ibid. vol. 25. p. 608.
11. Ibid, vol. 72. p. 235-236.

Lesson - 23

(Periyar) E.V. Ramasamy V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, T.Prakasam, Kelappan

E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, popularly known among the Dravidian Movement people as *Tantai* (father) and Periyar, was born on 17th Sept. 1879 at Erode. He belonged to a wealthy Kannada Naicker family. It seems Naickers were the original Naidu people of the Vijayanagar who migrated to Bellary and Mysore and came to be known as "Kannadika Baliyas", and then migrated into Tamil Nadu.

His parents were traditional Hindus. He married according to traditional Hindu customs a thirteen year old Nagammal at the age nineteen. He left the school at the age of ten and entered the business of his father. His visit to Banares was a turning point in his life. He started to move away from Hinduism. He disliked Brahmins and ritual dominated Hinduism. He began to revolt against Hindu orthodox ideas and practices. He encouraged his young widow niece to remarry. But he did support the traditional Hindu establishment when he came to "power" in those days.

Periyar entered a career of trade and politics. He participated in the non-cooperation movement. He started as a Congress politician supporting khadi and village industries and removal of untouchability and fought for prohibition. Within the Tamilnadu Congress Committee he opposed the Brahmin domination.

A section of the Backward Community leaders in the Madras Presidency emerged as a political force with the British support in the early XX century. Dr.C. Natesa Mudaliar started "The Dravidian Home" as a non-brahmin students Hostel. He founded a Dravidian Association to work for the Dravidian uplift. In 1916 T.M. Nair and P. Tyagaraja Chetti started "The South Indian People's Association" and this gave birth to the South Indian Liberal Federation" (S.I.L.F) in the same year. This is popularly known as the Justice Party. The Non - Brahmin leaders welcomed British Rule, and opposed Home Rule as a Brahmin Movement. The British gave them political power with a policy of communal Reservation.

Congress Party became broad based including all cross-sections of the population and Justice Party alienated itself from the people with its increasing pro-British connections. Periyar's position within the Congress on the Non-Brahmin issue became weak and ultimately he left the Congress in 1925. Vaikam Satyagraha fought on the issue of the rights of the untouchables to enter the streets adjoining a temple and also that temple brought to sharp focus the communal issue. Periyar saw his identity and power as a leader of the

backward communities. Mahatma Gandhi considered Harijans as part of Hindu religion and tried to solve their problems within the Hindu Religion itself. He opposed conversion. But Periyar wanted to challenge and destroy Hinduism for its practice of cruel discrimination. Naturally he enjoyed the support of the colonial administration in this. He identified casteism and Hinduism are inseparate and so both have to be destroyed.

Periyar's exit from Congress and the subsequent Self-Respect Movement brondened the base of Justice Party. As pointed out by E.F. Irschick it consolidated the non-Brahmin caste Hindus and provided them an identity. But as pointed out by R.L.Hardgrave the British support alienated the Justice Party from the people.

Periyar formed the Dravida Kazhagam (D.K.) in 1944. It demanded a separate Dravidian State and also opposed the British. Periyar attempted major social reforms. He led relentless war against superstitions, rituals, false beliefs and irrationality. He pleaded for rationality and science in the place of religion. He opposed the discrimination of women.

Periyar took up the language issue in 1937 and organized anti-Hindi agitations against C. Rajagopalachari's Congress ministry in Madras. He all along opposed Hindi. He was not for Tamil and preserving traditional culture. He supported English and see its new rise and freedom. C.N. Annadurai a close associate of Periyar established the D.M.K. party in 1949, Annadurai represented Tamil nationalism and aspirations.

Periyar opposed C. Rajagopalachari's (then Chief Minister of Madras) new education policy linking students with traditional occupations. When Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Periyar supported him as a Tamilian rule. The Anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 led by the D.M.K was a turning point in Tamilnadu History. C.N. Annadurai became the Chief Minister in 1967 and till today (except for brief President rules) Tamilnadu is ruled by the Dravidian Parties (D M K or Al ADMK). Periyar started supporting D M K after 1967. He continued his campaign for social reforms and rationalism till his last. He died on 24th December 1973. His writings through his *Kudiarasu* and *Vidutalai* made history in Tamilnadu. He toured incessantly in Tamilnadu and spoke in a most challenging way. He brought reforms to the nook and corner of Tamilnadu. He was firm and fearless. Periyar, though opposed casteism encouraged the backward castes to form their caste organizations. There caste organization to some extent helped to liberate the weaker sections but they also nourished castism. Periyar was a rationalist to the core. Though he was militant in his speeches, he did not advocate violence as a method. Periyar's historical role in helping the weaker sections and his challenge to religious orthodoxy helped the Tamil land to move ahead. The courage and selfless service of Periyar is a rare exception and these were the qualities of the Gandhian era in India.

V.O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI (1878-1936)

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai was born at Ottapidaram in Tirunelveli District

on 3rd Sept. 1872. He was a brilliant child with inbuilt friendship qualities. He became a lawyer in 1895 and set up legal practice in Tuticorin (Tutukudi). In the same year he was married to Valliammal.

V.O.C was a successful lawyer and he won every case. He was honest and straight forward lawyer and exposed underhand dealings and dishonesty openly.

He was a scholar in Tamil history and philosophy. He never stopped earning. He realized the glories of ancient Tamil and Indian civilization. He was particularly fascinated by the glorious naval tradition of the Tamils. But this glory and fame faded into the past. India did not have a navy to challenge the European colonial naval aggression. He was deeply pained at this tragic reality and wanted to do something to change this. He was sad to see the slavish condition of the Indians.

V.O.C's wife Valliammal passed away suddenly in 1901. She was a warm person who shared with him a vision of one human race without any caste or race distinctions. He remarried another girl from the same family by name Meenakshiammal. She also shared her husband's vision and action and warmly supported him.

The partition of Bengal created a new upsurge in the national movement. Bal Gungadhar Tilak led the militant nationalists. V.O.C inspired by the leading lawyer and nationalist. Vijayaragavachariar of Salem, was deeply drawn into the nationalist movement. V.O.C. gave powerful public talks in favour of swadeshi and mobilized the people. He threw away and burnt all foreign goods and set an example. He risked his future security by involving all his wealth for the cause of the national struggle. He started a "The Swadeshi Steamship Company" in 1906 and began to ply two rented ships between Tuticorin and Colombo. If boosted the morals and imagination of the people. V.O.C. demonstrated that " we coula do it" The British did not like their monopoly of naval trade to be broken and they employed all means to damage this Company V.O.C. also suffered from financial strains to run such a very costly Venture. The British Companies reduced the fares to strike V.O.C's Company.

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's influence increased day by day and the nationalist sentiments reached new heights. He was arrested on 12th March 1908. He was sentenced to forty years life imprisonment. However the high court reduced his imprisonment to six years. His health was ruined due to the extremely hard work he was forced to perform in the prison such as breaking stones and turning gigantic wheel of the oil press. Prision life was mental and physical strain.

V.O.C after his release in 1912 resumed his legal practice. Owing to poor health, he remained aloof from politics. He took interest in the labour movement. V.O.C. looked at Gandhi's method with some amount of reservation. He was doubtful about the effectiveness of the non cooperation method. He re-

mained as an extremist from the beginning to end with Tilak as his guru. He lacked the energy and resources, to be active. He kept himself away from Congress, since 1920 but joined it again in 1927 and attended the Surat Session and spoke in favour of Gandhi.

V.O.C. was a profound Tamil scholar. He edited *Tolkappiyam,* the ancient Tamil grammar. He wrote an excellent commentary on *Tirukkural.* His lost years were mostly lonely and he concentrated on Tamil Studies. He had to struggle hard to earn his bread. He died on 18th November 1936 without any penny. He sacrificed everything for the cause of the Nation.

GANDHI AND T. PRAKASAM

(1872-1957)

T. Prakasam (Tangutri Prakasam) popularly known as 'Andhra kesari' (Lion of Andhra), was born on 23 August 1872 at Kanupaithi village in the Ongole taluka in Andra Pradesh. He lost his father T. Gopalakrishnaiah, a village head man of limited means at the age of twelve. Prakasam got his early education at valhu, Naidupeta, Origole and Rajamundry. After obtaining higher education. Prakasam entered the profession of law, equipped with a second grade pleader's Diploma of the Madras Law College. First he set up practice at Ongole and latter moved to Rajamundry to establish his practice there. At twentynine he became the chairman of the Rajamundry Municipality and served the people in a better way.

Prakasam went to England in 1904 with a view to qualifying himself for the Bar. He qualified with distinction and returned to India, and settled down to practice at the Madras Bar. He brought to bear upon his profession rebust common sense, perseverance and patience. Before long, he became one of the leaders of the Madras Bar, Commanding a lucarative practice, He lived in affluence but became increasingly aware of the misery all round, as a result of the oppressive policies of a colonial power bent upon ruthless exploitation. He moved deeply and felt in his heart for action. And soon he was drawn into the vortex of the freedom struggle. Responding to Gandhiji's call, Prakasam was the first man in Andhradesa to give up his legal practice inorder to lead the great Gandhian struggle in this part of the country, which he held under his magic spell for about three decades.

He became the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee in 1921 and continued in this position for over thirteen years. While leading the Simon Commission Boycott in 1928 in Madras city, Prakasam roared like lion and actually bared his chest to meet a British bayonet that was pointed at him.

His burning patriotism prompted him to start the *Swarajya*, a nationalist daily which attracted talented persons who were later to become great journalists in the Country. The first issue of the *Swarajya* was released on 26 October 1921. With this step it grew fast within a short period. The *Swarajya* English daily dominated South India for over twelve years.

When the Congress came into power in 1937 Prakasam accepted office in the ministry formed by C. Rajagopalachari, becoming the Revenue minister. During this period he leaded the Zamindari Abolition Committee and recommended that a tiller of the soil should become its owner in separation of all intermediaries. Though immediately this recommendations did not come into effect, years later the Government looked to the Prakasam Report for guidance in this respect.

It was on 30 April 1946 that Prakasam became the chief Minister of the Composite Madras State, though he did not enjoy the blessings of the Congress

High Command. He remained in office for about thirteen months, sparing most of the time for carrying forward the Gandhian Constructive Programmes, Harijan upliftment, Charka (spinning wheel) popularization, Producer-cum-Consumer cooperatives and firka Development schemes were the most important measures ushered in by him. The last mentioned came to be looked upon as the precursor of the community. Development project that was later to change the fate of rural India. After laying down his office as chief minister of Madras, his political life underwent many changes. Despite storms and stresses, he, however, remained an idol of the masses, indicative of the affection, love and esteem reposed in him by the people. The heroic deeds of the man, his unparalleled sacrifices in the nation's cause and his hold on the affection of millions are all now part of Andhra History. The question of the formation of a separate state for Andhras, on linguistic basis, received an impetus with the self-immolation of Potti Sreeramulu on 15 December 1952, when Prakasam gave constructive lead to the agitation. The separate Andhra state was formed on October 1953. It was also fitting that Prakasam came upon to head the first Andhra Ministry. He was popularly called as 'Andhra Kesari', He had, earlier, left the Congress and formed the Praja Party.

Full of gears and honours, Prakasam passed away on 20 May 1957 in Hyderabad at the ripe age of 85, a few months after the formation of the Andhra Pradesh, a Consummation which he eagerly looked out for. It was with a sense of inevitability that he rose to be the first chief minister of Andhra State. For about forty years he strode this part of the country like a colossus. His name will ever shine in the history of Andhra.

(1890-1971)

Kelappan

Kelappan, a great social reformer, started his carrier as a school master first and after serving as a teacher for six years he joined the law college in Bombay.. It was at that time of studying law, he was deeply moved by the call of Gandhiji to students to leave schools and colleges to join as volunteers in the Non-cooperation movement, and left the law college to participate in the movement at Malabar in 1921. K.Kelappan was born in Koyapalli family in Payyoli in the Kozhikode district of Kerala on 14 August 1890. His father Tenpoyil Kanara Nair of the Kurumbanad taluk a lawyer's clerk by profession and Koyappalli Kunhammaa was his mother Kelappan belonged to a middle class family of Nairs. He had a sister. He married Ammalu Amma in 1917. She came of an aristocratic Nair family of great reputation.

In 1895 Kelappan was started his elementary education in his village school where he studied Malayalam and Sanskrit in the traditional style, peculiar to malabar. After matriculated in 1909 from the Basel German Parsi High School, Tellicherry he joined zamarin's college, Calicutt, from where he passed his B.A (Fine Arts) in 1904. He studied B.A. at the Madras Christian College of the Madras University with Physics and Mathematics as optional subjects and passed in 1912. In 1920, he was in the law college. Bombay, studying for the I.L.B when he left it in response to the clarion call of Gandhiji to students to leave colleagues to join as volunteers in the Non-cooperation movement.

While he was studying in the college, the principals E.B. Hill and Manjeri Rama Iyer helped him in moulding his character. The works of Vivekananda, Tagore and Aurobindo also influenced him a great deal and inspired him to dedicate his life in the service of God and the Country.

From 1921, as he came into close contact with Gandhiji and Mrs. Annie Besant, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the service of the country, till India gained independence. Gandhiji, whom he recognized as his political Guru, had great influence on him. Contact with Mrs. Besant and Manjeri Rama Iyer attracted Kelappan to Thesophy.

Kelappan started his career as a school master and then studied law in the law college of Bombay in 1921. At the call of Gandhiji he left the law college and went to Malabar to participate in the Non- cooperation Movement in 1921. At that, time in Malabar, the Congress and the Khilafat movements were being organized jointly. Kelappan soon became an active worker as secretary of the Ponani Taluk Congress Committee. He was arrested in 1921 for carrying on propaganda in favour of the Khilafat movement, and thus he had the singular honour of being one of the first to be arrested in Kerala for Congress and Khilafal activities.

A great social reformer, he relentlessly campaigned against all social evils and inequalities in the Hindu society and vigorously worked to remove

untouchability and unapproachability prevalent in Kerala. He was secretary of the Anti untouchability Committee (1923). In 1924 he took an active part in the famous Vaikom Satyagraha conducting for establishing civil liberties and the right of using the temple roads around the temple at Vaikom in Travancore by the backward classes among the Hindus. Kelappan was brutally assaulted by the police and imprisoned. After release from jail he continued his activities in the cause of Harijan and other dowatrodden people.

Following Gandhiji Kelappan led the first batch of Salt Satyagraha from Calicut to Payyannur on foot, awakening the masses on the way amidst lot of troubles salt law in Kerala was first broken under him at Payyanur. After a few days he was arrested along with some other leaders at the Calicut bench and sentenced to nine months rigorous imprisonment. After the release, with the permission of the Kerala provincial Congress committee, he organized the Guruvayur Temple Entry Satyagraha, in 1931 with a view to establishing the right of entry for all Hindus, irrespective of caste. Under him a batch of Hindu volunteers offered satyagraha before the temple for ten months from 1 November 1931. Failing to achieve his object he entered on a fast unto death from 21 September 1932, which electrified the atmosphere. Gandhiji wrote about the fast.

"There is another fast which is a near possibility and that is in connection with the opening of the Guruvayur temple in Kerala. It was at my urgent request that Sri. Kelappan suspended his fast for three months, a fast that had well brought him to death's door.. I would be in honour bound to fast with him if on or before the first January next that temple is not opened to the 'untouchables' precisely on the same terms as the "touchables" and if it becomes necessary for Kelappan to dwell at some length upon the possible fast because of the receipt of hot correspondence from two or three quarters, coworkers, however, should not be agitated over the possibility(C.W.M.G vol51, p.343). When temple authorities stood firm on legal difficulties Kelappan was constrained to break his fast at the behest of Gandhiji. Afterwards the Madras Government passed the temple Entry legislation removing all legal difficulties.

Kelappan also participated in the second Civil Disobedience movement. He was appointed Editor of the *Mathrupumi*, Calicut, the leading nationalist Malayalam daily, in 1935. In 1940, when Gandhiji launched the individual Satyagraha, Kelappan was nominated by Gandhiji as the first volunteer from Kerala. In the Quit India movement of 1942, he was arrested and imprisoned for three years.

He was Secretary and then President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, and a member of the All India Congress Committee for many years. In 1951 he left the National Congress and joined Kisan Mazdoor Praja party under. Acharya J.B. Kripalani. In 1952 he was elected as a member of Parliament (Lok Sabha) and became a prominent member of the Praja Socialist Party. In 1957 he started his Sarvodaya activities which work he continued till his death in October 1971.

Kelappan is one of the foremost social reformers Kerala has seen. He was the founder president of the Nair Service society sponsored first by Mannath Padmanabhan and president of the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh. For the emancipation and welfare of the Harijans and other backward classes, he dedicated his life. He established a school for the Harijan boys and girls and an orphanage at Mudadi in Kozhikode district. An ardent lover of khadi and cottage industries, he encouraged people to foster them.

He was deeply interested in Basic education and it was also his pet subject. The awareness for this arise in him because of the contacts with Gandhiji. He led a simple and modest life. He was in favour of village autonomy and cottage industries. He stood for a partyless democracy and 'Gram Swaraj'

Lesson : 24

GANDHI -SATYAMURTI AND KAMARAJ

S. Satyamurti was born in a middle class Brahmin family at Tirumayam of Pudukottai state of the Madras Presidency on 19th August 1887. He became a lawyer like his father. His sharp intelligence oratory and honesty lifted him up in the South Indian politics quickly. He came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and participated in the Non-cooperation Movement. He was jailed four times and his jail life shattered his health. He was arrested for the last time on 11th August 1942 and he was released only to be admitted into the hospital and he passed away after months of illness on March 27, 1943.

Satyamurti made mark first in his clash with Annie Besant on the question of her technique of getting Home Rule to India. He made a mark as a debater and a parliamentarian.. He entered the Madras City Council in 1926 and was chosen as the Alderman and became the Mayor. He effectively served as a member of the Syndicate of the Madras University for a number of years and played a significant role in establishing the Annamalai University. Mahatma Gandhi recognized the genius of Satyamurti and even though he was in the Swarajya party, he enjoyed continuously the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi.

Satyamurti has to be placed along with the political giants like C.R.Das and Motillal Nehru. He along with them sponsored the Swarajya party. He went to England twice representing first the Congress and then the Swarajya party.

S. Satyamurti's political genius was evident in the Congress election campaign in the Madras Presidency in 1937.

Satyamurti differs from Gokhale in a definite way. Both were constitutionalists and parliamentarians of the first order. Satyamurti used parliamentary procedure and constitutionalism as a first-class political strategy. The fight within the councils and assemblies was vigorously pursued in a planned and disciplined manner and the government especially at the Centre, was practically reduced for sometime to rule by the Certificate Power of the viceroy and of ordinances.

Satyamurti wrote to Gandhi on December 28, 1917 after the latter's return from the London Round Table Conference empty -handed.

On the general political situations, I desire only to tell you that the opinion of friends here and of myself is that, unless there is a possibility of getting at least limited control over army and finance, subject only to agreed

transitional safeguards, further co-operation with the Round Table Conference may lead to nothing. On this matter, you are the best judge. But if, after considering every relevant point of view, you come to the conclusion that we should not-cooperate with the further stages of the Round Table Conference, I feel that a passive attitude will be disastrous. We must then start some kind of fight specifically for Swaraj while the situation in Bengal, the United Provinces and certainly in the North, West Frontier Province calls for immediate action on our part, I am anxious that the action we take on an all India scale, should be specifically a Swaraj fight, whatever from individual provinces may give to the fight, having regard to local conditions.

The time and the method of the fight will depend not only on ourselves, but also upon the government, to a large extent. But, to the extent to which time is available for us. I am anxious that steps should be taken to bring about Hindu Muslim understanding, at least between the Hindu and Nationalist Muslims and that attempts should also be made to bring the depressed classes, within the fold of the Congress, as much as we can . I commend these two suggestions to your earnest attention.

There is danger also that Liberals and some other non Congress politicians may co-operate with the Round Table conference Committees, although there is no prospect of transfer to control over the army or finance. We should stir public opinion in the country to such a pitch, that we shall make it impossible for them to go on co-operating, under those circumstances. I have no doubt this will also receive your attention.

At the end of the letter Satyamurti mentioned "I need hardly assure you, Mahatmaji, that whatever the future programme of work may be, my humble services are at your disposal."

In another letter on July 13, 1933, Satyamurti wrote to Gandhi:

"I write this to remove one possible misunderstanding. I am not in favour of the continuance of the present Civil Disobedience campaign, in any form, or under any limitations, unless we are completed ,in order to achieve a position for the Congress to live and work within the limits of the law, as it stands today to renounce our faith in Civil Disobedience or abandon it for all times. That was the impression I gathered from you last night. But now from my talk my friends, who are in a position to know . I understand the government cannot possibly ask for any such thing. Do you not think so. If you agree I suggest the Congress should call off the present campaign without any reference to our future intentions. That will give us what we want now. I think that you will agree on careful consideration that this is the best course for us to follow now.

"It will also save the Congress from the embarrassing position of having to let you conduct the movement on your own responsibility. If it is inevitable that you should continue the campaign, this is the best solution. But in view of what I have said above , will you not once more consider the advisability of calling off the movement for the present."

These two letters show Satyamurti as an astute political strategist with a mature practical wisdom.

One of the significant contributions of Satyamurti was to establish the Congress Party firmly in the Madras Presidency amidst the strong waves of anti-brahmanical and upper caste regional forces. He helped Kamaraj in many ways and contributed to his rise.

Satyamurti stand for his character, honesty, true patriotism constitutional and parliamentary genius and an outstanding political leader and orator. His voice was the voice of logic and reasoning. P.C. Roy Chaudhury writes, "In him India has a parliamentarian with the dialectical skill of Fox, clear perception and freshness of Burke and the thunder of William Pitt."

Satyamurti was not only a powerful orator in English , he was equally a powerful speaker in Tamil. He can inspire the highly educated as well as the illiterate millions through his speeches.

Satyamurti was a selfless political genius. He was moved by the poverty and other maladies of our civilization. People of his sort were responsible for our democratic tradition. Without people like him India would have lost its democratic spirit long ago.

K.Kamaraj

K. Kamaraj (1903-1975) popularly known as the *peruntalaivar* great leader and *kala* Gandhi (Black Gandhi), was from Virudhunagar in Southern Tamilnadu. He belonged to a backward caste. His parents were intelligent and hard working but lacked formal education and intellectual training. His ancestors were peasants and petty business people. Though they were not poverty sticken, they were not well off. He witnessed the rural poverty with all its tragedies. Of course he was not far away from this poverty. He was forced to discontinue his studies at the sixth class and was placed in his uncle's cloth shop. He was a child labourer. His imagination and native intelligence were not in tune with the dull and monotanous rhythm of a cloth shop business. Even at the young age, with his limited formal education and training, he could grasp the dark realities of the political economic and social conditions of his times. He had a keen observation power. He felt powerfully the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the waves of the new awakening in India.

Kamaraj was then sent to work at another uncle's timber shop at Trivandrum. Though this was only child labour it was also a kind of apprenticeship to learn a particular business. There he moved to active politics and entered the Vykom Satyagraha in 1924.

It was the genius of S.Satyamurti which identified the enormous potentiality and native wisdom of Kamaraj. Satyamurthi realized only a person like K.Kamaraj would be able to build up the Congress Party in the villages and to answer the challenge of the anti- Brahman Justice Party. Kamaraj became the

trusted lieutenant of Satyamurti as early as 1927. He steadily raised in the political ladder First he became the vice president and treasurer of the Ramnad District Congress Committee.

From the beginning Kamaraj was the man of the masses. He spoke in direct and simple language without any ornamentation. His rich experience of rural Tamilnadu has no parallel. He extensively and intensively toured the rural areas and gained first hand knowledge. He had a sound common sense and practical wisdom. While the Congress elite were mostly intellectuals and had no grip with the rural realities, he with his rich knowledge and experience of rural Tamilnadu, organized the Congress units at the villages.

Satyamurti was elected as the President of Tamilnadu Congress Committee in 1936 and he immediately appointed Kamaraj as the secretary of TNCC. The 1937 election campaign was entirely engineered by Satyamurti and Kamaraj played a key role in that. He was elected to the legislative council in the 1937 election. Kamaraj was elected as the president of TNCC in 1940.

K. Kamaraj built up the strong Congress party in Tamilnadu. He totally eclipsed the Justice party. C. Rajagopalachari's ministry became unpopular with its imposition of Hindi and other unpopular measures. Kamaraj kept Congress strong inspite of the unpopularity of C. Rajagopalachari. Tamilnadu stood in the forefront of the Freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi. It should however be mentioned that Gandhi failed to recognize the true genius of Kamaraj. Probably Rajaji prevented this from happening.

After 1947, Kamaraj saw to it that Congress came to power. C.Rajagopalachari's new education scheme based on the caste orient traditional occupation created intense opposition. An open rift between C.Rajagopalachari became inevitable. This resulted in the elevation of Kamaraj to the chief ministership of Tamilnadu.

Kamaraj remained unmarried because of his preoccupation with the freedom struggle. The whole nation became his family. His simplicity and selflessness can only be compared with that of Mahatma Gandhi. His cabinet at any time included not more than eight ministers. At one time it had only six ministers. He kept well under control the bureaucracy and his ministry was noted for efficiency and economy. For him the primary concern was the welfare of the poor. He never drowned himself in affluence even when he was in the peak of his political power.

He, who was denied proper education due to poverty, introduced free education, provided free noon-meal and created other facilities for the students. During his term as chief minister, there was a remarkable expansion of primary and high school education in Tamilnadu. It set the trend to the whole of India. There was all round development in agriculture, industry, education, character. He with great force continued the wise prohibition policy of C.Rajagopalachari and further vitalized it.

The general trend in the Third World Countries and even elsewhere in India was that those people's leaders who fought for freedom when came to power usually turned into oppressive and exploitation and lost themselves in luxury. Power corrupts; Absolute power corrupts absolutely. Freedom makes people insensitive. Absolute freedom makes people totally insensitive. Kamaraj was an exception to this general trend. He always considered power as an opportunity to do good and behaved in the same way, K.Kamaraj was called upon to play significant roles in the All India politics. He was a great admirer and friend of Nehru. He Considered himself first as an Indian. There is always a complaint that at times he ignored the interest of Tamilnadu for the sake of India. But others took advantage of this. They were neither innocent nor selfless like him. This led to the rise of the Dravidian party in Tamilnadu. But this rise was possible only when he shifted his activities to Delhi and his successors in Tamilnadu could not cope with the situation effectively.

Kamaraj plan was introduced by him to help Nehru to strengthen administration and the party. Experienced chief ministers gave way to the new generation and the former concentrated on party work. Kamaraj set up an example by resigning his chief ministership. He became the Congress President. After Nehru (1964) and after Lal Bhagadur Saştri (1966) he helped to find their successor to the prime ministership of India. He, with all his competence did not strive to become the prime minister of India. He was often on the defensive and hesitated to assume power. He is truly a selfless political genius.

C.N. Annadurai, M.G. Ramachandran and M.Karunanidhai built up the DMK party and the lapses of the successors of Kamaraj provided them a new opportunity. C.N. Annadurai became the chief minister of Tamilnadu in 1967 and M.Karunanidhi succeeded him 1969, K.Kamaraj functioned as a constructive opposition leader. He retained his mass base till his end. The Congress split and the Emergency was proclaimed by Mrs. Indra Gandhi. Kamaraj in his last days became philosophical and self-Critic, always asked the question whether we have accomplished our goals inspite of almost three decades of independence. Increasingly he saw the relevance of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a great tribute to his genius that all political parties in Tamilnadu today unanimously approve him and celebrate him.

Appendix One

Kamaraj on Gandhi

Text of the Last recorded speech of K.Kamaraj

(Broadcasted by All India Radio, Madras on 2nd October 1975)

"Mahatma Gandhi undertook a nationwide tour to strengthen and vitalize the non-co-operation movement. As part of this tour, he came to Tamilnadu in 1921. I had an opportunity to have a *dharsan* of him in Madurai and also listened to his words which described his goals. His pure life and truthful words that we can won freedom, without any violence, by non-cooperation and we have to be peaceful and orderly, left an imprint in my mind and that has given me the mental courage upto now".

I think, it was again in 1927, Gandhi came here to spread the Khadi Movement. Gandhi felt that we can raise our economic life and remove poverty by encouraging the Khadi sector. Only through this, we can generate employment, we can raise the economic standard of our people by buying the swadeshi products. That is the way for economic upliftment. Gandhi came to spread this message".

"In 1927 arrangements were in progress for conducting the session of the General Body of the Congress. At that time, there was a movement here to remove the statue of Gen. Neil, who committed, severe atrocities during the 1857 sepoy-mutiny. When the workers were at this, Mahatma Gandhi was staying at the house of Srinivasa Iyengar. We went and met Gandhi to get his advice. That was the first occasion when we could talk to him; ask questions and get answers from him. Gandhi said, it was not proper to have that statue here. But, we should not use violent means to remove it. We can use peaceful and satyagraha methods to pressurize the government to remove, it.

"I think, it was in 1934 that Mahatma Gandhi came for the Harijan Welfare work. He undertook a nationwide tour for the equal treatment of the oppressed people-untouchables. During his tour in Tamilnadu, I had the good fortune of accompanying him to many towns and villages.

"He visited my home town Virudhunagar. He came from Rajapalayam I had the good fortune of travelling in the same car. There was a heavy rain on the way. In those days, there were no good cars. The car in which Mahatma Gandhi travelled had a leak and it became wet. Gandhi's dress also became wet. But, Gandhi was very firm that we should conduct the Virudhunagar meeting. He came and addressed the Virudhunagar meeting and then proceeded to Madurai for stay"

"In 1946 , the Madras Hindi Prachar Sabha celebrated its silver jubilee. Gandhi came to Madras to participate in this and to strengthen the movement for Hindi. He stayed there for a week. As the president of the State Congress Committee, I had the good fortune of receiving him in the train itself by garland-

ing. Within that week, many cross-sections of the people-social workers, etc., met him and conducted separate meetings. As the President of the State Congress, I sat near his feet and presided over the meeting. I had the fortune of listening to his advice to the Congress workers and enjoying it. After staying here for one week, Mahatma Gandhi started the tour of Tamilnadu.

Rajagopalachari, when he was the chief minister opened the Madurai Meenakshi temple and Palani Muruga temple to the untouchables through law. This was one of the goals of Mahatma Gandhi. So, he wanted to visit these two places. I accompanied him in his train. My purpose was to serve him, to conduct the meetings peacefully and to see to it that the people do not cause him inconveniences by arranging them to move in separate ways.

"I still realize that unless we follow the great path shown by Gandhiji and his goals, there is no salvation for this country. We have forgotten his way. And, I think, this is the reason for all our present day ills. If we want our nation again to live prosperously without social confusions and with equality, then we have to again adopt the superior goals of Mahatma Gandhi. The central theme of his teaching is, we should not hate any one and we should not discriminate any one. In this country there are many languages, castes, religions and races. We should all live in unity inspite of these difference. We should create a violence free society. There should be honesty, morality and self-control in politics. These are the great advices given by Gandhi. If we can follow them, all the problems facing our country will be solved.

(Tamil text as appeared in **Navasakti,** on 11-10-1975 p.2., translation by **Dr.S. Kousalya)**

Lesson - 25

Post-Gandhian leaders - Guru Dev Tulsi, Martin luther king, Dalai lama, Desmand Tutu, Nelson Mandela, A.T. Ariyaratna, Julius Nyerere, Aung San Sou Kyi, Fujii Guruji.

Mandela, Nelson Rolihlahia (b. 1918)

Leader of the African National Congress (ANC) and the antiapartheid movement in South Africa, beginning in the 1950s. After almost twenty-eight years in prision for his political activities, in 1994 he was elected president of the Republic of South Africa in the country's first all-race election. Mandela shared the 1993 Nobel Prize for Peace with F.W. de Klerk (the last white president of the South Africa, who moved the political system away from apartheid).

Nelson Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, at Qunu, near Umtata in the Transkei, into a leading family in the Temba trible of the Xhosa people. In his early twenties, he rebelled against the tribe's traditions and moved to Johannesburg, where he obtained a law degree from the University of Witwatersrand in 1944. It was also in 1944 that Mandela joined the ANC, With Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, he organized the Youth League to promote more militant policies against racial discrimination. Mandela rose through the ANC to become deputy to ANC President Albert Lutuli, where he was key to creating the nonviolent antiapartheid campaigns involving civil disobedience, protests and strikes in the 1950s.

Following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, however, Mandela turned toward armed insurrection to oppose apartheid. By the end of 1961, he was the commander-in-chief of the ANC guerrilla army, Umkhento we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Mandela travelled abroad for two years, seeking military and economic assistance for the armed struggle and training recruits for the new army. When he returned to South Africa in 1963, he was arrested, tried, and convicted for acts of sabotage, charges he did not deny. During his trial he articulated his creed: "I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

Sentenced to prison for life, Mandela grew to embody the national and international struggle to end apartheid, becoming a substantial embarrassment for the various white South African administrations. From prison Mandela opened negotitations with the government, which offered him freedom if he would renounce violence. Mandela refused to disavow the armed struggle. Finally, in

February 1990, President F.W. de Klerk freed Mandela unconditionally, in the most significant step of the process of creating a democratic South Africa. After almost twenty-eight years of confinement, Mandela left prison without any show of bitterness, and statesmanlike, prepared to work together with de Klerk and to oppose the violent methods advocated by more militant factions. Together they organized and then competed in the country's first all-race elections in 1994, and de Klerk became one of the country's two vice presidents under President Mandela. With his election, Mandela attained the new responsibilities of overcoming the social and economic devastation created by decades of apartheid, while reconciling the interests of all the rebublic's citizens.

Irwin Abrams

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Tutu, Archbishop Desmond Mpilo (b. 1931)

Anglican archbishop of Johannesburg, South Africa, leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, and recipient of the 1984 Nobel Prize for Peace. Tutu was born on October 7, 1931, in Klerksdorp, a gold-mining town in the Transvaal region of South Africa. Following his father's profession, he was trained as a teacher and joined the staff of high school in 1954. When the white minority government restricted the education of blacks to a second-rate "bantu education", Tutu resigned in protest. At this point he decided to become an Anglican priest, although describing his motivation, he said, "I was not moved by very high ideals. It just seemed that if the church would accept me, this might be a likely means of service. " As he completed his theological education, however, his spiritual life deepened.

After his ordination in 1961, Tutu studied and worked for several years in London. In 1975, he was appointed the dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg, the first black to be named. He next served two years as bishop of Lesotho and in 1978 was appointed general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). The SACC represented and worked with all Christian churches in South Africa, expect the Dutch Reform. About 80 percent of the individual members of SACC churches are black. As SACC general secretary, Tutu led these churches in opposition to the racial segregationist government policies of apartheid, as being inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. These policies had been introduced in 1948 by the Na-

tionalist Party with the objective of consolidating the rule of 4.5 million whites over 23 million blacks.

Along with provisions for limited education, apartheid measures restricted blacks' freedom of movement and association, forced evacuation of blacks to so-called homelands permitted detention without trial, and required all blacks to carry a pass.

Tutu refused to carry a pass and spoke out against these policies. Like Albert John Lutuli (who was awarded the Peace Prize in 1960), Tutu led his constituency in a nonviolent struggle for a "non-racial, truly democratic, and more just society". Tutu declared that the SACC deplored violence, both the structural and the violence of those who would overthrow the state by armed force. It is counsels of love and compassion, even for the whites who oppressed blacks, and his willingness to enter into dialogue with the government, drew attacks from radical blacks. Yet he defended the spiritual and Christian roots of his resistance and action. As he asked in his Nobel lecture: "When will we learn that human beings are of infinite value because they have been created in the image of God, and that it is blasphemy to treat them as if they were less than this and to do so ultimately recoils on those who do this?"

Irwin Abram

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Aung San Suu kyi

Recipient of the 1991 Nobel Prize in Peace, Suu Kyi became the leader and symbol of Burma's democracy movement beginning in 1988. In 1989, Suu Kyi began a long-term detention under house arrest on orders of the military government officially known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Although not free in her personal circumstances, she nevertheless continued to set a standard for freedom and human rights in Burma and elsewhere.

When the Nobel Committee announced that Suu Kyi had won the Peace Prize for her "nonviolent struggle for democracy and human rights", it called the struggle "one of the most extraordinary examples of civil courage in Asia in recent decades".

Suu Kyi is the daughter of Burma's most revered national hero, General Aung San, who had brought the country to the brink of independence before he was assassinated in 1947, but she did not make a life of politics. As a teenager, she lived in New Delhi, India, where her mother was Burma's ambassador. Later she studied philosophy and politics at Oxford University, taking her

degree in 1967, and then worked for three years for the United Nations Secretariat in New York. In January 1972 she married Michael Aris, a British scholar of Tibetan literature. They lived in England for Sixteen years.

Suu Kyi returned to Burma in March 1988 to care for her mother, who had suffered a severe stroke. A prodemocracy movement emerged, organized mostly by students, with the aim of ending the twenty-six year rule of General Ne Win. In August, Suu Kyi joined, and electrified, the movement. On a hot day, thousands of Burmese crowded the grounds of the great Schwedagon pagoda in Rangoon to hear her, although she was little known personally and many knew only that she was Aung San's daughter. But her own articulate and passionate speech established her identity and leadership.

The opposition movement caused the resignation of Ne Win, but the new SLORC government was rapidly created as the new generals brutally suppressed the movement. To maintain an air of legitimacy, however, the SLORC generals said they would turn over power to civilian government after elections. Suu Kyi became the leader of the National League for Democracy Party, traveling the countryside by bullock cart and speaking to a thousand meetings in defiance of a SLORC ban on political gatherings of more than four people. In her speeches Suu Kyi emphasized human rights as the democratic goal and nonviolence as the means to attain it, basing her arguments on Buddhist tenets. On one occasion, as she was walking down the street with her associates, soldiers lined up in front of her with their rifles at the ready, threatening to shoot if she advanced any further. She calmly walked on and at the last moment a higher officer countermanded the order to fire.

Shortly after the government placed her under "restrictive residence" in 1989, Suu Kyi began a twelve-day hunger strike protesting the treatment of her jailed political associates_she demanded that she be jailed just as her supporters had. The strike ended after promised that her supporters would not be maltreated. Despite her house arrest, and the fact that she was not allowed to run, the election of May 1990 was a resounding victory for the National League for Democracy Party. The SLORC government, nevertheless ignored the election, jailed the elected NLD representatives, and remained in power.

On July 11, 1995, Suu Kyi was released. This followed various international appeals, international pressure, and continuous attention_including a 1993 attempt by other Nobel Laureates to enter Burma from Thailand to demand her freedom.*Irwin Abrams*

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Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV

Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the spiritual and political leader of Tibetan Buddhists, and recipient of the 1989 Nobel Prize for Peace. Born to a farmer in northeastern Tibet, he was identified through spiritual signs and portents as the reincarnation of the thirteenth Dalai Lama. He was renamed Tenzin Gyatso and sent to the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, for a rigorous secular and religious education. During his youth a regent ruled the country. At fifteen, however, he took the reins of government when Chinese troops invaded, occupied, and ultimately incorporated Tibet into the Chinese state in 1950.

The Dalai Lama tried to cooperate with the Chinese while preserving the cultural and religious heritage of his country. But Chinese policies of cultural and religious eradication fueled growing resistance. Despite his efforts to keep peace, rioting broke out in 1959 and spread to Lhasa. In the face of military repression by the Chinese, the Dalai Lama fled to asylum in India. From this exile in the Himalayan city of Dharmasala the Dalai Lama administers the refugee community, primarily in India, and provides a beacon for nonviolent resistance both within Tibet and in the larger international community. Despite the fact that perhaps more than a million Tibetans have died as the direct result of the Chinese occupation, and many thousands have been imprisoned, demonstrations within Tibet continue.

While denouncing China's oppression of his people, the Dalai Lama has continued to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict. He has ceaselessly urged Tibetans to avoid violence in their struggle, not only because of Buddhist teachings, but also for practical reasons. After Chinese troops fired on demonstrators in Lhasa in 1988, he declared, "Nonviolence is for us the only way. Quite patently, in our case violence would be tantamount to suicide".

In his speech accepting the Nobel Prize, the Dalai Lama connected his struggle with the activities of Chinese students who were repressed in June 1989, as well as with other expressions of people's power elsewhere. "With the cold war era apparently drawing to a close, "he declared, "people everywhere live with renewed hope. Sadly, the courageous efforts of the Chinese people to bring similar change to their country were brutally crushed last June. But their efforts too are a source of hope. I particularly admire the fact that these young people who have been taught that 'power grows from the barrel of the gun' chose instead to use non-violence as their weapon. These positive changes indicate that reason, courage, determination, and the inextinguishable desire for freedom can ultimately win. In the struggle between forces of war, violence, and oppression on the one hand, and peace, reason, and freedom on other, the latter are gaining the upper hand".

Irwin Abrams

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King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929-1968)

African-American civil rights and religious leader, proponent of Gandhian concepts of nonviolent political activism, and recipient of the 1964 Nobel Prize for peace.

Martin Luther King Jr. was a product of and a major contributor to the African-American tradition of social gospel Christianity. From the time of his birth on January 15, 1929, in the Atlanta home his parents shared with his grand-parents, he was immersed in the tradition of politically engaged religion. His grandfather, the Reverend A.D. William, had been a founder of Atlanta's chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (NAACP) and often used his pastorate at Ebenezer Baptist Church as a base for political activism. After William's death in 1931, Martin Luther King, Sr.,, succeeded him as Ebenezer's pastor and also became an NAACP leader, organizing rights marches during the mid-1930s and later guiding efforts to bring the salaries of African-American teachers to the level of those of white teachers.

Youthful religious skepticism initially caused the younger King to reject his inherited calling, but his growing concern about social justice issues was evident in high school oration and undergraduate writings at Atlanta's Morehouse College (1944-1948). The summer after his sophomore year in college, he responded to a wave of postwar antiblack violence by proclaiming in a letter published in the *Atlanta Constitution* that African Americans were "entitled to the basic rights and opportunities of American citizens. "During his senior year, King joined the Intercollegiate Council, an interracial student discussion group that met monthly at Atlanta's Emory University. He also responded readily to the weekly talks of Morehouse President Benjamin E. Mays, who urged students to pursue lives of service and undoubtedly informedthem about his travels in India and his interest in Gandhian protest methods. Religion professor George Kelsey exposed King to Biblical criticism, strengthening his rebellion against religious fundamentalism while also encouraging him to believe "that behind the legends and myths of the Book were many profound truths which one could not escape," King later remarked that he saw Mays and Kelsey as deeply religious yet also learned men- "the ideal of what wanted a minister to be". By the beginning of his senior year, King later recounted, such academic role models and the "noble example" of his father led him to

overcome earlier doubts and respond to an "inner urge" calling him to "serve humanity" by becoming an ordained minister.

After enrolling at Pennsylvania's Crozer Theological Seminary (1948-1951), King refined his eclectic social gospel perspective. Marxist readings reinforced his "anti-capitalist feelings", but King rejected Marx's materialism and ethical relativism in favor of a synthesis of liberal and orthodox Christian perspectives. As he later explained in his first book, *Stride toward Freedom* (1958), his determined search for religious cogency led him to the theology of personalism as a "grounding for the idea of a personal God" and as a "metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality." Despite King's continuing identification with social gospel Christianity, he nevertheless recalled that at Congress he "despaired of the power of love in solving social problems," Listening to A.J. Muste argue for pacifism, he remained unpersuaded, believing that war "might be preferable to surrender to totalitarian system-Nazi Fascist, or Communist," King later claimed that a 1949 sermon on Gandhi by Howard University President Mordecai Johnson had a more positive impact, and family friend. Pius Barbour recalled that King often argued for Gandhian methods during his Crozer years. These recollections suggest that, even if King's understanding of Gandhian principles remained cursory during his college years, he was familiar with the well-established African-American Gandhian tradition, as exemplified in Mays, William Stuart Nelsen, and Howard Thurman.

He did not join any pacifist group while a seminary student or as a graduate student at Boston University (1951-1955), where he studied systematic theology indeed, as a student, King was less involved in pacifist politics than was his future wife, Coretta Scott (marked in 1953), who had associated with pacifist groups during her undergraduate years at Antioch and had attended the 1948 Progressive Party convention as a student delegate. In contrast, King remembered struggling during the early 1950s with Reinhold Niebuhr's argument that pacifism was based on a naive sectarian perfectionism that does not fully account for the "reality of sin on every level of man's existence. "In response to Niebuhr's critique, King recalled that he sought "a realistic pacifism" that would be cognizant of "the complexity of man's social involvement and the glaring reality of collective e..l."

After accepting the pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama , King unexpectedly became the principal spokesman for the bus boycott movement that began in December 1955 when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus. As president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), King strengthened his commitment to and comprehension of Gandhian ideas, consistently basing his advocacy of non violence on Christian beliefs. As he explained in his first address to an MIA mass meeting, "We believe in the teachings of Jesus. The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest." After white racists bombed his home in late January 1956, he restrained angry black residents by citing

Christian admonitions against retaliatory violence. "He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword". Remember that is what God said. We are not advocating violence. We want to love our enemies. "As King later commented in *Stride toward Freedom,* Gandhian ideas were not mentioned on his initial MIA speeches: "It was the Sermon on the Mount, rather than a doctrine of passive resistance, that initially inspired the Negroes of Montgomery to dignified social action.

"After the bombing, however, King gradually moved toward an explicit advocacy of Gandhian precepts. The movement was encouraged by the arrival in Montgomery of two veteran pacifists Bayard Rustin, executive secretary of the War Resisters League, and Glenn E. Smiley, field secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Rustin and Smiley were at first disturbed that King saw no inconsistency between promoting nonviolence and arranging for an armed bodyguard but also found him receptive to their advice. As smiley wrote in late February to an associate. "At first King was asked to merely be the spokesman of the movement, but as sometimes happens, he has really become the real leader and symbol of growing magnitude. If he can really be won to a faith in non-violence there is no end to what he can do. "By the spring of 1956, King was in contact not only with Rustin and Smiley but also with other knowledgeable Gandhians, including Richard Gregg, Harris Wofford, and William Stuart Nelson. King's first article on the boycott, written with Rustin's help and published in the pacifist journal *Liberation* (April 1956), described the boycott as a" movement of passive resistance" unitizing "the instrument of love". Increasingly, King cited Gandhiji's example to demonstrate the potential effectiveness of non-violent methods. "A little brown man in India tried it. " he commented in May, " He decides to confront physical force with soul force, "Even as King became more familiar with Gandhian methods, however, his guiding ideas remained a distinctive blend of Gandhian precepts, Christian teachings, and tactical exigencies. During this period, King explained that "the spirit of passive resistance came to me from the Bible, from the teachings of Jesus. The techniques came from Gandhi."

As Montgomery black residents sustained their boycott movement, King explained his influence as a successful practitioner of Gandhian protest techniques. A November 1956 memorandum written by King indicates that by this time he had formulated the nonviolent strategy that he would follow for the remainder of his life. His listing of five basic principles of nonviolence codified ideas that would be restated in later speeches and writings. This formulation derived from Gandhi's teachings as interpreted by American proponents who had been in contact with King. First, King noted a distinction between nonresistance to evil and militant nonviolent opposition to evil. "This is not a method of cowardice or stagnant passivity, it does resist." Second, King insisted that the goal of nonviolent action was not "to defeat or humiliate the opponent" but to "win his friendship and understanding." Third, he distinguished between seeking to defeat the "forces of evil" and "persons caught in the force". Fourth, King asserted that nonviolence "not only avcides external

physical violence but also internal violence of spirit," Later, in *Stride toward Freedom,* he would expand upon this point, merging Christian and Gandhian principles in the concept of *agape*-that is, "an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return, "Fifth, King expressed his conviction that nonviolent methods would ultimately triumph because "the universe is on the side of justice," an assertion that in *Stride toward Freedom* he would transform into a religious affirmation that "God is on the side of truth and justice".

King's basic commitment to Gandhian nonviolence remained steadfast after the successful conclusion of the Montgomery boycott movement. As the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC, founded in 1957) King often sought to guide local protest movements that utilized nonviolent tactics yet resisted outside control. The expanding southern civil rights movement produced tactical and strategic competition. During the early 1960s student activities in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) challenged King's charismatic leadership style by insisting that the guiding ideas of the southern civil rights struggle should come from the grassroots level rather that be imposed by national leaders such as King. SNCC activities also pushed King toward more aggressive use of direct action tactics, especially sit-ins and other forms of civil disobedience. James Lawson, a Gandhian proponent who exerted considerable influence in the Nashville student movement and was one of SNCC's founders, initially exerted greater influence than King over SNCC, although, as the southern desegregation campaign anded during the early 1960s, many student activists came to accept nonviolence on tactical rather than philosophical grounds.

Recognizing that he had only limited ability to guide the wave of southern protests culminating in the 1963 Birmingham campaign, King became only one of the black struggle's many ideological leaders. In addition to challenges from within the civil rights movement, King was aware that black nationalist leaders such as Malcolm X were attracting growing support from frustrated African Americans. In his famous "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," written in the spring of 1963, he described himself as standing between the opposing forces of "complacency" on the one hand, and "bitterness and hatred" on the other. Arguing against the admonitions of whites who called for patience and restraint, he insisted that nonviolent protests provided a vital outlet for the resentments of black Americans: "If this philosophy had not emerged, I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood".

On many occasions he warned that non-violent proponents would have to demonstrate the effectiveness of their methods in order to retain mass black support. In September 1963, shortly after four black children died in a Birmingham church bombing. King told President John F. Kennedy, "If something isn't done to give the Negro a new sense of hope and a sense of protection, there is a danger we will face the worst race riot we have ever seen in this country," King's sense of despair about the political effectiveness of nonviolence contin-

ued to grow as the result of the shift in the focus of the black struggle from desegregation to political and economic issues. Explaining in 1964 that "nonviolence thrives best in a climate of justice", King derided the slow pace of civil rights reform: |The longer our people see no progress, or halting progress, the easier it will be for them to yield to the counsels of hatred and demagoguery"

Such warnings were indicative of King's growing willingness to undertake mass marches and civil disobedience despite federal restraining orders and despite the risk that such protest might lead to violence. Responding to violent racial rebellions in urban centres, to the "white backlash" he had witnessed during SCLC's Chicago campaign of 1966, and to the rise of "Black Power" militancy, King felt an increasing urgency to mobilize nonviolent campaigns that would offer an alternative to riot and revolution. In 1967, King insisted that "even very violent temperaments can be channeled through nonviolent discipline, if the movement is moving, if they can act constructively and express through an effective channel their very legitimate anger. "Given the reluctance of government leaders to confront the underlying economic causes of racial violence, he contended that a nonviolent protest campaign could be effective only when "it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale. "By the end of 1967, King was prepared to launch a Poor Peoples' Campaign that would force national leaders to respond to the plight of the poor. "We will prod and sensitize the legislators, the administrators, and all the wielders of power until they have faced this utterly imperative need."

King and his advisers did not expect the Johnson administration and its liberal supporters to respond as readily to antipoverty protests as thy had to civil rights activism. King's estrangement from Johnson became more evident after King's April 1967 address at New York's Riverside Church attacked the nation's involvement in the Vietnam War King did not base his antiwar stand entirely on generalized opposition to war, although by this time he rejected killing in principle. Instead, King defended his position by pointing to the hypocrisy of a nation more willing to pay for warfare than for antipoverty programs. He also noted the difficulty of advocating nonviolence to "a society gone mad on war" He recounted the question of young black men who saw the Vietnam War as demonstration of the nation 's dominant values. King remarked, "I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettoes without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today-my own government.

Caught between escalating racial violence in urban centers and an unresponsive federal government, King's final years were marked by his increasingly fervent advocacy of militant nonviolence as the only workable alternative to destructive violence. In his last book, *Where Do We Go from Here, Chaos or Community'* (1967), King affirmed that his belief in nonviolence remained strong despite suggestions that he was losing touch with urban blacks.

He described " a genuine leader" as "not a searcher for consensus but a molder of consensus. "He sometimes noted that his status as a Nobel laureate compelled him to speak out regarding controversial issues such as the Vietnam War that were not directly related to civil rights. Rather than losing faith in nonviolent solutions, he contended that violence was an aspect of "modern civilization "that had to be supplanted by better methods. "Humanity is waiting for something other than blind limitation of the past, He wrote "if we want truly to advance a step further, if we want to turn over a new leaf and really set a new man afoot, we must begin to turn mankind away from the long and desolate might of violence."

By the time of his assassination on April 4, 1968, King had become an internationally recognized advocate of nonviolence. Although during his last years he came under severe attack from both militant black activists and cautious white liberals, King continued to argue for ever wider application of nonviolent tactics not only in the United States but also throughout the world. In *The Trumpet of Conscience* (1967). King noted that African American had "experimented with the meaning of nonviolence." But added that "the time has come for man to experiment with nonviolence in all areas of human conflict and that means nonviolence on an international scale. "His universal perspective derived from his ecumenical Christian beliefs. "Now the judgement of God's upon us, and we must either learn to live together as brothers or we are all going to perish together as fools."

King's contribution to the tradition of non-violent civil disobedience was more as a popularizer of Gandhian ideas than as a tactical or philosophical innovator. Indeed, his most developed statements of the ideas underlying his nonviolent strategy consisted not of philosophical treatises but of homilies, such as those contained in Strength to Love (1963). For example, in the sermon "loving Your Enemies," King provided a pithy statement of his position on the redemptive quality of unmerited suffering; "We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering... One day we shall win freedom, but not only for ourselves. We shall so appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory."

King's appeals for nonviolence, and his confidence in its potency ultimately derived from his Christen faith. Critics of King's arguments for nonviolence have pointed to his tendency to over simplify vexing theological issues, such as the nature of agape as a social force and the notion of original sin. King also rarely acknowledged the coercive effects of nonviolent protest or the difficulty of convincing powerful groups to act according to conscience rather than self-interest, King was an adept synthesizer whose statements on nonviolence were typically discursive rather than systematic, persuasive not because of their logical consistency but because they blended Christian and democratic principles in ways that broadened the appeal of nonviolence. More concerned with promoting Gandhian and social gospel ideas than with reformulating

them, King symbolized an African-American civil rights movement that represented a massive, sustained, and somewhat successful application of nonviolent methods.

After King's death, his associates in the SCLC had only modest success in continuing his work. His successor as SCLC, president, Ralph David Abernathy, concluded the Poor Peoples' Campaign without achieving its goals, and SCLC's national influence continued to decline after 1968, In 1969, Coretta Scott King founded the Atlanta based Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, inc... and spearheaded a successful effort for a national holiday in King's honor. King's intellectual legacy remains a lasting influence on nonviolent, mass movements in many nations. Indeed, King's influence has been more evident outside African-American politics than within, where mass protest activities declined in frequency during the 1980s and 1990s and discontented youth were attracted in the rhetorical military of Malcolm X and other black nationalists.

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A.T. ARIYARATNE

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne was born in a middle class Buddhist family in an interior village near Galle, the Southern most part of Sri Lanka. Inspite of the British colonial rule and spreading westernization, the interior villages of Sri Lanka could still retain their age old traditions in all their purity. He had his primary education in his own village. He did his higher education first at the Mahinda college, Galle and later on at the vdiyodaya University of Sri Lanka and finally at the Teacher's Training Colleges, Colombo. He had specialization in Education, Economics, Sinhala language and Science teaching.

Buddhism came to Sri Lanka during the days of Asoka. But many still believe that Budha himself visited Sri Lanka. The Buddhism in India was pushed down into the Indian ocean by the medieval Hindu Bhakti wave. This wave even reached Sri Lanka and penetrated the northern portions with forces. Then Buddhism was restricted to the Southern part of Sri Lanka. Thus South Sri Lanka alone could preserve Buddhism. Probably this part of the world has the longest living tradition of Buddhism. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne very much belonged to this Buddhist ethos. He was born into this ethos and he grew in it.

The colonial rule of Sri Lanka and this consequent Westernism were major factors in the modern history of Sri Lanka. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne was clear in his mind. He rejected both. Here he is very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi. Many became the passive victims of 'Westernism'. Even those who rejected the colonial rule and fought valiantly against it, became "addicts" to Westernism. There are some who fought against the colonial rule and rejected 'Westernism' but began to 'glorify the ancient oriental past' and consequently they often degenerated into fanatics. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne was deeply rooted in his civilization. While he rejected Westernism, he was aware of the certain good aspects of the Western Civilization and some of the deficiencies of his own traditions. He kept his feet firm on Sri Lankan civilization but drew nourishment from all possible source under the sun.

Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne became a Science Teacher. His knowledge of modern developments in Science and Technology led him to new perspectives. He rejected indiscriminate adoption of Modern Science and Technology. He was actively involving students in rural social work. He organized rural camps for students. He could do several innovative experiments during these camps. His face to face work with the people gave him new insights. He established the Social Service League. In his rural camps. Students and villagers gifted their labour to construct essential items absolutely needed for the village develop-

ment. There was unbelievable positive result and thus emerged his new vision of *shramdan*. He visited India during 1957-58 when the Bhoodan Movement was at its peak. He met Vinoba Bhave, Jeyaprakash Narayan and other Sarvodaya leaders and workers. He could achieve a most creative synthesis of the traditional Buddhist wisdom, fundamentals of Mahatma Gandhi and the post-Gandhian Constructive Work, the current global trends development and the rural realities of Sri Lanka. He formulated his vision, philosophy and action programmes based on such a synthesis. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was born in 1958. He was its founder President. He continues to be so.

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne is actively involved in Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and at the same time he has several global connections at various capacities. His relationship with the Sri Lanka Government is of interest. To start with, he received governmental support but Mrs. Bandaranayake's government cut all connections with this movement and also became hostile to it. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne could carry on his work independently of the government's support. Today Sarvodaya Shramadana has become such a big people's force in the reconstruction of Sri Lanka that no government can afford to ignore it.

Rural Development work requires enormous human and financial resources. The very concept of Shramadana aims at bringing to together the humaan resources. The financial resources to a considerable extent has to come from outside. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne has the ability to bring the required financial resources from outside. The developed nations became rich because of colonial and non-colonial exploitation and monopoly possessions of vast natural resources. The rich nations have to repay their 'debts' to the poor nations in order to 'wash' away their 'sins'. There is yet another approach. If we are all the children of God and belong to one family then is it not imperative on the part of the rich to help the poor in redeeming their poverty. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne touches the consciences of the Western Man and make them to help the poor. Vinoba Bhave went to the land lords of his own country and persuaded them to donate Land to the Landless. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne goes to the homes of the rich everywhere for the sake of the poor and persuades them to share a portion of their wealth to the poor. This is a beautiful vision of *Dana*. He unites humankind and builds bridges between the rich and the poor.

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne's another important character is his experimentations at the micro-level and expansion of these successful experiments to the macro-level and ultimately projecting models for the emerging new civilizations. Whatever he has done and he continues to do in the Sri Lankan context is of greater importance to the Third World countries at large and to the entire humankind as well.

The holistic vision of peace is Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne's main thrust. This is the natural result of his fine synthesis mentioned earlier. He acts on the basis of his vision. Both his vision and action are creative and dynamic. He com-

bines the long term as well as the short term and the preventive as well as the curative approach in Peace Making. Here he is very close to Mahatma Gandhi and nobody else has achieved that closeness.

Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne is able to clearly see the decadent and violent order everywhere and he is able to visualize a new alternative civilization. He walks towards it with prayful meditation. The spiritual element manifests in all his activities. But this spirituality does not degenerate into alienation and inaction. His spirituality unites humankind, attempts to solve the problems of the poor and needy, challenges the forces of evil, destruction and violence and builds up the "kingdom of God" here and now itself.

Dr. Ariyaratne won several international recognition including Niwana Peace Prize (Tokyo), Magasakay Award (Manila) and Gandhi Peace Prize (New Delhi).