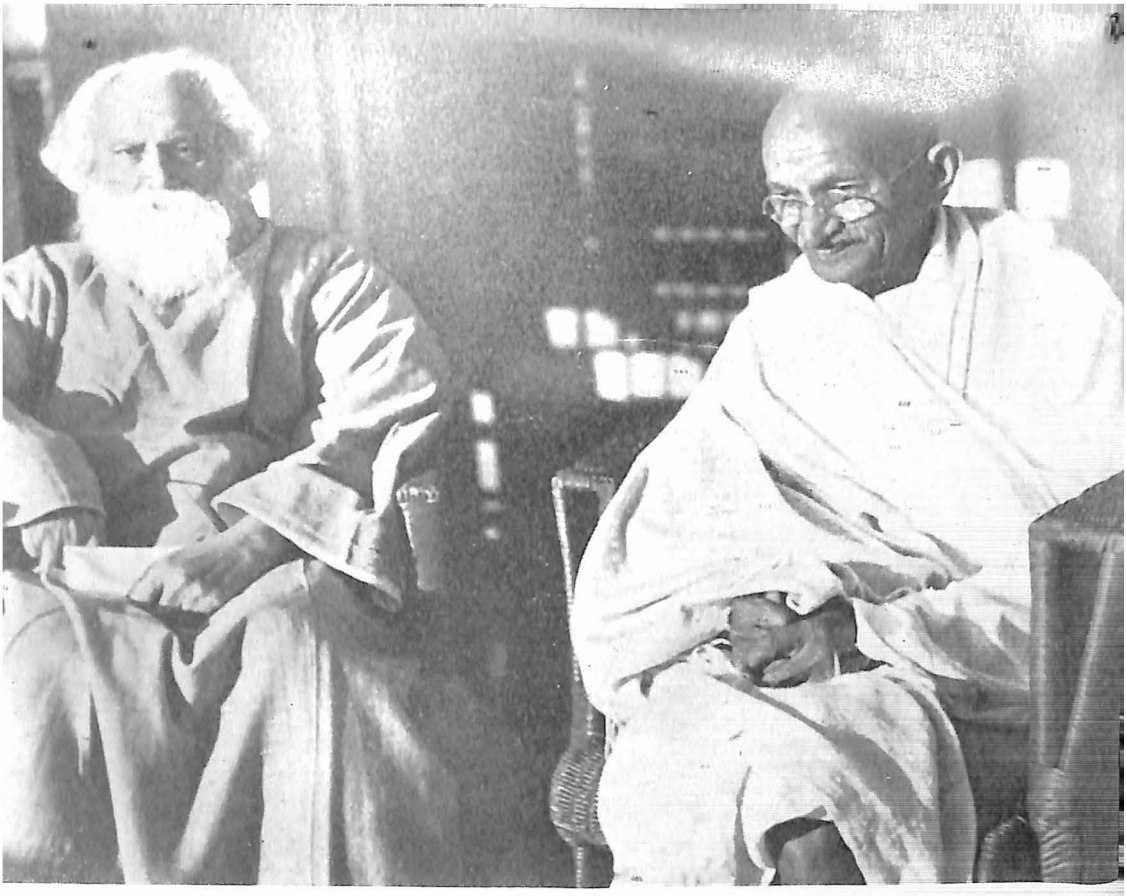
THE TASK OF PEACE-MAKING



TAGORE AND GANDHI

THE TASK OF PEACE-MAKING

Reports of the World Pacifist Meeting

Santiniketan and Sevagram

1949

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WORLD PACIFIST MEETING COMMITTEE

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WORLD PACIFIST MEETING, 1949

PROGRAMME

December	1	Inaugural Meeting, Santiniketan.
	2–8	Business Sessions.
	8	Open Meeting, Santiniketan.
	9	Reception in Calcutta on behalf of the Province of West Bengal.
	10	Public Meeting in Calcutta.
	11–24	Travel in India and Pakistan.
	24	Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Meeting, broadcast a Christmas Eve appeal for peace from Sevagram.
	25	Welcome meeting, Sevagram.
	25–31	Business Sessions.
	31	Public Meeting, Wardha.

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FOREWORD

THE idea of having a meeting of Pacifists in India was broached while Mahatma Gandhi was alive. He had agreed to attend the meeting when it was held, and was in fact in contact with the organizers who were acting under his guidance. He felt, however, that it would not be desirable to have this meeting while the British army was still in India and so the meeting was put off. But before it could take place, he was taken away from us. The organisers had, therefore, to take a decision whether to proceed with the convening of the meeting or give it up as the chief attraction for holding it here was Mahatma Gandhi himself. The meeting did ultimately come to be held in December 1949.

Two World Wars have been fought. On each occasion it was not only hoped, but also given out that it was a war to end wars, but that hope did not materialise and all those who were interested in peace were thinking furiously as to what could be done to prevent future wars. Mahatma Gandhi had tried non-violence on an extensive scale as a means for attaining the freedom of India, and India had become free. Pacifists naturally looked to him to suggest a way out of the surrounding gloom and the Pacifists' meeting, it was hoped, would give them an opportunity of not only coming in contact with him and getting his own guidance but also of studying at first hand the method adopted by him and the results achieved thereby.

Non-violence, in the conception of Mahatma Gandhi, was not only a negative virtue, but also a positive programme of action. It was not merely avoiding causing injury to others, but doing positive good—not merely absence of hatred, but active operation of love. The whole scheme of non-co-operation had for each of the items included in it, a positive side which had to be implemented. Non-co-operation with evil means and implies active association with good. If people were asked to non-co-operate with an evil system of government, they were also asked to organize themselves for good so that the good might displace and replace the evil. If they were asked to boycott educational and other institutions which were considered as having an evil effect, they were also asked to raise,

instead, institutions with objectives and on lines considered to be good and right for the country. Hatred was not to be conquered by hatred, but by love. He had declared and proclaimed that while he wished, and would do his best to destroy the evil system of foreign rule, he had no hatred or ill-will against the foreigner as such, and he had expressed the hope that his method of non-violence, when successful, would leave no bitterness either in the minds of the Indians, who complained against foreign domination, or of the Britishers who ruled over them. Fortunately it has so happened that while British rule has ended and naturally given cause for rejoicing amongst Indians, there is no ill-will against the British, and, what is strange, no bitterness amongst the British people as a whole against Indians. All this has happened because Mahatma Gandhi employed non-violence not only in its negative aspect, but also in its positive form. It was probably with a view to studying this marvellous phenomenon that earnest-minded pacifists in different countries were keen on meeting in India even though the chief attraction had been removed from the stage.

The Pacifists' meeting took place at two centres, each of which is unique in its own way. Santiniketan is the institution of Poet Rabindranath Tagore, and has the hall-mark of his great genius and personality. Sevagram is the place where Gandhiji's constructive activities had their abode and where he spent many years organizing them and through them the country as a whole. Each has got a body of persons devoted to the Master and each has his aroma in the atmosphere. Earnest seekers after peace came from different parts of the world, discussed and consulted with one another the great problems which are agitating humanity today, and imbibed what they could not only from the atmosphere but also by coming in contact with those who had had the privilege of working under the Master.

The meeting did not consider it necessary to lay down any clear-cut programme of work for each and all, but left it to the individuals who were present and who were all very keen to work out non-violence as best as they could in their own lives and in their own environment and thus create such an atmosphere all the world over. It is true that those who were assembled there were not men and women who had any determinant or even important voice in the governance of their own countries, but they were just men and women who can influence the ordinary people, and after all it is not governments but the masses

of men and women, who constitute the population of a country, who ultimately decide. Gandhiji did not count on the support of governments, as he felt that governments were after all moulded by the people. It may take time, but there can be no doubt that if the workers are earnest and the cause they take up is just and the methods they pursue are clean, they are bound to succeed in the end. In the midst of the encircling darkness, in which violence reigns supreme, these earnest workers in the cause of peace have to work and, if need be, also to suffer. The pages that follow give an insight into their minds as expressed at the various meetings held at Santiniketan and Sevagram, and I trust will be read not only with interest but also with profit by all those who are interested in peace.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

INTRODUCTION

THERE is much discussion and speculation in the world today about the prospects of our human society. Are we at the end of an epoch? Is the civilisation of the West, which has dominated the whole world for several centuries, and which, through its technical progress, has brought all civilised society in five continents into one unit, about to crumble? Must it give way to something new? If so, where is that new society to be looked for? Will it come out of Russia, or out of America, or some part of Asia, or perhaps from no special region? What will it look like?

Or again, is humanity on the verge of total suicide? That, too, seems to be at least a possibility in an age when many people's minds are dominated by thoughts of destruction by atom or by hydrogen bombs. The age of technical progress has not only enabled men in remote country villages to listen to the voices of other men speaking to them from the far side of the globe. It has not only enabled men to read, morning by morning, stories of things that happened all over the world yesterday, or to fly from continent to continent within a few hours. It has also enabled man to destroy his fellowmen and the surface of the earth on a scale hitherto only possible through terrible plagues or the action of earthquakes or the impact of huge meteors. And the itch to use these astonishing new mechanical devices like the motor driver's itch to overtake every other motor vehicle on the road, has the mastery of most men. He begins to struggle against it. He begins to see that a precipice lies ahead. But he has not yet learnt how to stop the machine.

A number of remedies are proposed. There may be wisdom in many of them. It is suggested that the whole machinery of human government needs to be overhauled. National and sectional loyalties must yield to the primacy of world loyalty. It is also suggested that man has become far too conceited, believing that he can control everything: he must re-learn his own littleness, or, in religious language, his dependence on powers outside himself. Reform both of morals and of social structure is evidently needed.

Into this age has stepped a man called Gandhi, who has suggested to the world, not only by precept but by example, that man can release himself from slavery to the machine age by stepping clean out of his machine for a time. 'Why not walk the next part of the way?' he asks, at least till we are past this horrible precipice. That would give us a new confidence in the value of our God-given legs. Why not renounce all dependence on machines, above all the machines that we plausibly call 'armed defence', which are really machines for destruction? If only we could learn to be fearless, he has shown us that we could discard all armaments. They are relics of barbarism, unfit for the use of grown man. This idea of Gandhi's has made a strong appeal to certain people in the West called 'pacifists', most of them 'Christian pacifists', who have also been groping towards the complete renunciation of reliance on armed force. Such radical steps are not easy to take. Society cannot suddenly change its nature, and all men must live in society. Therefore all must accept to some extent the moral behaviour of the society in which they live. Yet it may be good for society to be re-invigorated from time to time by people who try to make a clean break with some ancient institution, such as war, which has become so evil as to be no longer tolerable. War, it now appears, cannot be reformed; it can only be abolished. One step towards its abolition may be the renunciation of all use of violent weapons and (as far as possible in a mixed society) of all dependence on such weapons, by a pioneering minority.

So far, the world in general has tended to dismiss the 'pacifists' as unpractical idealists—or worse. It has also resented the tone of moral superiority which sometimes appears in their pronouncements. But Gandhi was not unpractical, nor was he self-righteous.

In December, 1949, some pacifists from the West, with a very useful sprinkling of pacifists or near pacifists from various parts of Asia, Africa and Australasia, met with some of Gandhi's followers in India to try and learn something of the secret of Gandhi's mighty power, and to study how to apply his teaching to the World in this atomic age.

In order to give the visitors from outside India some opportunities to acclimatise themselves to the atmosphere of Indian thought, and opportunities to see some of Mahatma Gandhi's work in actual operation, all foreign visitors were invited to spend at least a month in India. First they all assembled with their Indian hosts at Santiniketan for the first week of December. Then they dispersed and

spent a fortnight visiting institutions, including centres of rural work, in various parts of India. At Christmas time all reassembled at Sevagram, and spent another week in session there.

Thus, the meetings were not only fed by the heritage of Gandhi, but also by that of Rabindranath Tagore, the founder of the centre of World Culture in Santiniketan. This was peculiarly fitting, for although Tagore is not commonly identified in the public mind with the idea of pacifism and non-violence as Gandhi is, yet in fact these two great sons of India shared these principles, and it had always been the hope of Rabindranath Tagore that Santiniketan might bring together such groups of men and women from all over the earth as met there in December 1949.

In order to ensure an informal atmosphere, and in the hope of avoiding long speeches and the kind of public debate that characterises most large conferences, efforts were made to keep the attendance low, and the Indian invitation committee, in collaboration with groups of Quakers in London and Philadelphia, tried to issue invitations in such a way as to get the maximum variety of representation. For such a meeting there is always the danger that from each country the elderly, more or less professional, peace-worker will be sent. Many of these men and women are magnificent people, selfless workers who have battled against war and untruth and misrepresentation with no thought of reward through two world wars. But it seemed essential to include some young men and women, and to include a fair proportion of people from ordinary occupations, teachers, businessmen, journalists, politicians and others, and to get this variety, the inviting committee had to have the last word. Thus, those who came were in nearly every case invited in their individual capacity, and the invitation included an assurance of financial help where this was required. Considerable funds were raised in America and England, and some delegates found their own fares; but the heaviest burden fell upon India, where a number of individuals generously subscribed to the conference funds, and the Trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, knowing that Gandhi himself had, before his death, given a good deal of thought to the planning of the meeting, made a generous grant which covered most of the expenses incurred in India.

In spite of every effort and the sending of invitations, certain parts of the world were not represented at all. From the Soviet part of the world, we had a German from the Russian zone of Berlin and two members from Finland, a country that can perhaps be considered

half in and half out of the Soviet world, but none from Russia or any Slav country. The Danish member, however, was in close touch with Russian Tolstoyans and had an intimate knowledge of Russia. None came from Italy or Spain or Portugal. Indeed, with only one Latin American, the whole Latin world, like the Slav world, was under-represented, though there were four from France. Indonesia and East Africa were other areas not represented.

But it is fair to add that the spirit of the conference was a universal spirit. This, it may be hoped, is adequately shown by the report and resolutions.

In some quarters it was thought that the meetings were sponsored by the Indian Government as such. This is by no means true. On the contrary, some members of the Indian Government apparently thought it might have been better to abandon the whole plan of the meeting after Gandhiji's death. But the relationship of the leaders of India today to anything connected with Gandhi is unique. They do not pretend to be able to follow a policy of non-violence, but they do not treat the conception of non-violence with the lordly contempt which is widespread in other parts of the world. A principle that was the very core of Gandhi's inspiration throughout his public life cannot be simply discarded and forgotten by those who were his lifelong associates. He applied it in the special circumstances of the struggle for Indian freedom. That particular struggle is ended. Those who still believe that the principle needs to be applied to other great world problems have the task of considering how this can be done. The leaders of India today would be the first to admit that they do not see how to apply it immediately in its fullness to the foreign policy of their own country. But that does not mean that they are not even interested in the problem. Many of those who attended the World Pacifist Meeting would agree, I think, that the very searching problems presented to us on the last day by Pandit Nehru, who had generously responded to the invitation extended to him to attend as a distinguished visitor, provided perhaps the most stimulating session of the whole month. I do not think the meetings were far from reality at any time; in that session we were certainly facing the real problems of this distracted world.

The reader will not find paper solutions to the world's problems in the pages that follow. Rather, he may find suggestions for the attitude of mind, the general approach, which seemed to us likely to be fruitful. 'Advice and suggestions to men of goodwill' might

almost be the subtitle for the series of resolutions here presented. Some felt that the meetings did in fact become too much like ordinary conference discussions, and that we might have achieved more if we had been able to follow Manilal Gandhi's advice to spend most of our time in silent prayer and fasting. However, for better or worse, most members of the meeting did not see their way to keep silent. So, like other conferences, we present a report of our proceedings to the world.

In commending this volume to non-pacifist readers I will venture to express three hopes: firstly, that such readers will put aside any prejudice that they may have over the word 'pacifist', and consider if possible *de novo* whether the kind of approach they find in these pages may at least give part of the answer to the riddle of our age. Secondly, I hope they will not find many signs of self-righteousness or moral superiority or complacency in these pages. Thirdly, I may remind them that the word 'pacifist' (purists in language still prefer 'pacificist') comes from two Latin words: 'pax' meaning 'peace', and 'facere' meaning 'to make'. So that a pacifist, if true to his name, is neither more nor less than a peacemaker; one who fights against, overcomes and banishes the causes of war and strife. I hope the reader will feel that the World Pacifist Meeting represents an honest striving on the part of those who attended it to destroy the seeds of war and to sow seeds of goodwill and harmony. This volume is offered as a stimulus to the thought and action of our fellow-pacifists and of others.

HORACE ALEXANDER

THE TASK OF PEACE-MAKING

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF THE WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

TOWARDS the end of 1945 when the fighting of World War II was over, a group of Western pacifists felt a strong conviction that some practical step should be taken to bring together Mahatma Gandhi and his followers in India, and the pacifists of Western countries, into a world-wide movement of non-violence. Thousands of men and women in Europe and America had held fast, often in face of great suffering, to the faith that peace can only be achieved by meeting every kind of violence by steadfast spiritual power alone. Yet they seemed to have made little impression on the whole world at large, and it was hoped that a meeting with the outstanding modern exponent of satyagraha, truth force, might bring new light on the task of peace-making and provide a new inspiration and experience of unity.

This suggestion was made to Gandhiji early in 1946. He welcomed it, and plans were developed for a meeting at Santiniketan in the Winter of 1947-48. It was soon found that the desire for a fusion of the forces of peace was wide-spread in many countries. On further consideration, however, Gandhiji expressed his strong desire that the meeting should be held in a free India, and should therefore be postponed until after June 1948, the date then contemplated for the consummation of independence. January 1949 was then fixed, and a preliminary All-India Pacifist Conference was held at the Quaker Rural Centre at Hoshangabad, M.P., in January 1948 —coinciding, as it so happened, with Gandhiji's last Delhi fast.

A few days later came the news of his assassination. In February the Executive Committee decided that though the foreign visitors would no longer be able to meet Gandhiji face to face, the plans should nevertheless go forward. To the very great disappointment of many, however, a further postponement proved unavoidable, and at a second preparatory conference at Sevagram the meeting was fixed for December 1949.

The number of invitations issued was deliberately kept small, though not so small as had originally been intended, in order that opportunities for personal intercourse might be as great as possible.

Gandhiji's own wish that the delegates should have proved themselves, as he phrased it, '100% reliable' in meeting violence and aggression with spiritual and moral weapons only, was kept constantly in mind, together with the desirability of making the meeting as widely representative as possible.

The names and addresses of members of the All-India Invitation Committee will be found in Appendix IV.

SOME MESSAGES

The initiative of India which finds such a vivid expression in this Congress, is a new and welcome proof that Gandhi's great original idea has deeply affected the thinking of his people. Brutal force cannot be met successfully for any length of time by similar brutal force, but only with non-co-operation towards those who have undertaken to use brutal force. Gandhi recognised that this is the only solution of the vicious circle in which the nations of the world have become caught.

Let us do whatever is within our power so that all the people of the world may accept Gandhi's gospel as their basic policy before it is too late.

ALBERT EINSTEIN.

I hope the meeting held in India will help the movement for a World Government, able to outlaw war, and get nations to co-operate in developing the resources of the earth for the benefit of people of all countries, and usher in a new age of the common brotherhood of man.

BOYD-ORR.

There are historical moments when ideas which heretofore had existed only as utopias, turn quite suddenly into absolutely real and practical necessities of life. Such an idea is the plan of a peaceful world government, the erection of a highest world authority for the perfection of the Peace. Today, every sensible human being, endowed with an understanding of the demands of the time, knows that Peace has become the supreme commandment, and that thought of war and the possibility of war have to be rejected and eliminated completely. I presume that the conference that is to take place in India will be dominated by this realisation and this feeling and I hope and believe that the message which will reach us from the primeval home of human wisdom will make a deep and beneficial impression upon all the rest of the world.

THOMAS MANN.

Peace, at whatever cost, is the only sane policy for any nation or any alliance of nations, to adopt. I believe that the offer of voluntary service on an international scale to the social and economic needs of friend and enemy alike, the sending out of peace armies of directed labour, freely offered, from one nation to another, for the repair of the devastations of war, and the relief of communal poverty is the best if not the only way, for bringing into the Light of Life all these divided nations and people. 'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, give service to them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' This is a teaching which hardly any of us practise; and yet which many thousands of us know to be true.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

May I send you all a warm greeting from a lover of India, Mahatma Gandhi and the world's peace. I have the feeling that you will throughout feel the inspiration of the very presence of Gandhi, and be impressed again by his unconquerable faith in the future of mankind. I pray that before you leave Sevagram you may be given winged words that will inspire men to peace and to the deeds of peace, which the whole world waits for in deepest need.

CARL HEATH.

To the President of the World Pacifist Meeting,—'Twenty-one years ago, you represented Mahatma Gandhi at the second world peace meeting of the War Resisters International held in Austria. You are today about to preside over a World Pacifist meeting in India, and I am glad to take this opportunity of sending you and, through you, the whole gathering the hearty good wishes of the War Resisters International.

H. RUNHAM BROWN,
Chairman of the War Resisters International.

We unite with you in prayer for God's guidance and blessing on your worship and deliberations.

FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, LONDON.

SANTINIKETAN MEETINGS

THE SANTINIKETAN MEETINGS—A SUMMARY

SANTINIKETAN, in West Bengal, the place where the delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting met from December 1st to 9th, literally signifies 'THE ABODE OF PEACE'. It is known throughout India as the home of the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and since his death, in 1941, his family has continued to live there. Dr. Tagore made it a centre of education and culture, and its institutions were inspired by his vision of human brotherhood and peace.

These institutions range from a beautifully equipped art school and picture gallery, and a training centre for men and women teachers, to a school of agriculture and village crafts. The students range in age from very young children to post-graduates. The Poet's house, which suggests the shape of a ship in sail, stands near a mango grove, where the opening and closing public sessions of the Conference were held. Around the house and village the dusty red earth of Bengal, dotted with palms and pampas grass, stretches to the horizon.

To this centre came over ninety men and women from more than thirty different countries and all the five continents—anthropologists, artists, an astronomer, authors, business men, farmers, housewives, ministers of religion, publishers, social workers, teachers and university professors, with many others, including some actively engaged in politics. There were seventy-five men and eighteen women, of ages ranging from the early twenties to the middle seventies. Most of the delegates had a good working knowledge of English, which was therefore used as the language of the Conference. All the major religions were represented, the delegates including Buddhists, Christians, Confucians, Hindus, Jains, Jews, Moslems and Sikhs. This unique collection of personalities met to consider the spiritual and social foundations of World Peace.

Most of the delegates were accommodated in a large camp, a few staying in the guest houses of Santiniketan. In the centre of the camp the meals were served on trestle tables beneath a gaily coloured awning, and close by stood a large tent, used as a very busy office. Through the camp ran a rough track along which peasants and labourers, sometimes with bullock carts, passed on their way, bringing

with them the rural life of India. Most of the delegates slept on beds of bamboo and rope, made by the villagers.

From the moment the delegates arrived they were welcomed with affectionate hospitality and thoughtful kindness. Students from the colleges acted as waiters and scavengers, keeping the camp clean and courteously anticipating the smallest needs of their guests. At the dining tables delegates, soon after their arrival, entered into conversation with representatives of countries which they had known hitherto as mere geographical expressions. Finland talked politics with Burma, New Zealand discussed conscription with France, and Malaya shared experiences with Mexico. The Conference was small enough for delegates to get to know each other, and this was easier than might have been expected; for although delegates spoke so many tongues they shared another language, apart from English—the language of a common faith in human brotherhood.

The day's proceedings began before dawn, with the songs of the students, marching round the camp. Many delegates attended the early morning Santiniketan prayers, before breakfast, in front of the Library. The Conference sessions, held in the Tagores' house, also began with a devotional period. At the beginning the Conference met only in full sessions; but towards the end of the week the delegates divided up for part of the time into three commissions, in order to discuss specific aspects of their work more intensively. The subjects discussed by the Conference included the work and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, 'Basic Education', Nationalism, the relations between India and Pakistan, Science and Peace, the tension between East and West, the pacifist movement in many countries, the social and economic conditions of peace, and the development of an effective technique for non-violent resistance to armed aggression or oppression.

'Basic Education', much discussed in the Conference, was the name given by Mahatma Gandhi to a system of education for life, designed especially for the needs of the Indian village and the pockets of a poor country. Based upon the essential crafts of the villagers whom Gandhiji regarded as the really cultured people of India, this system takes the whole spiritual and social life of the country into its scope, seeking to create a co-operative spirit among integrated individuals. One of the Commissions made a special study of Basic Education, with a particular view to its adaptability to the needs of other countries, including those of the West.

Of the six Chairmen of the sessions, four were women, one of the two Indian women being the Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister of Health in the Indian Union, and the other, Madame Sophia Wadia, well known to literary people of both East and West as an outstanding figure in the P. E. N. Club. The other Chairmen were representatives of China, Great Britain, and the U.S.A.

Among outstanding contributions to the Conference, one of the most lively and refreshing was an address by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress, who warned his audience that he was regarded as heterodox and proceeded to give an extremely vital picture of Gandhiji as a personality. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, formerly Dr. Tagore's secretary and now a visiting professor of Literature at Howard University, Washington, D.C., made two very interesting contributions—one, a survey of the problem of nationalism, and the other an account of his recent visit to Japan.

Sri Manilal Gandhi, a son of the Mahatma, bringing a discussion on the maintenance of eternal values to a simple but effective close, said that Gandhiji suffered for others, but people must now do penance for themselves.

An evening session on the subject of Science and Peace concluded with a memorable episode when Dr. Kora, a woman member of the Upper House in the Japanese Legislature, described the agony of Hiroshima. The Chinese Chairman, Miss P. S. Tseng, asked the Conference to observe a short silence as an act of contrition.

One of the most important functions of the Conference was the verification that it provided for the faith, hitherto held in isolation by many delegates, in the leavening power of the spirit in political and social life. Ideas which had stirred many to withstand opposition and misrepresentation were seen through the actual minds and words of delegates to be world-wide convictions. The encouragement given to peace-makers by this sense of a 'Cloud of witnesses' would alone have made the Conference worthwhile; indeed, in the words of Sri G. Ramchandran at the second open session, the World Pacifist Meeting was more truly a 'United Nations' than the gathering at Lake Success. But apart from this fundamental unity, of which all were conscious, much progress was made in the discussion of such problems as the technique of non-violent resistance, the right approach to religious education, the problem of food and population, the possibility of a World Organisation transcending competitive nationalism, and the stages by which the conquest of self may be attained.

SANTINIKETAN MEETINGS—A DAY-TO-DAY RECORD

INAUGURAL SESSION — December 1, 1949.

The formal inaugural session of the World Pacifist Meeting was held in the open air in the 'Amra-Kunja' or mango-grove at Santiniketan on the afternoon of December 1st. In the absence of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, due to indisposition, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Meeting, presided over the gathering, which was attended by a large number of students, workers and friends of peace from Santiniketan and Sriniketan and the neighbourhood. The delegates were garlanded and welcomed with a simple and beautiful ceremony which included the chanting of a Vedic hymn and ceremonial *mantras*, and which was followed by the singing of Tagore's famous song of invocation to the Buddha for peace amid the 'delirium of hatred'—'O Serene, O Free, wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth'.

Sri Rathindranath Tagore then welcomed the delegates to Santiniketan, which his father the poet had planned as a centre of World Culture. The assembling of such a meeting at this place, he said, was a hope realised and a vision fulfilled, and the selection of Santiniketan as the venue was a tribute to the memory of Rabindranath Tagore and his great work for peace and human brotherhood.

The meeting was inaugurated by Dr. K. N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, who referred to Gandhiji's deep interest in the welfare of Santiniketan. Gandhiji stood by his principles like a rock and extended them to the community life, which is his greatest contribution to human welfare. Such extension, however, requires special training which sometimes is more difficult than the military training. It will be of little avail if individual examples are not able to move national conscience and influence a country's policy.

In her Presidential Address Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said that it was a sad commentary upon human affairs that even today a vast majority of people took it for granted that there was no solution of our problems other than an armed conflict. She was glad that the

conference had met, even though Gandhiji was no longer here in the flesh, because only by the pooling of our mental and moral resources can we hope to be effective in our work for peace.

Each of the delegates from outside India was then introduced to the gathering by Mr. Horace Alexander, chairman of the committee responsible for the organization of the Meeting, after which five speakers, representing each of the five continents, responded briefly to the welcome speeches. The speakers were Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany), Heberto Sein (Mexico), David Acquah (Gold Coast), Miss Pao Swen Tseng (China), and John Fallding (Australia). All spoke of the inspiration they had found in the life and teachings of Gandhiji, and of their hope that India, his birthplace, might initiate and lead a moral and spiritual reconstruction of the world.

SECOND SESSION December 2, 1949

The World Pacifist Meeting held its second session in Uttarayan under the chairmanship of Mr. Horace Alexander who opened the proceedings by quoting a letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Dr. Rajendra Prasad apologised to the delegates for the fact that he was suffering from asthma and stated that he hoped to come later.

Later in the day, other messages were also received. Pandit Nehru sent his greetings saying that he hoped to meet the delegates at Sevagram at the end of December. A telegram was also received from H.E. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India at that time. Messages were also received from Peace Pledge Union, Britain ; Pacifist Study Group, Oslo ; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S.A. ; Percy Bartlett ; International Fellowship of Reconciliation ; Reginald Sorensen, British Member of Parliament ; Toyohiko Kagawa, representing the International Peace Association in Japan ; and John Dewey, the philosopher ; Pearl Buck, the novelist ; and Louis Fischer, the author—all from the United States.

Immediately after the announcement that Pandit Nehru hoped to attend the Conference, an interesting question arose with regard to the appropriateness of Military Guard for statesmen visiting a Pacifist Conference. One (Indian) delegate stated that if the Prime Minister was guarded by Armed Forces, he personally would have to absent himself. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur then informed the Conference that she had dispensed with the protection of the guard at Santiniketan. This statement was warmly applauded.

The day's session was devoted to a consideration of the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi and its significance.

The opening address was given by Sri Kaka Kalelkar who described Gandhiji's work and message. He was followed by Richard Gregg of the United States who dealt especially with the question of non-violence.

In the afternoon, an extremely lively and refreshing contribution on this subject was made by Acharya J. B. Kripalani who, before starting his speech, warned the meeting that he was regarded as heterodox and that he might perhaps be considered as putting forward personal views rather than an exposition of Gandhiji's teaching. To many delegates, however, he gave, for the first time, a picture of Gandhiji as a vital human being. In Acharya Kripalani's view of Gandhiji's teaching, fear rather than violence is the greatest evil. Non-violence, he stated, was rooted neither in fear nor sentimentality. It is a positive and revolutionary form of resisting evil. He told the delegates how Gandhiji had uprooted fear from the souls of the masses of India. He gave as an example the fact that in ten days in 1917 he had rooted terror from the hearts of the workers on the estates of European Planters in Bihar.

Archarya Kripalani went on by saying that Gandhiji regarded life as one, making no distinction between individual and collective life or between the material and the spiritual. His aim was to spiritualise life as a whole and this meant the observance of the moral law. He explained the moral law as the practice of truth and non-violence and the use of the right means to obtain our ends. It is in choosing the wrong means that people usually go astray.

He concluded by saying that Mahatma Gandhi was a genius. He advised the delegates not to try to copy him, because a genius is so often above logic. We should not try to imagine what he would have done in some situation which he never faced, but use our own initiative. The most we can do is to try to live in his spirit and to apply his sense of urgency to our own problems. We should make our pacifism a living and practical thing and not like 'old dames' business'.

THIRD SESSION December 3, 1949

A message was read from Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Premier of the United Provinces, who sent his respectful and affectionate

greetings. Messages were also received from the Friends Service Council, London; the Society of Friends, Dublin; the All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade; the International Alliance of Women; the Women's Social and Progressive League; and Mr. Runham Brown, the veteran Chairman of the War Resisters International.

The business of the day started with the remark of Sri Sudhir Ghose that a question had been put to the Indian delegates by the European visitors regarding the relationship between India and Pakistan which had been left unanswered. He felt that the Conference should face the question of what the followers of Gandhiji could do to bring about that friendly relation between India and Pakistan which Gandhiji longed to see established. He suggested that the Conference should seek an answer to this question in a spirit of devotion and not in a political debate.

In response to this question, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur subsequently reminded the meeting that Gandhiji gave his life for Hindu-Muslim unity and added 'if we can stretch out the hand of love and friendship to the millions of Muslims still in our midst in India, we may convince Pakistan that we have no enmity in our hearts and thus bring back love and confidence.' The Rajkumari then briefly opened the subject of Gandhiji's constructive programme.

The Rev. Riri Nakayama (Japan) asked a question regarding the Mahatma's relationship with rich men which led to an explanation by Sri Pyarelal. He compared Gandhiji with St. Francis and quoted Gandhiji as saying that it was his aim to turn princes into beggars. Sri G. Ramchandran supplemented this, speaking on the theme that 'the oppressor is doubly entitled to be redeemed.' In this way, the ideas of Gandhiji differed radically from those of the Communists, who sought to liquidate the oppressor. Useful contributions on this subject were made by other speakers showing that Gandhiji had an approach which brought the best out of the worst people, but that his friendly relationship with rich men was combined with a total rejection of the system which gave rise to wealth in the midst of poverty. Acharya J. B. Kripalani said he was convinced that, at the end of his life, Gandhiji was very disappointed by the small extent of the response which he had obtained in his appeal to the hearts of his wealthy fellow-countrymen.

Sri J. C. Kumarappa, continuing the discussion of the constructive programme, dealt with the facts upon which Gandhiji's economic principles were based. He emphasized the difference between the

current economy and the reservoir economy, one renewing itself by a natural process and the other depending on other sources that are exhaustible, such as coal and oil. The reservoir economy, he said, must always lead to a struggle to possess the sources of supply. In the complicated civilisation today, few people have any idea how much violence is involved in the production of the things they buy and consume. The revival of village life and village craft, with the maximum self-sufficiency, would enable those who participate in such a civilisation to know how and under what conditions things are produced. By such means, violence could be reduced to the minimum.

The afternoon session was devoted to reports from the delegates regarding the recent work and the present position of Pacifists in the West. Mr. A. J. Muste gave a brief report of the movement in the U.S.A., including efforts of pacifists to create better relations between the white and the coloured people, their attempts to break down barriers having led some to penal servitude in a chain gang. Many questions were asked, mainly relating to the race question in America and to the recent history of the Doukhobors in Canada, religious pacifists who were refugees from Czarist Russia.

Mr. René Bovard, reporting on Switzerland, spoke of the work of the late Pierre Cérésole, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, who founded the International Voluntary Service for Peace, some of whose members helped in relief work in India after the earthquake in Bihar in 1934. Pierre Cérésole was in India three times between 1934 and 1936.

Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany) told of the defeat of General Kapp's attempt in 1920 to seize the German Government by military force. A complete general strike paralysed this military invasion, and Kapp's soldiers were laughed off the streets by the women of Berlin. 'Freedom from fear' was, in Kraschutzki's view, the most important requisite for the peace-maker.

Several other delegates gave examples of non-violent resistance to Nazism, both in Germany and in occupied countries. Dr. Walter Zander especially recalled the persecution that took place when Hitler came to power. He stressed the fact that the German Pacifists were the first victims of the Nazis and many suffered martyrdom for their faith. The persecution of the Jews only came second to that directed against German peace-makers.

He further explained the attitude of the Jews under racial oppression and gave one inspiring example of the spirit of

reconciliation. He spoke of Chief Rabbi Beck of Berlin, who suffered imprisonment until the liberation of his concentration camp by the Allies and is now devoting himself to relief activities amongst the Arab refugees in Palestine. It was this work which had prevented him from coming to the World Pacifist Meeting.

FOURTH SESSION December 4, 1949

The question of the invitation to Pandit Nehru to attend one of the sessions at Sevagram came before the Conference on Sunday morning. As the appropriateness of a visit to a pacifist conference by any statesman under armed protection had already been raised, the matter was fully discussed. The Conference decided that Pandit Nehru should be unreservedly welcomed to the Meeting. It recognised that there are fundamental differences of opinion between pacifists and others about armed protection, but it also recognised that it was for the Provincial Government to determine what measures they should take for the safety of the Prime Minister.

The subject of pacifism in Japan was then opened by Dr. Tomiko Wada Kora, a member of the Upper House in the Japanese Legislature. Dr. Kora read many messages, including letters from the Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, expressing the good-will of many in Japan towards the World Meeting of Pacifists. Dr. Kora said that there were at least 1,300 cases of religious pacifists in Japan who were persecuted during the war.

In answer to questions Dr. Kora referred to the unanimous decision of the Japanese Constituent Assembly that Japan should remain permanently an unarmed State. The Japanese Premier had personally stated his view that this was a right decision, and a recent straw ballot had shown a 75% majority in favour of this policy. Mr. Nevin Sayre (U.S.A.), chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, supplemented Dr. Kora's account by observations made on a recent visit to Japan, when he had the opportunity of meeting the Emperor, General MacArthur and a large number of Japanese from every walk of life. His impressions on this visit had been that a miracle of reconciliation had occurred, in contrast to the bitterness of the war years. He believed that a genuine desire to live in peace had entered deeply into the spirit of post-war Japan, where the American occupation had been carried out without a single act of violence. This he attributed partly to the courage of the Emperor in defying the military caste when he insisted upon surrendering to

the Americans, and partly to the fact that the Americans landed without rifles. Mr. Sayre ended with a warning that the present mood of the Japanese might change. The best conditions for reconciliation existed now, but might not continue if the opportunities were wasted.

Mr. P. M. Sekiya (Japan) agreed that the American occupation of Japan was reputed to be the best example of a military occupation in history. So it might be, but that was no reason for wishing it to continue. He himself would wish it to end tomorrow.

Many questions were asked, indicating some doubt as to the source of the apparently wide growth of pacifism in Japan. In contrast to previous reports Dr. Amiya Chakravarty described the situation as one of 'total paralysis'. He had recently visited Japan and found the people courteous, because it was part of their culture to be so; but he believed they were cowed by force rather than converted to a pacific view of life. Dr. Chakravarty spoke with shame of certain things to which his attention had been drawn. These things included the billetting of foreigners in houses commandeered from Japanese civilians, the virtual slavery in which many Japanese servants still live, though now under democratically educated foreign masters, the great demoralisation amongst Japanese women and the many consequent tragedies of illegitimacy, for which special provision has had to be made. These and many similar abuses of power, which he regarded as inseparable from military occupation, had deeply distressed Dr. Chakravarty. The nature of the occupation was so fundamentally wrong that even the best intentioned efforts, of which he found evidence (especially in the Education Department) were in danger of being frustrated. All agreed that a peace treaty with Japan and the ending of the occupation were urgent necessities for the good of Japan, the U.S.A., and the world. The Conference heard with satisfaction from Dr. Kora that, by Pandit Nehru's orders, the Indian troops were the first to be withdrawn.

In the afternoon session, Pastor Henri Roser raised the question of M. Jean Bernard Moreau, the French Conscientious Objector on whose behalf Mr. Garry Davis and others took action last autumn. He has already been sentenced once and owing to his renewed refusal to accept military service was due to appear before a Military Tribunal on Tuesday, December the 6th. The Conference agreed to send a message to him as follows:

> 'World Pacifist Meeting Santiniketan expresses best sympathy and full spiritual support to Moreau.'

It was also decided to send messages of fraternity and support to all Conscientious Objectors at present in prison in various countries.

A new subject was now introduced by Mr. Yrjo Kallinen (Finland) into the discussion, namely whether eternal values can be defended by war. Mr. Kallinen was Minister of Defence in Finland during 1946-48, an office which he had accepted in order to exemplify, in his own person as a pacifist, the peaceful policy of Finland, and to foster the progressive disarmament of his country.

The purpose of his contribution was to prove that only those who have achieved liberation from their own ego are free from the delusions which lead to hatred and war. Nationalism, he said, was only a projection of these delusions into political life.

Swami Satyananda, answering a question put by a delegate regarding the means of achieving such liberation, declared that the two chief means were selfless service of others and contemplation.

The afternoon discussion was brought to a fitting close by Sri Manilal Gandhi, the son of the Mahatma. 'The mastery of self,' he said, 'is the crux of the whole question before us. It is the ego that one must get rid of. That is the essence of pacifism. I am only a humble servant trying to follow the footsteps of my father. God wants us to humble ourselves to the dust. This cannot be done without the grace of God, and the grace of God can come upon us only by prayer. Father suffered in the flesh in order that the light might shine out to the masses. He fasted for others, but we must do penance for ourselves. I would suggest that at Sevagram we undergo seven days' fasting and prayer. Without the grace of God and without humility we can achieve nothing.'

The Conference was deeply moved by this contribution from Mahatma Gandhi's son and the session closed with a period of silence.

A special evening session was held to consider further the question of pacifism in the occupied countries where totalitarianism had been overthrown as a result of the War. Prof. Sriman Narayan Agarwal said he had found a genuine change of heart in Japan, but not in Germany where 99% of the people would welcome the return of Hitler. This statement was disputed by Mr. Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany) who pointed out that Hitler never had that number of followers and that the rapid decline of Nazism had been one of the things that most surprised him on his return to Germany after the war. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose drew attention to the fact that all the

crimes of the contending nations were part of a universal guilt of which all must bear the burden.

The next speaker was Mr. Diderich Lund, the Norwegian delegate, who was sent by his Government to the liberated but totally devastated area of Finmark in North Norway to direct reconstruction work till the end of 1947. He spoke of the non-military aspect of the resistance movement in Norway during the German occupation. Action was at its best when carried out openly—for example, when the teachers and ministers of religion openly preached against Nazism. Summing up his criticisms of the resistance movement, Mr. Lund said it would have been better had they showed themselves more friendly to individual Germans and less obedient to orders. The war had left many bad effects on the country—more anti-semitism, a great bitterness towards ex-'Quislings' and a fear of Communism. Mr. Lund, whom the Nazis put in jail, from which he escaped to England, mentioned the death of one of his brothers in a Nazi prison and referred to the execution by Nazis of the Norwegian Pacifist Leader Olaf Kullmann.

Dr. Beauson Tseng, Professor Emeritus of the University of Hunan, then gave some account of the situation in China. The Chinese had the technique of waiting, and in the end China had generally absorbed her conquerors. Fortunately most of her contacts had been with civilisations inferior to her own—India was an exception, but China had never any quarrel with India! Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek had exempted Chinese Quakers from Military Service. Later all teachers and students were also exempted. But pacifists had been subjected to considerable social persecution, and pacifism was, of course, not in strict conformity with the Confucian doctrine of the 'mean', which repudiates all extreme opinions in any form.

FIFTH SESSION December 5, 1949

On Monday, December the 5th, the morning session opened with Madame Sophia Wadia in the Chair. The subject of this session was the Constructive Programme of India, with special reference to basic education. Sri E. W. Aryanayakam of Sevagram said that Gandhiji conceived the village as a republic providing its own wants and living as a co-operative community. He had told a UNESCO Seminar that, in Gandhiji's view the really cultured people are to

be found in India's villages. The speaker told the Conference that at Sevagram delegates would be expected to take part in the community's work. Five hundred and sixty basic education teachers had already been trained there and were working in all parts of India. He concluded by saying that if every child in the world is given the education it ought to have, there will be no money left for guns or bullets. Dr. Karel Hujer, a Czechoslovakian, now holding a chair of astronomy at the University of Chattanooga, U.S.A., made an interesting comparison of the system described with that of communism, which disregards the individual, whereas basic education uplifts him. Asked about the cost of basic education, Sri Aryanayakam said that Rs.18 a month covered all costs of a child between seven and fourteen at Sevagram, of which one-third was earned by the child's own productive work and one-third contributed by the parents. Older students, whose cost was Rs.20 a month, contributed their entire keep by productive work.

Dr. Sadiq, Ex-minister of education for Persia, emphasised the point that one of Gandhiji's greatest services was making a synthesis between Eastern and Western cultures.

The Rev. A. J. Muste inquired whether it was possible for the poor as well as the wealthy to obtain a University education. He was told that though University education was still only for the rich, Basic Education was designed to help the poor to achieve the higher educational levels.

Mr. Heberto M. Sein, a teacher from Mexico, said that the village conditions in his country were similar to those in India. Miss Vera Brittain asked whether any difference was made between men and women in basic education and was assured that the sex was no disability. Several persons asked for an explanation of the term 'a self-sufficient community'. One quotation read by Prof. Nirmal Bose indicated that the idea of the self-sufficient community left room for inter-dependence of communities and constructive co-operation on a world scale.

From this session the delegates received an impression of thousands of workers who are silently creating the second stage of the non-violent revolution, of which the first was the political movement which achieved independence.

The next speaker was Mr. Ba Lwin of Burma, who, as a schoolmaster of 32 years' standing, recalled Gandhiji's visit to his school

and said that whatever success has been achieved in Burma was due to his inspiration.

Further contributions on basic education were made by Mr. A. A. B. Ishak of Malaya and Mr. Aage Jorgensen of Denmark, who felt that Danes had much to learn from India and wanted an exchange of students and teachers with his own country. Dr. Mordecai Johnson raised the question of the place of machinery and industry in self-sufficient communities, and was assured that Gandhiji was not opposed to machinery in its right place.

In reply to another question Sri Aryanayakam said that a clash of opinion was anticipated on the question of military training in Indian schools, especially if the Government takes up basic education. He added that Sevagram would close rather than accept military training.

Letters were received from the Sydney (Australia) Branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and from the Peace Pledge Union of England. A message which came later from Mr. I. H. Qureshi of Karachi, Pakistan, was especially welcome to the meeting.

On the afternoon of December the 5th, the Meeting turned to the subject of non-violent methods of defence.

Prof. Agarwal opened the discussion by emphasising the importance of some constructive non-violent organisation to supplement the long-range programme. As an example he mentioned the 'Shanti Sena' or Peace Brigade of perhaps two thousand people suggested by Gandhiji when faced with the possibility of Japanese invasion. Such people, Prof. Agarwal emphasised, must be trained in political and social work and above all be ready to die.

The suggestion made by a delegate that a register of peace-makers ready to rush to the scene of the conflict should be organised in every community was met by Sri Pyarelal with the assertion that non-violent action cannot be organised in advance, but must arise from non-violent conviction.

Three European delegates, Mr. Diderich Lund, Mr. Heinz Kraschutzki and Mr. Jerome Sauerwein continued the discussion. Mr. Kraschutzki pointed out that if another war comes it will be fought with atomic bombs, not invading soldiers, and that inspired non-violent resistance is more a matter of what we are than what we do. Mr. Sauerwein said that a disarmed country was less likely to be faced with atom bombs, but emphasised that the experience of France and other occupied countries had shown that non-violent resistance

could not be improvised. It must be based on a plan, and even then might fail. If it did, should pacifists resort to violence and fight, or was there some other expedient?

Sri Aryanayakam said that it was our soul, not our possessions, that must be defended. He added that if the Indian Government insists on military training in schools, the pacifists should point out that their self-training in non-violent methods of resistance is equally valuable to the State.

Pastor Henri Roser added to the discussion by giving personal examples of cases in which the practice of non-violence has been found 'extremely difficult', under German occupation.

Swami Devatmananda of the Ramkrishna Mission gave the point of view of his Order on the causes of violence which, under different forms, all spring out of greed.

In the evening the delegates had the pleasure of witnessing a very fine rendering of 'Chitrangada', a dance-drama based on a story from the Mahabharata, performed by the students of Santiniketan at Sinha Sadan. One British delegate, after witnessing the superb movements and the beautiful dresses of the performers, expressed the view that such a performance would be received with acclamation at Covent Garden Opera House in London.

SIXTH SESSION December 6, 1949

The next session opened under the chairmanship of Mrs. Maude Brayshaw, a former Clerk (chairman) of the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Messages of greeting were read from the Governor of Assam, Sri Sri Prakasa, and the Governor of West Bengal, Dr. Katju, who opened the World Pacifist Meeting on December the 1st. He described his visit as 'a wonderful and elevating experience'. The meeting also received with pleasure a telegram of greeting from Dr. Albert Schweitzer, now at Lambarene, and a message from Mr. Mohammed Habib, professor of the Muslim University of Aligarh, who wrote on behalf of himself and the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Zakir Hussein.

After passing with acclamation a resolution of thanks to the students of Santiniketan for their splendid entertainment on the previous evening, the delegates returned to their consideration of the basic values from which pacifism must grow. In a substantial and illuminating discourse which was received with great appreciation,

Mr. Wilfred Wellock, ex-member of the British House of Commons, where he was a pioneer champion of Indian Freedom, described the actual problems of the Western world in relation to the three basic values of 'Responsibility, Creativity, and Neighbourliness.'

While man, he said, can only develop his highest powers by expressing in external realities these inner sources of light, the whole trend of Western civilisation since the industrial revolution had been towards their destruction. That revolution had been a dinosaur, which had devoured the beauty of English towns and villages, and caused frustrating mechanical process to supplant high-standard craftsmanship during the best hours of men's working days. In consequence, ruin had overtaken the social order and international relations, and demoralised the nature of man himself.

He described how, in the West, great populations had grown up based not on productive acreage, but on the number of machines. The industrial countries then began to compete for world markets, until by the end of the 19th century all these markets were conquered. It was the struggle to capture them which led to the first World War and indirectly to the ideological conflicts that produced the second. The lack of manpower amongst the Western Allies had caused them to turn for industrial products to other countries, including India, and thus to extend the industrial revolution to many parts of the world hitherto based on a rural economy. Tension is likely to increase because countries such as Britain, which have lost their markets and foreign investments, are going to make greater efforts than ever before to get them back.

Dealing with the effect of this revolution on the nature of man, Mr. Wellock described the futile occupations to which demoralised industrial populations were driven during their hours of leisure. The British working class, he said, spent many millions of pounds a year on intoxicating drink, tobacco and gambling. Football had become a form of public hysteria causing millions of adults to spend their time and money gambling on football results. He concluded by saying that basic values could only be restored to humanity by a process of decentralisation and the re-creation of village communities of a size in which vital social relationships could exist. Pacifists could initiate such a revolution by the simplification of their own lives and by group action, as well as by pressure on politicians and the spreading of culture embodying fundamental values.

The subsequent lively discussion, while accepting Mr. Wellock's picture, suggested that industrialisation was not the only or the most immediate cause of war. Mr. A. C. Barrington of New Zealand said that the peoples of the Western democracies were not integrated individuals, and Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose elicited by a question the fact that Britain now spent nearly 800 million pounds on 'defence' or 25% of her annual budget. Mr. Reginald Reynolds argued that right distribution rather than maximum employment should be our objective and questioned the picture of complete contentment before the industrial revolution. Mr. A. J. Muste thought that more attention should be given to direct opposition to conscription and military budgets. Dr. Tseng pointed out that socialism may lead as directly to slavery as capitalism, and Mr. Nevin Sayre stressed the danger of Nationalism as a destructive force. Dr. Mordecai Johnson suggested a team of Pacifists to study the question of World Food Resources, and stated that American militarism now lived on the assumption that these were insufficient.

After several delegates had described decentralisation experiments in their own communities and Dr. Walter Zander had suggested that the decentralisation and freedom of banking might be essential, the Chairman introduced a new arrival. This was Dr. Zaki Saleh of Iraq, professor of modern European History in the University of Baghdad. He defined the three basic causes of war as Nationalism, Imperialism, and Materialism, and suggested that, in some countries a solution might be found in the reform of industry rather than in its decentralisation.

In closing the discussion Mr. Wilfred Wellock spoke of the spiritual nationalism which should replace power politics, and stressed the fact that the social strains which lead to war arise from the aggressive nature of our economy. The chief work of pacifists should be to find ways and means of removing these strains. It was not that machinery itself was evil, but that in a mechanised society people lost sight of the fact that the quality of things and the quality of men went together. Real religion would express itself in a moral order of society such as Gandhiji's conception of basic education could promote.

It was decided to hold several future sessions in separate commissions. One commission would be concerned with such subjects as war resistance and immediate preventive measures. A second commission is to discuss ways of life and work which would remove

the occasion of war; and the third commission will study the spiritual and cultural forces which must underlie all effective peace-making.

At the afternoon session letters were read from Mr. Ashrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury of East Pakistan expressing full sympathy with the objects of the meeting, and from Dr. Rajendra Prasad saying how deeply disappointed he was to be still unable to come to Santiniketan on grounds of health. He hoped to be present at Sevagram.

The meeting then heard with deep interest the reports from two delegates, Hindu followers of Gandhiji, who came to Santiniketan from East Pakistan. The first, Sri Satindranath Sen, reminded the Conference that communal violence had followed the division of the country, and economic problems due to such steps as currency devaluation in India and non-devaluation in Pakistan had caused virtual deadlock to paralyse East and West Bengal. About two million Hindus were refugees in West Bengal. The delegate made it clear that Gandhiji's ideals do not prevail in Pakistan, but insisted that if India and Pakistan can subordinate their differences they may yet make a joint contribution to world peace.

Sri Jitendra Nath Kusari told the Conference that both delegates had worked in their present districts since 1921, but now felt they were groping in darkness. As Pakistan citizens they tried to help their Government, and workers in villages did get on with it better than those who dabbled in politics. But when the Congress leaders from East Bengal and many other middle class people moved to India, they left the remaining Hindus and Muslims destitute. In spite of these difficulties, he added, 'we are determined to stay there' as honest citizens of Pakistan.

The speaker related how he spoke with and embraced all Muslims as brothers, and though a Hindu, he had been elected as their representative during one of the communal riots. He said that at the time of Gandhiji's death his house was literally raided by Muslims, who sat there weeping over Gandhiji's loss. The common people, he insisted, are honest, and their hearts can be touched; such difficulties as there are come from the top of both Dominions, where extreme sensitivity leads to mutual suspicion. Further problems do, however, arise from the shortage of educated workers, since many leading Congress workers left for India after partition. Rumours of war and of loss of property caused Hindus throughout the country to tremble, just as they hear that Muslims trembled in Calcutta. He

asked the Conference to pray for the people of Pakistan and to remember the single-handed work of Gandhiji's followers.

Prof. H. I. Hassan, of the University of Cairo, followed the delegates from East Pakistan, and said he was immensely interested in their addresses. He referred to the nineteen millions of Egyptians, and reported that the Christians, who constituted 16% of the population in his country, live in peace with the Muslims. He emphasised that moral views similar to Gandhiji's could be found in the Koran, which made no distinction between one man and another. Expressing his belief that an Islamic Union would only stir divisions between Hindus and Muslims and between Muslims and Christians, he said that he, a Mohammedan, regarded the Muslims in India as well treated and had come here to promote the cause of world peace. He added that there must be causes other than religious which had stirred up these unfriendly relations between Hindus and Muslims in both the Dominions.

SEVENTH SESSION December 7, 1949

The chair was taken by Miss P. S. Tseng, Principal of the I-Fang Girls' Collegiate School, Changsha (China).

A message was read from Mr. John Haynes Holmes, a veteran friend of Indian freedom and formerly editor of *Unity* (Chicago). A telegram was also received from Sri Harekrishna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa, regretting his inability to attend the World Pacifist Meeting, and greetings were read from Prof. N. G. Ranga on behalf of the Foreign Relations Society.

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, opening the subject of nationalism, asked what it was that made a nation. He said that Rabindranath Tagore denied the existence of nations as entities, and spent much of his life combating the generalisations and abstractions whereby nations were regarded as integral unities. Social patterns change; only the human pattern remains. We have to discover the nature of this human pattern which can keep the world together. Both Dr. Tagore and Gandhiji had felt that it is better to perish than to lose one's humanity, and this humanity was threatened by the nation-state.

'Internationalism', he said, could also mislead us. It so often meant the diplomacy of nation-states, which were represented by 'their most wily and tough customers' from foreign offices. In

international conferences the people had little voice, least of all in colonies where they were 'represented' by those who had conquered and still held down the people. Nation-states which colonised other countries were the least fitted to 'represent' the people of those countries. Even many educated people had blind spots, which made them think of the world in terms of predominant power groups, excluding or dismissing in a single phrase millions of voiceless human beings.

Political Zionism showed a tragic example of the repetition of aggressive nationalism on the part of those who had suffered bitterly themselves at the hands of nation-states. Against all such conceptions, and against 'the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism', the poet Tagore had upheld the claims of humanity.

Dr. Zaki Saleh (Iraq) spoke of the sense of national destiny which was a strong factor in nationalism. History showed many attempts to achieve world unity. It had been the aim of the Empires of China and Rome, and in later times of Napoleon. It had been sought through religion by the Catholic Church. We had to face the fact that internal order was necessary before external peace. Undeveloped countries attracted imperialist intervention. Such countries deserved special attention and help from pacifists.

There were, he said, three stages of nationalism—the struggle for independence, the desire to become a great power, and the goal of world predominance. We cannot eradicate nationalism, but must strive to focus it upon culture. The true nationalist would try to make his country respected, not feared and hated. We needed more knowledge of other countries, also about imperialism and about its connections with big business and class interests. Every religion, he concluded, had a real contribution to make towards peace. He referred to passages in the Koran which confirmed this statement in relation to Islam.

In the general discussion which followed, Dr. Karel Hujer (Czechoslovakian Republic) emphasised the fact that nations were myths. Prussia, the core of modern Germany, was made up of Balto-Slavic people. Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu (S. Africa) said that his people had so little land left to them by the white man that 'independence' would be meaningless and 'nationalism' seemed to him a false slogan. Mr. Yrjo Kallinen (Finland) queried the conception of 'cultural nationalism' which seemed to him to have no more content than 'unselfish egoism or 'pacifist militarism'. When people spoke of nations, they talked

of abstractions which meant nothing—just as they could talk of war without seeing or feeling the inhuman horrors which it really meant.

Mr. Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany) had lived many years without any nationality. He noticed that in the Olympic Games a man started to run as a Negro, but when he won the French claimed him as a French subject. Mr. Henri Roser (France) found the ideological divisions of today as dangerous as nationalism. What was wanted was a new Faith.

Sri Manilal Gandhi said that nationalism, as such, was not undesirable; but present forms of nationalism like all 'isms' were perverted. His father had loved the hymn 'Lead Kindly Light', with its phrase 'one step enough for me'. Gandhiji believed he must clean up his own house before he could think of cleaning those of other people. On this account, he had refused many pressing invitations to other countries—his work was here in India. Unless, said Sri Manilal Gandhi, we were truly national, we could not be international. He could not agree with Prof. Jabavu's attitude to the nationalism of South African Negroes, which he welcomed.

Mr. P. M. Sekiya (Japan) raised the question of racial discrimination. The policy of Australia towards Japanese immigration was one which could be better understood since the war, but he hoped the Conference could make some declaration favouring a selective immigration policy. Mrs. Lucy Kingston (Irish Republic) returned to the subject of ideologies. Generalisations about communism and communists, for example, were as bad in her view, as generalisations about countries. Mr. A. A. B. Ishak (Malaya) pointed out that nationalism had been created in his country by British colonial policy.

Miss Vera Brittain, the well-known English author who recently became chairman of the British Peace Pledge Union, found no antithesis between regional and world cultures. Love of one's country—easily exploited by war-makers—is love of a place. It is not an abstraction to love one's own fields and hills. This feeling could easily be turned to some constructive purpose. She believed in cultural nationalism and thought the development of regional cultures a means of combating the idea of the nation-state.

Mr. J. J. Buskes, a Dutch pastor who suffered imprisonment under the Nazi occupation for his defence of the Jews, said it was world culture which seemed to him to be an abstraction. National culture should be part of a world symphony. Dr. Mordecai Johnson thought that nationalism had its place, but that world needs could

only be met by a movement which shot the world through with a deep ethical realisation of the problems that communism claimed to solve. Only such a movement could meet the challenge of communism.

Several other speakers continued the discussion, which was concluded by Prof. Amiya Chakravarty, who concurred with the views expressed by Dr. Johnson on communism. He asked the delegates to consider what individuals could do to prevent the rise of the militarist nation-state in countries, such as India, where nationalism was still in a fluid state.

There was an impressive ceremony in the evening when the Deena-bandhu Bhavan was opened at sundown, in memory of Charles Freer Andrews, who made Santiniketan his home during many years of a life devoted to the cause of God and humanity.

Sri Kshiti Mohan Sen chanted the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*, and a reading from the New Testament was given by Mr. Henri Roser, a French Protestant minister. After prayers by Sri S. K. George and a short address by Sri Rathindranath Tagore, Miss Agatha Harrison spoke movingly of Mr. C. F. Andrews and his work, the continuation of which, it was hoped, would be furthered by the new building. She declared this building open. Many joined in the singing of 'When I survey the wondrous cross', a hymn which Gandhiji often asked 'Charlie' Andrews to sing to him.

At a special evening session it was announced that Mr. Harald Abetz, President of the German Peace Society, the strongest pacifist organisation in Western Germany, sent greetings to the Conference. Prof. Rydbeck (Sweden) then introduced the subject of science and peace.

Man's curiosity and creativeness, said Prof. Rydbeck, could not be stopped, and we need not fear them. What mattered was the use to which we put them. He saw dangers in the 'cultural nationalism' to which reference had been made in an earlier session. German physicists had justified their part in war preparations by their belief in the superiority of German culture, and he feared the same might be the case today in Russia. Unless scientists were trained in the ways of peace, they would not be able to stand against the pressure that would be exerted upon them. Prof. Rydbeck had himself been asked to design an acoustic mine during the war, but had refused to do so. The best efforts of science, he said, are easily exploited for evil purposes—but the simplest civilisation could be similarly exploited. The character of man was the one thing we could rely

upon. Science, he believed, which had brought a closer sense of remote events and made us all world-conscious might be a great force for peace. It might also abolish poverty. The situation of the modern world was by no means hopeless.

Prof. Tseng (China) said that the trouble with scientists is that they cause us to externalise truth. He spoke of the inadequacy of a scientific training in the perception of moral truth, which could only be realised by looking within ourselves. Scientists were dangerous because they considered people as so much material. In the sphere of morals and spiritual understanding we are part of what we study. We were faced by a problem which only divine light could illumine for us.

In reply to a question, Prof. Rydbeck said that in order to develop human character so as to keep pace with technological progress, which presents so many dangers, we needed a drastic revision of our system of education—at least, this was the case in his own country.

Mr. A. J. Muste (U.S.A.) read a letter from Prof. Einstein, recently received, in which Einstein had given his comments on an article relating to atomic warfare. Einstein said that he did not expect very much from the concerted efforts of scientists, because the problem was not a technical, but a political one. Mr. Muste felt that scientists too often behaved like play-boys, unaware of the enormous responsibility that rested with them.

Mr. Y. Kallinen (Finland) spoke of man's double nature, which made him capable of the best and the worst. Mr. Rene Bovard (Switzerland) wished that the study of all sciences could be preceded by a solemn vow, similar to that taken by a Doctor of Medicine. A strong sense of the urgency of the problem was given by Dr. Kora (Japan) who, at the close of the session, described with vivid realism the agony of Hiroshima. The Chairman, Miss P. S. Tseng (China), expressed the deep sense of contrition which had been evoked by this contribution, and ended the session by asking for a short silence when delegates could pray for a reformation of human behaviour.

EIGHTH SESSION December 8, 1949

On Thursday, December 8, the separate commissions met in the morning. Commission 'A' directed its attention to three questions:

(1) What is the pacifist approach to the major world issues of today, such as World Citizenship, World Government, Disarmament, Communism, etc.?

(2) What basic programmes of peace action can be recommended for different areas of the World?

(3) What organisations (in addition to the possibility of a continuation committee) can be recommended in order to unite and unify the peace groups represented?

Commission 'B' has been considering new ways of life which take away the occasion of war. After some preliminary discussion two members of the Commission were asked to draw up a statement on the world food problem in relation to the growth of population. The Commission then split up into two groups. The first is making a study of basic education as practised in India considering its contribution as a method of introducing new values and its adaptability to other countries. The second group is considering problems of world organisation and how far such organisation is possible in the world as it is today.

Commission 'C' decided to draw up a statement of basic principles which might be acceptable to all pacifists; to consider the development of methods of training which would promote the extension of non-violence as a creed; and thirdly how to end the almost universal sense of separateness in both groups and individuals. This Commission also divided into two, one considering the dominance of the individual ego, and the other discussing positive suggestions for religious training beginning with that of young children.

The chairman of the three Commissions reported in the evening to a full session of the Conference, and the Commissions will continue their work at Sevagram when the Conference re-assembles at Christmas.

In the afternoon a special session of the World Pacifist Meeting was held in the mango grove of Santiniketan, where the opening ceremony took place on December 1.

At the special session of December 8, the programme began with songs composed of the words of the poet Tagore, and the chair was taken by Sri G. Ramchandran. Recalling the fact that he was a student at Santiniketan 25 years ago and addressing as 'revered elders' those of his teachers who are still here, he described this session as an 'atonement' to Santiniketan for the private nature of the previous meetings. He introduced the five speakers on the platform as a small delegation from a truer 'United Nations' than the gathering at Lake Success. 'I wonder,' he said, 'if there has ever been a gathering of this kind in India so truly international in spirit.'

The five speakers, Madame Magda Trocme (France), Prof. Beauson Tseng (China), Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu (S. Africa), Pastor E. Ewalds (Finland) and Mr. Ray Newton, Executive Secretary of the Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee (U.S.A.), spoke on five separate topics. Madame Trocme described India both as she had imagined it and as she found it; Prof. Tseng, discussing 'the present opportunity' remarked that pacifists 'were called idealists before their faces and idiots behind their backs'. Prof. Jabavu entitled his theme 'India, Africa and Peace'; Pastor Ewalds spoke on 'Education for Peace', and Mr. Newton, dealing with the relationship between India and America as peace-makers, thanked Mr. and Mrs. Tagore and all our hosts and helpers at Santiniketan. He said that our best way of repaying them would be to serve the cause of peace more effectively when we return to our respective communities.

In his concluding speech, Sri G. Ramchandran expressed his satisfaction on the first results of the Meeting. He said that the exchange of ideas and convictions which it had made possible had perhaps been even more fruitful to Eastern than to Western delegates. He hoped, on the other hand, that through the Conference at Sevagram, the West would once more convey to the world a spiritual message of paramount importance initiated in the East, viz., that of Gandhiji.

At the concluding session of the World Pacifist Meeting at Santiniketan, held late in the evening of the 8th December, Sri Hiralal Bose, Organising Secretary of the Committee, paid a tribute to the invaluable guidance and help and precious time given by Mr. Horace Alexander as Chairman of the Committee, to the preparatory work for the World Pacifist Meeting over many months.

Sri Bose expressed his concern about the younger people of India and of some other parts of Asia, to whom the fundamental virtues and faiths, including pacifism, need to be presented in a different and new way, in a way which they would understand.

Sri Kaka Kalelkar spoke of the very cordial and fraternal relation among the delegates in Santiniketan. 'In spite of the difference of language and country, we all belong to a common faith and that brings us together as nothing else can.' He hoped that when the delegates travelled across India, they would find deep down in the hearts of the people an abiding faith.

Mr. Horace Alexander, [redacted] is concluding remarks, made a moving reference to Sri Manilal Gandhi's remarks and shared his doubt

whether we are fit for the kind of task that is before us'. 'Let us,' he added, 'face the fact that we are not fit to fast'.

After ten minutes of silent prayer the Santiniketan Session of the World Pacifist Meeting concluded with a quotation by Mr. Alexander of the following lines from Tennyson:—

'Our wills are ours we know not how
'Our wills are ours to make them thine.'

After the Santiniketan Sessions were over a message (sent earlier) was received from Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore, regretting her inability to attend the Conference and praying for its success.

CALCUTTA MEETINGS

RECEPTION

THE delegates of the World Pacifist Meeting were given a cordial reception on 10th December, 1949, on behalf of the Province of West Bengal in the grounds of Nizam's House, Calcutta. About five hundred representative people of the province who included the office-bearers and members of the Reception Committee, were present to welcome the delegates.

Dr. B. C. Roy, the Premier of the Province, while welcoming the delegates, declared that it was the duty of pacifists to eradicate the root causes of war and to find out how to prevent nations getting to the stage when war became inevitable or imminent.

Pacifism, he said, could be the creed only of the strong. It did not mean calm subservience to aggressors. Pacifists should not stop at advocating settlement of disputes by arbitration because it was no use waiting for the time when a dispute had already taken place or a war was about to break out. Wars and disputes among nations, in the ultimate analysis, arose out of a temperamental approach to various problems on the part of those in authority. A few persons decided for or against wars, and others simply followed. Those few acted in the name of the nations they represented.

The problem before pacifists was to remove the Hitlerian mentality and a sense of frustration and fear complex from the minds of the people. What was needed was prevention rather than cure.

To Mahatma Gandhi, who made non-violence the cardinal principle of his life, the means were greater than the end. The Mahatma's creed was the basis of pacifism. Dr. Katju, in welcoming the delegates at Santiniketan, had observed that Britain should disarm, even unilaterally. This statement, Dr. Roy regretted, evoked unfavourable comments in some newspapers. Britain, he said, had been quoted by the Governor because it was a strong country and non-violence of the strong was what was advocated.

He regretted that India was yet far from realising the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, which meant acceptance of non-violence as a 'way of life'. But India was the land where the principle of *ahimsa* had been preached for centuries and had been put into practice by the

Mahatma. The foundations of this way of life had been well and truly laid. He appealed to the delegates to try to practise this eternal doctrine of non-violence in their own way.

Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mourbhanj, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that her father, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, had addressed the pacifists in London seventy-two years ago. That pacifist movement was still continuing in the world. The message of Mahatma Gandhi has been inspiring pacifists all over the world, which would be a better place to live in if the individuals in their humble private lives could follow the teachings of the Mahatma.

Miss Pao Swen Tseng (China), replying on behalf of the delegates, recalled the friendly relationship between India and China through the centuries. The cultural background of these two ancient countries was laid on the spiritual teachings of the great masters who preached the message of peace and brotherhood. She said that a time had come when pacifists should try not only to bring about peace between nations, but also between differing ideologies.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson (U.S.A.) said that pacifism was worth nothing if it could not raise its voice against injustice, exploitation, colonialism, discrimination against men on grounds of race or colour and against the poverty of the masses. He referred to the glorious manner in which India had liberated itself by non-violent means under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The same technique, he hoped, would enable the country to eradicate communalism and untouchability completely.

Mr. Reginald Reynolds (England) related his experiences in India twenty years ago when he came in contact with Mahatma Gandhi. He said he saw how one man's character was pitted against a mighty empire. He also saw how silently Mahatma Gandhi achieved the miracle. The country which had a heritage as glorious as Mahatma Gandhi's ideals was destined to be great.

Mr. Henri Roser (France) said that he belonged to a country which was unfortunate enough to have colonies. When a country had colonies it exploits the people and that is wrong: it prepares for war. They have to fight against this acquisition instinct, so that they can act humanly. If one wants to overcome evil, violence and hatred by non-violence, he has to follow the methods of Gandhi, and to learn these we have come to India.

PUBLIC MEETING

A PUBLIC meeting was held on 10th December, 1949, in Calcutta at the Nizam's grounds, which was addressed by twenty delegates of the World Pacifist Meeting, hailing from countries as far apart as the U.S.A., the Gold Coast, Finland and New Zealand. The unanimity of the speakers was expressed in their emphasis not only on the urgent need of establishing world peace but also the necessity of India maintaining the lead she had already given through the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. The common bond between the speakers was further emphasised by the fact that with one exception—a French delegate—they spoke in English.

Over 3,000 Calcutta citizens, disregarding the discomfort of continued exposure in light clothes to the chill of a winter evening, listened with attention for over four hours to these speeches.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh, ex-Premier of West Bengal, who presided, spoke frankly about pacifism in the particular context of present-day Indo-Pakistan relations.

'If we cannot remove the fear complex from the minds of the people of these two neighbouring states, who till recently were citizens of one country, it is futile for us to talk of non-violence and peace,' he declared.

Offering a personal suggestion in this connexion, he continued: 'We cannot defend ourselves today against any first-class Power. When we talk of defence, it is defence against possible Pakistan aggression. Similarly, Pakistan's talk of defence is that against possible Indian aggression. Therefore, if we can come to some agreement with Pakistan, this problem can be solved easily. Failing that, we should even think of some unilateral steps. It has its risks, as some critics would say, but I feel it is worth while taking such a risk.'

Dr. Ghosh pointed out that the aim of a pacifist should be nothing short of the establishment of a World Federation. This ideal could only be realised when the nations of the World decided not to exploit their smaller and weaker neighbours. They must put an end to colonialism and economic exploitation of one nation by another.

Articles essential for human existence should be the common property of all peoples.

Miss Vera Brittain (England) said that throughout the meeting at Santiniketan the atmosphere had been full of a sense of the oneness of humanity. The conference had reached no conclusion. It was not in a hurry to do so. They wanted to understand all the problems fully before reaching clear-cut decisions.

When the problem of child education had been discussed at Santiniketan, a suggestion had been made for the inclusion of part of the texts of all religions of the world in the curricula of schools.

A particularly interesting speech was that of Dr. Beauson Tseng (China), who, by an elaborate philosophical interpretation of six historical events in this century—three in the Eastern Hemisphere and three in the West—sought to show that India was the confluence of two important trends of historical influence. The liberation of India without a violent conflict and with the active consent of the British had shown not only that Gandhiji was able, by his example and teaching, to lead into a higher plane of moral action; but he had also evoked a moral response on the same level from the people of Britain. He adduced from this that the spirit exemplified in Gandhiji would be found workable in the world at large which was now passing through an epochal change.

'Peace and not war,' he continued, 'is inevitable. The rise of India at this time and place out of the force of historical revolution is the voice of destiny. Their destiny has decreed peace and, therefore, peace it shall be.'

Mr. Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany) earned the gathering's applause by his dynamic speech. He explained at first how, strictly speaking, he was not a delegate to the Pacifist meeting as he had not been sent by any organization or state. He did not belong to any political party and had for years been a stateless individual. He explained that a large proportion of the world's population did not belong to any political party and were not interested in political quarrels. They only wanted to be left alone to live their own lives and earn enough to keep themselves.

Sri G. Ramchandran (India) said that the doctrine of non-violence was not the monopoly of India. Other countries had known and sometimes practised it. The difference between India and other countries was that she had had a Gandhi to teach her the right method of using it. India should be teaching the world the non-violent way

to peace but instead, after the Mahatma's death, the country seemed to be hesitant and in doubt. 'We hesitate today at our peril,' he said.

Some people thought that before peace could be established there must be a complete change in the present social and economic world order. But this was ridiculous. With the advent of the atom bomb, the world today was facing a very urgent crisis—a crisis which could not wait.

Mr. Yrjo Kallinen (Finland) said, 'Humanity is drifting along very dangerous paths. No normal man wants war but there is no gainsaying the fact that the people of all nations today want something which can very easily lead to war.'

He hoped that the suggestions offered by the World Pacifist Meeting would be found not only good but also practical. He for one felt that they would at least go back to their respective countries something different from what they were before they reached this country.

They had inhaled spiritual air in this country and everyone of them would carry something of the spirit of India which would be a valuable gift to their people.

Mr. Richard Gregg (U.S.A.) made an earnest plea to the people of India not to neglect the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Individual Satyagraha, which Gandhiji had introduced thirty years ago, required an accumulated spiritual insight and moral understanding and was therefore a great force. So was his technique of non-violence which for the first time in history brought independence to a great nation like India without bloodshed.

Mr. David Acquah (Gold Coast) said that many people in the world were watching India today and waiting for her leadership through Gandhi's technique of non-violence which was a great moral force.

U Lu Pe Win (Burma) stressed the need of spiritual intercourse among the different peoples of the world and suggested that some of Gandhiji's followers should go to Burma to explain his message.

Mr. A. J. Muste (U.S.A.) said that neither Communism nor any of the other evils which today threatened to embroil the world in war would be able to stand against the type of administration that made it a point to see that not a soul in the world went hungry or without education and medical attention.

Mr. Zaki Saleh (Iraq) said, 'We ought to remember that such well-known factors as ignorance, poverty and disease are no less

dangerous to human life and tranquillity than the atom bomb and other causes which we today fear.'

Dr. Walter Zander (England) referred to the partition of Palestine and what followed in its wake. He, as a Jew, had had to ask himself whether the establishment of Israel was justified if it led—as it had done—to the misery of tens of thousands of Arabs, now living and dying, in destitution, in refugee camps. He said that one can see the same distressing sights of refugees there as he had seen in Calcutta. He thought that unless the refugees were rehabilitated there could not be any peace in the world. The effective rehabilitation of even a few families who have suffered from the wars and conflicts of our time might be the best practical contribution that can be made to world peace.

SEVAGRAM MEETINGS

When Mahatma Gandhi left his Aśram at Sabarmati near Ahmedabad for the famous 'salt march' of 1930, he declared that he would not return to it until India was free. In 1932–1934, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, a prominent merchant and landlord of Wardha, who was an old and devoted co-worker of his, invited him to make his home there. He lived first in what is now Mahilāśram, and later in Jamnalalji's garden-house which was renamed Maganwadi in memory of Sri Maganlal Gandhi, one of the nephews of the Mahatma, and his close associate.

In 1936 Gandhiji felt the need of a home more remote from town-life, and decided on the village of Segaon about five miles south-east of Wardha. Gandhiji chose the name Sevagram (Village of Service) and this was adopted by the District authorities in 1938.

It was natural therefore that when autonomous associations were established to carry out various aspects of the national constructive programme, they should make their headquarters in this neighbourhood where Gandhiji's guidance could readily be sought.

SEVAGRAM MEETINGS—A DAY-TO-DAY RECORD

December 24, 1949

When the delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting re-assembled at Sevagram on Christmas Eve, an informal tea-time discussion took place at which a number described their travels round India.

Between them these delegates had practically covered the country from north to south and from east to west. One had seen the peaks of Tibet from Darjeeling, while another belonging to a party of eighteen which journeyed south, had been impressed by the conjunction at Cape Comorin of a Government Guest House, a Roman Catholic Monastery, and buildings showing the symbol of the hammer and sickle. Other members of this group had visited Gandhi Gram near Madura.

Another group had travelled north from Calcutta through Banaras, Lucknow, Allahabad and Agra to Delhi. Others had visited Bombay. One had journeyed to Orissa. Many mentioned their preference for getting to know the Indian people, rather than continually visiting temples.

Nearly all the travellers mentioned how deeply they had been impressed by the extent and generosity of Indian hospitality. The majority emphasised the contrast that they had seen between great wealth and extreme poverty in close juxtaposition. Those who had journeyed north were conscious of the disparity between official Delhi and the followers of Gandhiji. One delegate described how some of her hosts had been enthusiastic about the World Pacifist Meeting, while one host was opposed to holding it in India at all. To everyone it quickly became clear that India is a land of enormous contrasts, in which decisive generalisations are out of place.

Mr. Yrjo Kallinen, former Defence Minister of Finland and delegate to the World Pacifist Meeting, has just received word that his Government has awarded him the Order of Commander of the White Rose. The Order was established by Finland when it achieved its independence in 1919. Mr. Kallinen as a Pacifist was appointed

Defence Minister to carry out demobilisation and to give notice that Finland had no war-like intentions whatever. In a pleasant little ceremony the young daughter of one of the delegates presented a white flower to Mr. Kallinen who responded that 'no decoration could be so precious as this from a little child'.

At 8-30 p.m. the delegates listened in as Dr. Rajendra Prasad broadcast from Gandhiji's hut. His thoughtful and moving appeal for peace was heard in complete and attentive silence by Sevagram workers and villagers, who stood tightly packed in the large meeting hall and crowded to every door and window to listen to the loud-speaker.

Meanwhile a little group of delegates were broadcasting to the world from the hut itself. Persian, Arabic, French, German and Chinese translations of the Appeal were read in turn by men and women who represented these language areas. A huge part of the world was potentially covered by them. The record was broadcast from Delhi at times suitable to listeners in the countries concerned.

December 25, 1949

On Christmas morning the whole Sevagram community celebrated Christmas Day by an hour of silent spinning at 7-30 a.m. followed by an open-air service of worship in which all delegates shared. Prayer and song were offered by members of the Moslem, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist communities. Portions of scripture and the story of the Nativity were read. The worshippers were considerably helped by the thoughtfulness of Sevagram workers in providing a translated text of all the prayers and hymns including those from Vedas and Upanishads. In this way we were able to appreciate the underlying unity of all religions. *

The practice of spinning as a part of worship was of particular interest as emphasising the direct connection between work and worship.

The first business session of the Sevagram Conference took place at 10 a.m. in the Hindustani Talimi Sangh (headquarters of basic education). Dr. Rajendra Prasad presided. Greetings were read from

* Some of the prayers used during the Meeting are printed in Appendix I.

Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Premier of the Central Provinces, and from Prof. Humayun Kabir who hoped to join the Conference. Good wishes also came from the National Peace Council of Great Britain, and from its Chairman, Dr. Alex Wood, a Cambridge scientist who had been invited to the Meeting but was unable to accept. Further greetings came from the London Friends Peace Committee and from Muriel and Doris Lester of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The President of the Central Board of Shinto in Japan regretted that practical difficulties had prevented their delegate from attending the Conference. A letter from Czechoslovakia sent prayerful thoughts for the success of the gathering. A personal message from the Irish Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Sean McBride, expressed the belief that the world must eventually turn to religious-minded people for a solution of its problems.

Mr. Horace Alexander then reported on friendly contacts made by delegates between the Conferences in East and West Pakistan. From East Pakistan a welcome arrival was Prof. Hussein of Dacca.

Mr. Reginald Reynolds briefly announced, to the great regret of the Conference, the death of Mr. H. Runham Brown, the British Chairman of the War Resisters International, on December 19th.

Some members of the Conference expressed their deep appreciation of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's witness to non-violence. The following resolution was then adopted by the Conference and forwarded to him:

> This Meeting of World Pacifists regrets that it has not been possible for it to have the benefit of guidance and personal presence of an apostle of non-violence, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi, who was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi to the last, in the latter's mission of non-violence. It places on record its respect and deep appreciation of the demonstration which he gave of the power of non-violence by discovering it for and inculcating it among the warlike Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province.

The Conference then heard a summary by Sri Kaka Kalelkar of the Santiniketan Conference emphasising the community of purpose already achieved between peoples from the five continents, who though

regarded as 'Faddists' in their own countries, had revealed a great and united faith when assembled together.

The discussion which followed began with a remark by Prof. Hussein of East Pakistan, who intimated that the relationship between India and Pakistan should be an immediate concern of the Conference; in this he was supported by Sri Sudhir Ghosh. The remainder of the session was given to a consideration of the best use to be made of the week at Sevagram.

The Conference adjourned at noon in order to be entertained for their Christmas luncheon by the teachers and students of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh in the Goshala, or farm headquarters.

On the afternoon of Christmas day the second part of the World Pacifist Meeting was formally opened with a ceremony of welcome from the Sevagram workers, and responses from four of the delegates from abroad.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave was prevented from giving his opening address in person by illness. It was therefore read in English and Hindustani to the great audience which had gathered in front of the Khadi Vidyalaya, headquarters of the All-India Spinners Association. In a brief address Srimati Kashiben, wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi, welcomed the delegates into 'this family of workers, students, children and villagers of Sevagram'. She added: 'this small community has been trying under Gandhiji's guidance to work out a non-violent way of life.' Each of the foreign delegates was then welcomed individually and presented with a hank of home-spun yarn.

The Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar, Sri Mangaldas Pakwasa, then extended a hearty welcome to all the delegates. He was followed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly and also President of the Committee which called and arranged for the World Pacifist Meeting. Dr. Rajendra Prasad said he had wondered whether some delegates would not feel that 'there was an incongruity in having one who is an official in a Government which maintains an army, a large police force and is run much like any other Government', being also prominently connected with a pacifist meeting. 'If Gandhiji were alive,' he continued, 'he would have shown us how we could exist without an army and other such instrumentalities. We who are left behind are weak instruments. Yet there is a strong undercurrent of belief which holds to the path which Gandhiji pointed out to us. Believe me that the heart of India is non-violent.'

Four of the foreign delegates responded to the address of welcome. The Rev. J. J. Buskes of Holland spoke of the message of the Manger and the Cross and pointed out that Gandhiji had recalled the western world to their truth. He hoped that this would result in an intensified struggle against capitalism, militarism, and imperialism. He was followed by Dr. Karel Hujer (Czechoslovakia), Mr. A. C. Barrington (New Zealand), and the Rev. Michael Scott of South Africa, who a few weeks earlier presented the case of some of the Natives of South Africa before Commission Four of the United Nations.

The Sevagram Community celebrated Christmas evening with a simple and very moving Nativity pageant, in which members of the Conference were invited to take part as carol-singers. The pageant which was preceded by Indian prayers and singing, was held in the large Goshala, of which the literal translation is 'cow-shed', and lighted only by the subdued illumination of oil lanterns. All round the great yard were the stalls of forty white cows, one of which appropriately gave birth to a calf in the midst of the Christmas ceremony.

The carol-singers stood amidst the cows singing 'Stille Nacht', 'Adeste Fideles', and 'The First Noel'. Joseph and Mary went into real cow-sheds and the Child Jesus was laid in an actual manger. The shepherds came from the highlands of Tibet and played their parts to perfection. Above the silent countryside the crescent moon and vivid stars shone from a delicately clouded sky. The scene was probably as close an approximation to the actual scenes at Bethlehem as the modern world could achieve, and no one who took part in the pageant will ever forget it.

On their way back to the camp, some of the delegates attended another typical ceremony, held for the Sevagram school children round a small togur tree which had been decorated with flowers, fruit, and cotton wool, and was lighted by tiny vessels of oil laid on the ground beneath the boughs. The senior American delegate played the part of Father Christmas so realistically that the excited children finally raided the tree and ran to bed delighted with their spoils.

December 26, 1949

After meeting in separate Commissions on the morning of Monday, the 26th, the Conference re-assembled at 10-45 a.m. to

discuss the conflict of ideologies. This subject was introduced by Dr. Beauson Tseng (China) and Mr. Heinz Kraschutzki (Germany).

Dr. Tseng contrasted the 'Martha' type of Western culture with the 'Mary type' which was more typical of the East. The oriental conception of Government had been traditionally that it should interfere as little as possible with the individual; and as a result of this, whenever conflict had arisen in the past, the highly organised Western States had generally been victorious. In modern times the East had sometimes produced, under the influence of Western industrialism, bad imitations of Western models. The present conflict in China should be regarded in the light of Chinese history and there was some possibility that communism in China might take a road of its own.

Mr. Kraschutzki regretted the absence of any delegates from the Soviet bloc. In the tension between Russia and the Western Powers, neither side wanted war, but both were possessed by fear and self-righteousness. Russians were unimpressed by the claim of the Western Powers to be champions of freedom, and pointed as examples of insincerity to the attitude adopted by Britain towards France or to racial discrimination, abolished in Russia, but still a glaring evil in parts of the British Commonwealth. The speaker appealed for greater fairness in forming opinions about other people. If a subsequent conference was to be held, it should meet, for example, both in Eastern and in Western Germany or on two sides of any other geographical boundary which represented an ideological or national cleavage.

In the discussion some vital information was given by Mr. Aage Jorgenson (Denmark), who spoke as a close student for many years of Russia, communism and Tolstoy. There were many Tolstoyans, he said, still in Russia, though no organised Tolstoyan movement was permitted. Tolstoy's works, including his religious books, were the most widely read in modern Russia. Editions as large as 300,000 were still being published by the State. Russians were even today a religious people. Other speakers mentioned the existence of direct contact with Tolstoyans in Russia, and the possibility of maintaining relations with the Doukhobors, some of whom were likely to return from Canada.

There was a general opinion that there should also be an effort to establish every possible bridge with Russia whether personally, through the Churches and other organisations where contacts already existed, or through more official channels. In Russia, as in other countries,

the people were not to be confused with the Government. Mr. Henri Roser (France) pointed out that military measures, directed against the Russian Government, could only alienate the people of Russia, who would be the first to suffer in the event of war. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty spoke of the reconciling influence of American Quakers in bringing together the rival powers, and the effect of a gift of streptomycin which American Friends had given to Russia through the Soviet Government. It was agreed, on a suggestion by Miss Vera Brittain, that ways and means of making further gestures of friendship such as this should be referred to the sub-commission concerned with the East-West tension, with the suggestion that a permanent commission should be set up by the World Pacifist Meeting to act in this matter.

Many speakers were concerned with the question of the right attitude to communists in those countries which claim to be democratic. Here the possibility existed of establishing a new social order which would be at the same time a fulfilment of the economic justice which communists professed as their aim and of the individual liberty which had yet to be realised by the so-called democracies. This point was stressed by a new arrival from Switzerland, Dr. Zimmerman. Mr. Reginald Reynolds, commenting on a suggestion by Miss Agatha Harrison that India might mediate as a disinterested State in the East-West tension, pointed out that the Indian Government like that of many Western States, took up an attitude to communists which was hardly compatible with the task of a Mediator. If pacifists really wanted to bridge the ideological gulf they must consider how communists were treated in their own countries; and in this matter the pacifists of the U.S.A. and India had special responsibilities that required much further attention.

The Conference then adjourned and met again at 4-30 p.m. in separate Commissions.

December 27, 1949

After a morning spent in commission work, the full Conference met at 4-30 p.m. on Tuesday the 27th to learn something about the problem faced by those who were working for peace and co-operation between India and Pakistan.

The subject was presented to the delegates in an impressive and moving address by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the Negro President of Howard University, Washington D.C., whose deep feeling for the

sorrows of his own people has so often helped him to identify himself with the sufferings of other races. Speaking very quietly, Dr. Johnson referred to the difficulties between India and Pakistan as a dispute between brothers, such as we see even in family relationship.

On the holy ground where the delegates were now meeting, he said, Gandhiji had made brotherly fellowship between Hindus and Moslems a major purpose of his life, and it must have been the subject of his last prayer. Those about to speak were asked to weigh their words carefully, being scrupulously exact in all that they said; and all were warned against reaching hasty conclusions even in the secrecy of their own hearts. Three times in the course of the session Dr. Johnson asked for a pause in which silent prayer could strengthen this resolve of the Conference to look at present problems in the same spirit which had guided the mind of Gandhiji.

Mr. K. M. Hussein, Professor of Physics in Dacca University, was then asked to speak, and he described himself as an individual visitor from East Pakistan, not delegated by any authority. Though he had not been present at the Santiniketan session, Prof. Hussein had obviously studied the discussions which took place there, and quoted with approval the words of many delegates including Sri Jitendra Nath Kusari (a Hindu from East Pakistan), and of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur when she appealed to her countrymen to 'stretch out the hand of love and friendship to the millions of Muslims still in our midst in India'.

The speaker regarded the cause of friction as being, primarily, not a matter of religious differences, but of the activity of 'power groups' playing upon religious sensitivity. The unity of religions, of humanity, and of life itself had been taught by many Indian saints, both Hindu and Muslim, and was implicit in the system of Basic Education devised by Mahatma Gandhi. He stressed the fact that poets and artists had here a great creative opportunity.

Reminding his audience of the abruptness with which, after partition, Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in the Indian Union had found themselves in the position of small minorities, Prof. Hussein stated that it would take time for these minorities to adjust themselves to the fact of partition. He paid a tribute to the determination of the Indian National Congress to remain a non-communal organisation; but difficulties still arose on both sides of the border, and it was unfortunate that the inevitable dislocation of life following partition had not been made clearer to the people in advance.

Professor Hussein regretted the extent of emigration often led by those who should, in his view, have set a more courageous example. The real solution depended upon a complete change of heart.

Sri Pyarelal then spoke from his own experience of both East and West Bengal. He agreed with Prof. Hussein that in the villages there was seldom any conflict between Muslims and Hindus, but he thought that other influences were at work besides 'power groups'. After giving some examples of the difficulties which often confronted those working for reconciliation, he expressed the view that people who were not nationals of either country could do much in a personal way to bring about better relations between the two States and the two religions.

Sri Jitendra Nath Kusari pointed out that peace workers must be prepared to serve in the way that the people wished, and not impose on them a preconceived programme. He referred to the economic causes of communal friction, and gave as an example the case of Noakhali, where 80% of the land had been owned by the 20% Hindu minority. In some of the pre-war riots at Dacca, the economically suppressed Hindu 'Untouchables' had joined with the Muslims against the caste Hindus.

It was unfortunate, said Sri Kusari, that prominent Indian speakers sometimes put forward the idea that Pakistan could not survive. Worse still were such demonstrations as that which had been advertised all over Calcutta, when Sri V. D. Savarkar was billed to address the Hindu Mahasabha, on posters which proclaimed the coming destruction of Pakistan and re-conquest of East Bengal.

The speaker felt that behind the demand for a Muslim State lay the genuine desire of suppressed people for self-determination. From this a real Muslim renaissance had followed since partition. He suggested three ways of working for reconciliation. First came selfless constructive service among the people. Secondly came attempts to bring about a rapprochement between the two Governments, in which foreign pacifists might help. Thirdly, he believed that a mediator might yet be found in this sub-continent acceptable to both sides.

Of the subsequent speakers, Sri K. G. Mashruwala, Editor of *Harijan*, emphasised the fact that India had absorbed many different religions and cultures. It was only in recent years that some Muslims had discovered that they could not live at peace with Hindus, and some Hindus had put forward the idea of a 100% Hindu State. In this

belief a Hindu had killed Gandhiji. He believed that the situation required the help of non-violent workers ready to risk their lives, and to accept the pacifist principle that such work should continue whether it wins a response or not.

Professor H. I. Hassan of Cairo University referred to the many Muslims who had been adherents of Gandhiji, and the grief expressed at his death by both Muslims and Christians in Egypt. Rightly understood, he said, Islam was a religion of peace with which Gandhiji's teachings closely coincided. Mme. Magda Trocme (France) spoke of her short visit to East Pakistan, where a high official had told her that poets and singers were the right visitors to send to East Bengal; they alone could appreciate and interpret the life of the people. There was no 'Iron Curtain', this official had said, and Indians were as welcome as European pacifist delegates.

Dr. Johnson then requested Dr. Rajendra Prasad to address the Conference. Dr. Prasad expressed his regret that no delegate was present from Western Pakistan, as the tension on the western border was so much greater.* All the most cultured people of both religions, including some monarchs, had fostered a movement towards social and cultural unity whilst leaving religious differences alone; and Congress had only with great reluctance agreed to the division of India into two separate territories. In West Pakistan there now remained few if any Hindus or Sikhs, and in the East Punjab few if any Muslims. Among the present causes of friction Dr. Prasad mentioned four. First, Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab had been generally more prosperous than their Muslim neighbours, and the property they had left behind was more valuable than that left by Muslim emigrants from India. Secondly there was the dispute about Kashmir (the only border State between the two dominions).

Thirdly came the abduction of women on both sides of the West Pakistan border. Both Governments had agreed to set the return of these women to their homes above all political consideration, but this had not yet been fully implemented. Finally there were economic causes of tension such as the problem which arose when the Indian rupee was devalued while the Pakistan rupee remained at the previous rate. Dr. Prasad, like previous speakers, thought that much could be done by constructive workers and by people who belonged by

* Dr. Rajendra Prasad was speaking a few weeks before the grave communal outbreaks in Bengal of early 1950.

race and religion to neither side in the political and religious disputes, provided that such people first made an extremely careful study of the facts.

Mr. Horace Alexander then referred to a brief statement which had been made by Pastor Buskes (Holland) on the termination that day of the long struggle for Indonesian independence and the shame which Pastor Buskes felt with regard to the colonial record of his country. Mr. Alexander said that he wished to speak in similar terms of Britain's share of responsibility for the grievous tension between India and Pakistan. He too felt shame for a past which, in his opinion, the British people could now do little to redeem. Attention was drawn by Mr. A. C. Barrington (New Zealand) to an Indo-Pakistan Friendship Association in Delhi, not widely known, but commended by responsible people in both Governments.

Sri Sudhir Ghosh spoke very briefly of the power of prayer and silence, quoting the dying words of James Nayler, the seventeenth-century Quaker who described so beautifully the spirit that 'delights to endure all things', taking its kingdom 'with entreaty and not with contention'. It was in this spirit that Dr. Mordecai Johnson closed the discussion, urging the delegates to join their hearts, 'with the heart of that great friend of Hindus and Muslims who hallowed this place with his presence during so many years'.

The meeting closed in silence with a deepened sense of dedication to the work of reconciliation and of peace.

Later, the delegates enjoyed a musical evening, together with a large contingent from the surrounding villages. The occasion arose from a visit of the celebrated singer Tukroji Maharaj. A local figure with a national reputation, his vigorous and haunting songs were heard on the ashram prayer ground by the large audience which he always draws. Many mothers brought their small boys and girls, who slept undisturbed by the joyous tumult on the verandah facing the prayer ground.

Before the songs began, Dr. Mordecai Johnson gave a short talk which was interpreted for the audience. He compared Indian music, with its deep mingling of joy and sorrow, with the music of his own Negro people, and illustrated his theme by singing two Negro Spirituals, 'Nobody knows the trouble I've Seen', and 'Lord, I want to be like Jesus in my Heart'.

December 28, 1949

Today the Conference began to hear the reports of the Commissions, beginning with Commission 'C'.*

Mr. Richard Gregg (U.S.A.), author of the *Power of Non-violence* and Chairman of the Commission, reported first on Basic Principles for Peace-makers. In mankind, he said, there is an underlying spiritual unity. This we can trust since we believe it to be the source of the truth and love which exist in every human being, though they are often concealed beneath false values. The individual human being finds fulfilment in the group both large and small, but his own significance should never be forgotten. War and violence destroy the underlying unity of which he is a part, and thus violate the moral law.

Madame Sophia Wadia read the report of the second sub-committee, which had discussed how the principles outlined above could be fostered through education. This committee had divided its work into three stages. The first of these analysed some evils in the present educational system, pointing out that though the majority of child psychologists and educational authorities recognised the right of each child to love, security and freedom from fear, they tended to disregard the continuation of factors inconsistent with this idea which arise from self-interest and competition.

The committee, in its second stage, therefore recommended the careful consideration by concerned groups of ways and means by which these evils might be eliminated.

It concluded with the recommendation that a thorough-going study should be made of the principles and methods of Basic Education, as an example of one nation's contribution to the training of peace-makers. The Conference finally decided that the third stage, that of the implementation of these suggestions, would be achieved by their circulation to pacifist groups in the various countries.

The report of the third sub-committee, which dealt with the methods of conquering and transcending egotism, was read by Dr. Beauson Tseng (China). Dr. Tseng explained the meaning of egotism as used in his report, which distinguished between egotism manifested by groups and that displayed by individuals.

* See under section 'Commission Reports' for the full text.

Fear, covetousness and pride might be transcended by pursuing a life of simplicity and renunciation, since true emancipation consists in freedom from the tyranny of self. Practical methods of training were considered for the individual in retreat as well as in his social context.

The report indicated that group egotism belongs to a different category. It is independent of the aggregate conscious wills of the members and obeys laws of its own. These are still in need of study and research, but much is already known of group egotism and the violence and divisions to which it leads when it takes the form of group self-righteousness. Under the influence of such an emotion, the most unselfish sacrifices were blindly made for a cause which in reality was utterly selfish. Dr. Tseng concluded his report with some practical suggestions for overcoming group egotism.

In the subsequent discussion a number of different personal approaches to the fundamental principles involved were inevitably revealed. After suggesting a few modifications, the Conference decided to accept and circulate the reports of commissions as examples of the thinking of the Conference, which could be submitted to pacifist bodies throughout the world without the necessity of accepting them unanimously or by majority decisions.

Some of the delegates have recently been much moved to hear that Sri Manilal Gandhi, a son of the Mahatma, who had suggested at Santiniketan that the time at Sevagram might fittingly be spent in prayer and fasting, was himself undergoing a fast, and since his arrival, had taken no food in this place hallowed for him in a special way by the memory of his father. He was, however, helping to serve food to his fellow-delegates. It was also learnt that one of the Japanese delegates, Mr. Riri Nakayama, a leading member of the Buddhist community, had also come to Sevagram and fasted for a week before the Conference opened.

December 29, 1949

An important part of the World Pacifist Meeting programme on Thursday, December 29th, was a visit to Sevagram village. The delegates were taken in procession to the open meeting place corresponding in size to an English village green. Brass trays and bowls of flowers greeted the visitors and the women of the village presented them with fruits and sweets. The entire village community was present, including the smallest children and the cows in the

background. The text of the address of welcome by a representative of the *Panchayat* runs as follows:—

'Dear Brothers and Sisters, We, the villagers of Sevagram, old and young, men and women, are very grateful for your visit to our village.

'A great responsibility rests on us, villagers of Sevagram, to complete Bapu's constructive programme because he selected this village for his ashram. We are trying our best, but because of our ignorance we have not made much progress. Yet something has been achieved. We have in our village today, a maternity and child welfare centre and a pre-basic school, a grain bank, a multi-purpose co-operative store, and a small centre for the production of palm-gur; we have also started a scheme for making the village self-sufficient in cloth; we have our own village *panchayat* and village court; we are trying to improve the breed of our cattle and make our own manure by composting. We have also formed a housing society to build better houses.

'But much more remains to be done. Bapu always said that he would consider his task fulfilled, if Sevagram would grow into a model village according to his ideal. We ask for your good wishes in our future work.

'We offer you a cordial welcome and pray that God may guide you in the fulfilment of the great purpose that has brought you here.'

All were deeply moved by the humility of these pioneers, who apologised for their ignorance and lack of progress, yet had achieved so much more than most of the European delegates felt they could claim to have done. The visitors were conscious that an example had been set for them which should inspire their own work when it passed beyond the stage of mere deliberation. Some delegates hoped to visit this village after the Conference, so as to see for themselves how far these villagers, by their own efforts, have carried out Gandhiji's teachings. Even on this brief visit the delegates were impressed by the trim appearance of the houses and of the healthy and high-spirited children. There was a general atmosphere of well-being, and the picture of Gandhiji which was placed beneath the tamarind tree in the middle of the gathering seemed to emphasise the fact that the spirit of the Mahatma still presided over the village and the visitors from so many lands. 'Wherever we may be', Dr. Mordecai Johnson told the

villagers, 'you may know that we are with you to carry out his great programme through the spirit of God which makes all things possible.'

At a full session of the World Pacifist Meeting which followed, Mr. Wilfred Wellock presented the Commission Report on Basic Education and the Social Order. During the last 40 years, he said, pacifism had passed from a policy of war-resistance pure and simple to a demand for fundamental changes in social life. The world is in chaos because in East and West alike there is 'an almost complete failure to synthesise the spiritual and the material', and our task is to bring these two into their proper relationship.

'This relationship', Mr. Wellock continued, 'can best be established in the sphere of education'. The vital principle of Mahatma Gandhi's Basic Education is the development of the personality through purposive co-operative work. Work not only satisfies man's material needs, it exercises to the utmost his mental and spiritual powers. These powers are renewed in leisure, in aesthetic enjoyment and religious devotion, which are thus brought into a natural relationship to daily work.

The key to peace is the development of an economy in its nature peaceful, to replace the money economy which is by nature aggressive. Such an economy is the goal of Basic Education. The acceptance of this conception of man's ends and needs would remove at one stroke the major tensions which lead to war. The building of small social units, based on a rural regional economy and using small-scale industries, must be for a long time to come the task of peace-makers working independently of Governments. They must be prepared for conflict with vested interests, and place their trust in what Gandhiji called soul-force.

Mr. Wellock referred to the influence for good that such a programme might have upon the condition of colonial peoples, disarmament and war resistance. He indicated that the Commission had not been unaware of the problems posed by the highly mechanised heavy industries which prevailed in many parts of the world and 40% of which, in his estimate, could not be easily decentralised.

Mr. Donald Groom then read a supplementary report on food and population, which stressed the duty of pacifists to make the oneness of humanity real by pressing for world-wide co-operation, especially from the regions of abundance, to ensure to every human family the basic needs of life. They must support all sound measures for increasing production by more efficient husbandry of land, while

they must be vigilant to prevent the use of methods of production, exchange, and utilisation of capital, or any manipulation of money values, which would injure the people concerned.

Pacifists should also note that a vegetarian population needs a smaller area of land for its support than one dependent on meat, and should consider the implications of this for themselves. They should accept the obligation of personal discipline in family life as it relates to the increase of population, and they should encourage universal education in all that relates to simple and natural living.

In the discussion which followed a number of delegates, led by Dr. Walter Zander (Great Britain) expressed the view that the report had paid insufficient attention to the function of heavy industry and the nature and needs of an industrialised community. There was keen interest in the possibility of introducing Basic Education in societies like those of U.S.A. and Europe. Mr. Lorenzo Bautista (Philippines) asked how it could be introduced in countries like his own, whose economy, while of a village type, was dominated by outside markets, and the production almost entirely limited to a single commercial commodity.

Other speakers, including all three delegates from Japan, urged upon the Conference the importance of the issues involved in attempts to limit the population. The Japanese people, 'imprisoned' in a land which despite their very best efforts was inadequate to supply their needs, had resorted to the desperate remedy of legalising abortion. Dr. Kora very movingly described the degradation of womanhood which was the consequence of Japan's present situation.

The reference to the right utilisation of natural resources for the benefit of humanity as a whole provoked warnings, which the Conference warmly appreciated, against the danger of such principles being distorted into an excuse for imperialism. Similarly, references to false material standards of comfort and 'dumping' of certain commodities, must be read in connection with the emphatic declaration that the first duty of pacifists is to demand that nothing shall stand in the way of an adequate provision for the millions who are in need: this was pointed out by several delegates.

The Conference in receiving the report instructed the Commission to list the practical problems raised and circulate them together with the report itself, for further serious study.

In the evening the first statement from Commission 'A' was received without opposition. This statement, moved by Sri G.

Ramchandran as Chairman of the Commission, expressed appreciation of the idea of World Citizenship, pointing out that world peace must be built upon social justice, achieved through truthful and non-violent means.

Rev. Nevin Sayre (U.S.A.) then read a second statement from Commission 'A' favouring World Government. The form of World Government proposed was a central authority, based upon direct election by the people. The States participating in such a World Government were first to disarm and the World Government itself was not to possess military force. By means of inspectors, agents and a police force it was to see that national disarmament was carried out and to prevent secret re-armament. In the discussion that followed some objection was taken to a suggestion in the report that the economic development and educational level of different countries should be taken into consideration in allocating representation. It was agreed to delete this proposal from the disputed paragraph, and after some further discussion it was agreed by a majority vote that the report should be received for circulation.

December 30, 1949

On the morning of December 30th, after messages of greeting had been read, the full Conference met again to discuss further reports from Commission 'A'. Prof. S. N. Agarwal began with the report on 'Satyagrahi Units' which the delegates agreed was a better description than 'Peace Army'.

His recommendations specifically stressed the establishment of units composed of individual believers in the superiority of moral force to violence, trained to live an austere life and be ready for the ultimate sacrifice. Unlike military forces, these units would aim at conversion, not coercion, and would be fully active in peace time against violence in the social order. The establishment of a preliminary International Liaison Committee was suggested to co-ordinate the work of recruiting and training Satyagrahis.

In the discussion Mr. Richard Keithahn said that one or two individuals thought this work so important that they were ready to give their lives to it. He asked if anyone shared his concern and would be prepared, for example, to start immediately for Kashmir. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty referred to the importance of training and Miss Vera Brittain to the possibility of Pacifist Service Units in the West being adapted for this purpose. Mr. Michael Scott believed

that the hopes of millions were embodied in the report which the Conference then received.

Mr. A. J. Muste followed with a valuable document on the relations of pacifists with communists, a matter which has presented many problems to pacifists in countries where communist groups are active. His report stressed the importance of regarding communists as human beings and deplored the cruel persecution which many had suffered. Pacifists should defend freedom of speech and assembly as much for communists as for others. The sole test of a communist's right to hold teaching or other posts should be his competence in fulfilling his job. Communists were liable to be strengthened rather than weakened by persecution. Pacifists should sympathise with their sufferings as fellow-creatures and help them in any human need, but at present it was unwise for them to join in organised collaboration in 'United Fronts' etc., owing to the confusion and weakening of pacifist witness which resulted. Pacifists should win over communists in terms of their own lives rather than by argument.

In the ensuing long discussion some attention was given to the imprisonment of communists without trial in parts of India, which Dr. Prasad confirmed. He had previously asked for the guidance of the Conference on the practical policy to be adopted when Communists used such methods as murder, arson, loot and sabotage to obtain their ends. Mr. Nevin Sayre emphasised the need to distinguish between individual communists whose actual behaviour must be judged on the same basis as that of other citizens, and the programme of the Party. This appealed to some people who did not accept all of it because they thought it the best chance of uplifting the victims of the social system.

To a question by Sri K. K. Chandy regarding the appointment of Communist teachers, Mr. A. J. Muste distinguished between parochial and public schools. In the latter he thought that the risk involved in laying down political and religious tests was greater than that of making unsuitable appointments. Dr. Mordecai Johnson warned the Conference against being satisfied with what he called 'innocuous positionalism', and emphasised that the powerful challenge of communism would only be met by the equally energetic assertion and the implementation of pacifist principles.

The next two reports, on Imprisoned Pacifists and War Criminals, were read by Mr. Jerome Sauerwein, the young French Appeal Court lawyer who has spent much time in the past five years as an official

defender of war criminals. In presenting them, he made an impassioned plea for an unanimous acceptance by the Conference, which he felt would strengthen his own work at home.

Before reading the first report which dealt with the situation of pacifists imprisoned throughout the world, Mr. Sauerwein reminded the Meeting that pacifists should be less concerned 'for their own skins', as Gandhiji once put it, than for the cause to which imprisoned pacifists were bearing witness. The report, however, concluded by emphasising the need for an appropriate Conscientious Objectors' status in all countries. It recommended to pacifists that they should take action to that effect. It urged them also 'not to limit their concern to their own number', but to work against all imprisonment without trial, as well as on behalf of persons prosecuted for their ideological beliefs when no act of violence has in fact been committed or attempted.

The Conference was able to accept this document without opposition, but the report on War Criminals proved to be more controversial. It included a concise but comprehensive criticism of the way in which war criminal trials have been conducted, and stated why pacifists should help to redress the injustice that have been committed. It finally recommended them to give spiritual and material help even to the guiltiest of these criminals, and thus bear witness to the evil of war as the source of their crimes.

The discussion stressed the one-sided character of war trials, Mr. Reginald Reynolds emphasising that there should be either no more such trials or that these should apply to criminals on both sides in the recent conflict. In the hope of being ultimately able to achieve the unanimity requested, the Conference referred this report back for revision.

In the afternoon the delegates entertained their hosts, the Sevagram volunteer staff—some two hundred in number—to tea, as a small token of gratitude for the good service rendered by them during the week's stay. The group were introduced by Ashadevi and a short speech conveying appreciation and greetings made by Mr. Horace Alexander was translated into Hindi by Mr. Donald Groom. Some Negro songs were rendered by Dr. Mordecai Johnson and dances were given by a group of volunteers from the Faridabad Refugee Camp.

From 4-30 to 5-30 p.m. the delegates were present at the monthly commemoration of the day of Gandhiji's death by silent spinning and prayer on the ashram prayer ground. After prayers from many

religions, Dr. Tseng (China) spoke briefly to the gathering, and then at a simple ceremony Sri Manilal Gandhi broke the seven-day fast which he had observed during the session. As the delegates left the prayer ground, each of the visitors from overseas was presented with copies of some of Gandhiji's writings and with a book on Gandhiji's work in Bihar by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Dr. Prasad who presented these books to the delegates on behalf of the donors, had autographed the copies of his own book.

At 6-15 p.m. the Conference re-assembled, and after a short break for supper worked until the early hours of the morning to receive reports of its Commissions, and to hear and approve minor changes made at its request in some of those previously submitted.

A resolution was adopted by the Meeting which assured all those who should strive to dissolve the prevailing misunderstanding and suspicion between India and Pakistan of the moral sympathy and earnest support of the Pacifists throughout the world, and encouraged some from other lands to join with citizens of both countries in this endeavour. The resolution was spoken to by two delegates, who stressed the gravity of the peace-maker's task, and the same spirit of dedication prevailed that had marked the earlier discussion on the same issue.

A brief report followed on Arab-Jewish tension in Palestine. The Committee, which included Arabs and Jews, reported that agreement had been reached in an atmosphere of cordial good-will on a number of issues which the members had undertaken to implement in their own future work. Other reports dealt with the needs of refugees and displaced persons, and the reduction and abolition of armaments. The Meeting supported a request for an internationally constituted body empowered to deal with all refugees, including the millions now displaced by causes other than war. A report on Soviet-American relations, read by Mr. A. J. Muste, commended for the study of all pacifists the report of the American Friends Service Committee on this subject with its valuable suggestions for practical action. Rev. Muste stressed very strongly the paramount importance of demonstrating good-will through real social justice and the abolition of all racial discrimination.

The keenest interest was shown in a report dealing with plans for the future intensive training of workers for peace, on lines suggested by the experience of India. The discussion showed general agreement on the importance of immediate practical steps, and on the key position

of Indian constructive institutions. The Steering Committee was asked to find means to ensure further immediate consideration of the details involved.

The Conference then heard and adopted the report on War Criminals which had been revised in the light of a previous discussion. Rev. Riri Nakayama (Japan) expressed the great concern felt by Japanese peace-lovers for those who had been permanently injured through the actions of 'war criminals', and a moment of silent re-collection of such sufferers was observed. Mr. P. M. Sekiya (Japan) recorded his deep appreciation of the report, and Mr. Nevin Sayre (U.S.A.) drew attention to the opportunity before those who would pass through S. E. Asia on their way home to demonstrate their practical friendliness by visiting some of the men still held prisoner in various cities.

Sri S. N. Agarwal's report on 'Peace Army' plans was also adopted by the Conference, though it was felt that a satisfactory name had not yet been found. Thirteen delegates representing eleven countries, agreed to keep in touch with each other as a preliminary consultative group.

An earlier report read by Mr. Tartt Bell, of the American Friends Service Committee, now came up for reconsideration. The report, which dealt with racialism and colonialism, emphasised that no group of human beings has the right to dominate any other group. A clause favouring 'trusteeship' had previously caused some dissension, many delegates regarding it as inconsistent with the general spirit of the statement, which urged the principle of self-determination and the practice of non-violent resistance to imperial systems. As amended, the report repudiated the ideal of 'trusteeship' and the amended statement was now carried *nem con.*

Mr. Wilfred Wellock then drew the attention of the Conference to the unique nature of the work done by Commission 'B' on the principles of a new Social Order of a kind which no world conference had ever before considered, and which he felt to be of fundamental importance. Complete unanimity could not be reached, but it was agreed to accept the basic principles of the report, and to commend for further study some problems as to ways and means contained therein. It was also agreed to receive for circulation, along with the majority report on the subject, a statement entitled 'World Government : Another View' which stated a pacifist case against World Government.

The Conference then adopted without discussion or dissent the motion that 'this Conference stands for the abolition of the death penalty'.

December 31, 1949

On Saturday morning, December 31st, a final business session was held. After various messages had been read, Sri Hiralal Bose, Secretary of the Committee responsible for the Conference arrangements, gave a report on the organisational history and present financial position of this committee. Mr. Horace Alexander, as Chairman, paid a tribute to the work of Sri Hiralal Bose, who had resigned from a post in a big firm of publishers in order to give devoted service to this difficult task, which he had originally tried to carry out as a voluntary worker, in his spare time.

A series of resolutions was then submitted by Mr. John Fallding (Australia) expressing the thanks of the Conference to the many people who had contributed to make it possible and successful. Among these were the numerous friends at Sevagram whose hospitality the delegates had enjoyed and whose courtesy they had experienced, and also to the President (Dr. Rajendra Prasad).

The Meeting endorsed the view of the Steering Committee that they should 'resist the temptation' to set up any formally constituted Continuation Committee. It was felt that unless further action on a similar scale should arise (as it had done in India) from the spontaneous desire of a group prepared to make it a first responsibility, there was no value in setting up a mere organisational shell.

Some brief consideration was then given to the possibility of maintaining contact with centres where pacifist workers could be trained in methods of constructive work, a few individuals being nominated for the purpose of maintaining these contacts. At this point Mr. A. J. Muste who had taken a leading part the previous evening in opposing a proposal to set up a new training centre in India, under international control, made a careful statement of his attitude. He said that he was confident that neither the Meeting as a whole nor any individual delegate intended to express any lack of confidence in the Indian friends who had associated themselves with the proposal for an international centre in this country. He and other opponents of this proposal had merely wished to save any Indian institution from being subject to outside control and especially from any outside financial dictation. Delegates were all prepared, with complete

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confidence in their Indian friends, to render them all possible help in developing training plans, which would be of the greatest service to the movement throughout the world. The Meeting heartily endorsed this statement.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad then closed the session with a few words emphasising the difficulties confronting small minority groups, the need for faith and the power of ideas. The idea of abolishing war was, he said, gaining ground, and success might even be achieved in our lifetime. Meanwhile one could not neglect the immediate steps for the prevention of war.

Speaking of the inspiration which had been found by the Conference at Sevagram, although it had not proved possible to meet in Gandhiji's lifetime, Dr. Prasad said that he did not doubt that this inspiration would bear fruit in the different countries to which the delegates were about to disperse.

Soon after mid-day Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived at Sevagram, accompanied by Srimati Mridula Sarabhai, to attend the last session of the Conference. He arrived to the sound of cheering by the Sevagram children, and was received by the Steering Committee on the ashram prayer ground. At luncheon he was the honoured guest of the Conference, and afterwards watched with interest the Sevagram system of individual washing up under outdoor taps on a concrete platform.

After a few delegates with special concern had been given an opportunity of private conversation with the Prime Minister, the final session of the Conference began in the large hall, where the delegates had met throughout the week. After Mr. Horace Alexander had welcomed Pandit Nehru, a panel of speakers—Mr. Yrjo Kallinen, Mrs. Lucy Kingston, Dr. Beauson Tseng, Mr. A. J. Muste and Dr. Mordecai Johnson—expressed their appreciation of his visit. 'Your presence amongst us', said Mr. Kallinen, 'marks the culmination of our work.'

Between them the five delegates put before the Prime Minister their impressions of India and the philosophic differences between East and West, ending in the speeches of Mr. A. J. Muste and Dr. Johnson with some of the large problems, embodied in the report of the past two days, which the Conference had discussed. Speaking as a Negro whose fellow-citizens had had little opportunity to see the Prime Minister during his recent visit to the United States, Dr. Johnson asked him what hope he saw for the solution of some of these problems,

and begged him to consider the possibility of Indian initiative in persuading imperial peoples 'to organise colonialism out of existence'.

In his reply, Pandit Nehru summoned the Conference with drastic realism to confront the difficulties of statesmen in the modern world. Although he was not a pacifist, he was as anxious as any member of the meeting to avoid war, and longed as all sensitive people must long, for solutions to the questions which the Conference had raised. These questions were even more complex for the statesman and politician than for the private individual, because human beings are the politician's material and he is limited by their limitations. He has to compromise all the time and yet hold on to the truth; he has to accept the fact that he cannot go so far as he would like because he has to carry others with him.

The greatest danger of war as he saw it was in Asia and Africa, where existing conditions must soon be improved if a great conflict was to be avoided. He was working for the removal of these potential causes of conflict, and he thought that in one sense India was favourably placed to take the lead, as she was tied to no one's foreign policy. 'If we are going to do anything in the world', he added, 'we must begin with ourselves and not preach to others .... Ultimately it is what a man is that counts. He counts when he becomes the embodiment of what he believes in.'

After taking tea with the delegates Pandit Nehru left for a public meeting in Wardha, attended by most of the delegates and addressed by five of their number. These were Sri Kaka Kalelkar, Miss Pao-swen Tseng (China), Dr. Tomiko Kora (Japan), Mr. Lorenzo Bautista (Philippines) and Mrs. Jeannette Rankin (U.S.A.), Dr. Rajendra Prasad presiding. As Mr. Horace Alexander remarked in thanking the Prime Minister at Sevagram, the delegates had intended to ask him questions, but he had asked them questions instead, which they would take home and try to answer as well as they could.

In the evening of December 31st, Mr. Michael Scott spoke on Africa. His address moved the Conference deeply with a sense of responsibility in regard to the oppression of tribesmen in South-West Africa and elsewhere and it set the tone for the devotional meeting at 9 p.m., which was the closing function of the Sevagram Session of the World Pacifist Meeting.

COMMISSION REPORTS

CHAPTER II

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS

THESE reports have been accepted by the World Pacifist Meeting, and are now circulated for submission to pacifist bodies throughout the world, in accordance with the decision reached at the end of the discussion on December 28, 1949. In some cases they do not represent a unanimous opinion of the delegates; in most cases, probably there would be some divergence on detail; but they do show, as it were, a representative cross-section of the thinking of the Conference, and as such it commends them for further study and appropriate action to workers for peace in the fields to which they refer. At the end of each report is an indication of whether it was 'received' or 'adopted' by the Meeting.

COMMISSION A

I. (*a*) WORLD CITIZENSHIP

We take note of the fact that the idea of world citizenship as a symbol of extension and/or transfer of loyalty from the nation-state to the world community has found expression in recent years in many places and through a variety of movements. Pacifists and pacifist organisations in their respective countries may well consider whether they should participate in these movements to introduce them gradually to a deeper understanding of world citizenship based on truth and non-violence.

We believe that world peace can be built only on social justice. We further believe that social justice can be achieved only through truthful and non-violent means. Loyalty to truth and non-violence, must transcend all other loyalties, including loyalty to the national state or to any other limited, exclusive grouping.

A pacifist, therefore, who aspires to realise the ideal of world citizenship, while normally accepting the duties and obligations imposed by membership of the community or state to which one belongs, will always be loyal to the whole human family, such loyalty expressing itself in a ceaseless endeavour for justice to every individual or group, even through non-violent direct action or Satyagraha, if need be, against the existing social order or one's own national state.

Such a pacifist will remain loyal to the ideals of justice, truth and non-violence even though it might involve the loss of rights and privileges accruing from citizenship of a national state.

In the degree that one has overcome violence, lust, possessiveness and fear in oneself, one can work fruitfully for a just and peaceful world. To make oneself a fit instrument for peace, therefore, a pacifist will ceaselessly strive to realise in one's own life the ideals of simplicity, personal purity, fearlessness, truth and non-violence.

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I. (*b*) PACIFISM AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

The large measure of practical success attained by nations which have adopted federal government in preventing civil war and peacefully solving domestic conflicts, and the rapid growth of the movement for a federal world government which has taken place since World War II, call for serious consideration by pacifist bodies as to the extent and nature of co-operation which they should give to the movement to create a World Federal Union. Now is the time, while this movement is a subject of world-wide discussion and in process of forming its pattern, for pacifists to give all the aid they can to its development in a right direction. Believing that possibilities of both good and evil inhere in the current proposals for world government, we venture to point out both the potential dangers to be guarded against and the peacemaking possibilities which need to be supported.

At the outset a word must be said about the relationship between the world government programme and the United Nations. We believe that the existence of the U.N. as a going organisation, with valuable specialised agencies for world service and a membership inclusive of most of the governments in the world, is an asset for peace which should not be discarded, but which needs to be strengthened and reformed in line with the basic principles of world federalism. Unless it becomes changed from a league of Sovereign Governments into a permanent institution, representing the interests of the common man the world over, we fear that it will be unable to abolish war.

We now list under five heads the points in the world government movement which we believe should be of special concern to pacifists, and where, as the movement develops, they should throw the weight of their influence in an appropriate direction.

(1) Successful federal government depends upon a proper balance between centralism and decentralism. The world federal union should

not be a centralised all-inclusive government in which existing national Governments would lose their identity and be merged into a monolithic organisation with all power concentred at the top. On the other hand, real power, unimpeded by national interference, must be delegated to the world government, to be exercised within such clearly defined limits as may be agreed upon but power which is suitable and adequate to assure peace.

Powers of government which are not expressly delegated to the world organisation should be reserved to national governments and peoples, thus leaving to each Nation the choice of its own domestic, political, economic, social and religious institutions. It is impossible to determine at this stage the exact division of power between the world and the national systems of government, but it seems clear that a world constitution, legislative, executive and court are needed for the effective functioning of the world organisation.

Every individual appointed to the world organisation should act and vote as an individual responsible to it and not as an agent of the State from which one comes.

It would be desirable for the world constitution to include a bill of rights for the protection of fundamental human freedoms for men and women throughout the world. A conscience clause should be included in this bill of rights.

Election to the world legislature should be on the basis of popular representation rather than by appointment of national government. Election or appointment to executive or judicial positions should be determined by the world constitution or laws made by the world legislature.

Under world federalism the individual would have direct access to the world government. He would be a citizen of it as well as of his nation-state. The human family would get an institution to contend for the interests of the whole family. National governments seek first the welfare of their own nationals or even narrower groups which manage to control them. In the division of power between national governments and the world agency the common man should have a better chance of his freedom not being swallowed up in the monopoly of power. However in the end everything would depend on self-reliant citizens being vigilant and active in the cause of human freedom and welfare.

(2) Whatever world laws the world government enacts should be enforceable directly upon individuals, not upon collections of

individuals like a whole city or a whole state. It is of the essence of justice that it should distinguish between guilty and non-guilty individuals. Reverence for the person is a fundamental tenet of pacifism. It is central in the fight against totalitarianism and militarism. Although the best democracies and legal systems often fail at this point, their failure is infinitesimal compared to the total disregard of this principle by modern warfare and military agencies.

Furthermore, the direct application of world law to individuals gives the possibility of checking international crime in its early stages and before it has infected a whole nation.

(3) General disarmament we believe to be an essential condition for the successful functioning of world government and the upholding of world law. The world government must have the unquestioned right to send its inspectors, agents and police into the territory of any nation to see that the agreed measures of disarmament are carried out and secret rearmament prevented. If it has to operate against the military establishment of a powerful nation, the result will be either international war or virtual surrender of the World Government to the threat of national violence. World government cannot succeed if at the same time nations retain military establishments and conscription.

(4) The world government itself should not possess military force. The measures of force permitted to it should be only those suitable to police action under the control of law and confined to the restraint of individuals who break the world law, or to the protection of the world government's agents as they go about on lawful missions.

There is danger that under the plausible label of *international police*, a military establishment and programme will be introduced into the world government. If this should happen the result might be, either a world tyranny if all nations give the world government a monopoly of military force, or—what is more likely—the organisation would degenerate into an armed alliance which one or more powerful nations would refuse to join. Then the world would be split into the 'world-government' and 'anti-world-government' armed camps. The hope of true world government would vanish and war follow.

The distinction between police, acting under law and using as little coercion as possible directly on individuals, and an army using death-dealing violence against masses of men, cities and states, is fundamental. Pacifists, who do not oppose civilian police acting under the safeguards of law, may logically concede the same power to international police acting under world law. But they should

steadfastly and vigorously oppose every proposal to give the world government an army. To call that army 'international' or say that it is only 'enforcing world law' will be a misleading use of good words to cover up an evil thing. To make such a compromise is to abandon pacifism entirely.

(5) One of the most formidable obstacles to world government appears to be the resistance of one or more powerful nations to the plan. Here pacifists should take into account the following points:—

(*a*) The assertion that a certain nation will never come into a genuine world government is a counsel of defeatism to which we should not surrender. No man foresees with certainty even the immediate future in our rapidly changing world situation.

(*b*) There is surely more than one nation which at present is holding out against world government. Let us not be misled by the myth of a single guilty nation. The militarists and nationalists of most countries are generally against world government. Pacifists should be active in their respective nations in the campaign of public education, which urgently needs to be carried out everywhere. It is only upon the basis of popular understanding of the federal world union idea and determination of the peoples to press for it, that the plan can succeed. This is an immediate task to which we are challenged by the present armaments race and imminent danger of war.

(*c*) The hope of world government depends upon fresh, persistent, friendly and all-out efforts to end the growing division of our world into two opposing armed alliances, suspicious and fearful of each other. Until this effort at reconciliation has been made persistently and exhaustively, the attempt to set up a world government would be premature. No world-government should be organised on the basis of one armed bloc of nations against another armed nation or bloc. If, therefore, it is at any time contemplated to set up a world government before all the major nations are ready to enter, abandoning their own military establishments, pacifists should make it clear that they can welcome and support such a step only if the world government and the nations

belonging to it disarm concurrently with the establishing of the world government organisation.

(*d*) Membership in the world government must be open to all states and a permanent place kept open for every state until it joins by its free consent. If a state delays in full adherence, it should still be invited to share in the work of the specialised agencies, now operating under U.N. and which should become an increasingly important part of the federal union world government.

It is important that this organisation be conceived, not predominantly as a policeman to prevent aggression, but principally, as a service agency directed towards improving the economic, cultural and social life of the human family in a warless world.

[*Received*

I. (*b*) World Government: Another View

The case against world government may be summed up under two heads:

1. Its practicability. 2. Its desirability.

1. It is the belief of a number of delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting that, while the existing economic and political tensions continue, any talk of world government as a solution for these tensions implies confusion. States, which still practice imperialism, are not going to accept the over-ruling authority of a world government in which the subject peoples of their own colonies are directly represented. Nor can any two states, which are ideologically opposed to one another accept the same international authority. If the weight of a world parliament should incline towards the 'western democracies', its authority would certainly be challenged by the Soviet bloc. On the other hand, if the Soviet bloc could secure a majority, the capitalist countries would reject the authority of the world government for the same reason. If military measures are not to be used to enforce this authority, the advocates of such a disarmed ' world government' are in reality proposing nothing more or less than the unilateral disarmament of the majority. We believe in such unilateral disarmament, but if one side disarms there will be no need of a world government to keep the peace, nor would a disarmed world government be able to do so. It could not even enforce disarmament on the states within its own nominal control. Peace would in fact depend (as it

must depend ultimately) on the general acceptance of new values, presupposing that the social and political tensions, which are supposed to make world government a matter of urgency, had already disappeared.

2. Many pacifists reject all government, as now understood, because it entails coercion. If laws are to be enforced by any other means than those of peaceful persuasion, moral force and (where necessary) the self-suffering of the people and their leaders, then we must accept the alternative logic of violence. Specifically this means that, if authority is to be maintained by coercion, armed force must be used against the armed criminal; and once this step is taken it is impossible, with even an appearance of sincerity, to drop the gun and become a passive resister at some point when the violence used by those who resist the law (*e.g.* by fascists attempting a *coup d'etat*) passes beyond a given limit. Those who rule others by force are compelled to maintain their authority by whatever extension of violence the situation may require, up to the deadliest weapons. In the case of a world government, any challenge to its authority would mean either world war or the virtual abdication of the government.

We accept the desirability of world organization and the usefulness of many existing functional organisations on a world scale. Such developments should be encouraged by pacifists and furthered in every possible way, but especially by seeking to bring about the spiritual and social revolution by which the moral authority of a healthy world opinion could be given organisational form. But so far from regarding such moral authority as a means of bringing peace to a divided world, we regard it as one of the outcomes of international peace, once the spiritual and social foundations of this peace have been firmly established.

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II. (*a*) 'SATYAGRAHI UNITS' OR THE 'PEACE ARMY'

It is obvious that pacifism cannot be a complete answer to militarism unless we are able to show an effective alternative to armed defence. The Atomic Age is proving the futility of military protection. It is, therefore, necessary to organise defence based on soul-force or non-violence which admits of no defeat.

We propose that serious and sustained attempts should be made to establish Satyagrahi units in different countries. These units will be composed of those individuals who have full faith in the superiority

of non-violence and moral force over violent methods, and who are prepared to discipline their own lives for becoming true Satyagrahis. Satyagraha literally means insistence and reliance on Truth or Soul-force. A Satyagrahi is a person who prepares himself for Satyagraha. These two words have been chosen because they were coined and made current by Mahatma Gandhi and there seem to be no other words which could adequately take their place.

A true Satyagrahi has to be trained in the observance of certain austerities of life which would prepare him for supreme sacrifice, if necessary. These austerities are indicated, for example, in the eleven vows of Gandhiji's Ashram.

To quote Mahatma Gandhi, 'The difference between war and Satyagraha amounts to this; while the former aims at coercion, the latter aims at conversion. In war one inflicts punishment upon the adversary, in Satyagraha one draws the maximum suffering on oneself without a trace of bitterness against the opponent as a human being.'

Unlike the military forces, the Satyagrahi units will be fully active during peace-time by tackling the roots of violence in social, economic, educational and administrative spheres. Non-violent defence has to lay greater emphasis on preventive actions, as illustrated in Mahatma Gandhi's *Constructive Programme*. The Satyagrahi units will also try to meet crises situations non-violently in their respective localities or regions. They will not quietly wait for a conflagration to break out, but will, from day to day, try their utmost to create conditions which would nip conflicts in the bud. This could be made more effective if they are able to cultivate intimate personal contacts with people inhabiting those areas. In organizing non-violent defence we will have to stress quality rather than quantity, and, unlike military officers, the leaders will be required to be in the front rather than in the rear. There can also be no policy of secrecy in such an organisation, because non-violence and truth are integrally related.

The technique of Satyagrahi defence will include non-violent resistance to the invader, complete non-co-operation with the forces of 'occupation' or 'aggression,' and also an attitude of human understanding towards the invading soldiers as hapless individuals caught in a military machine. The Satyagrahi units may, when occasions arise, take the 'offensive' in the form of 'Peace or Good-will Missions' to eradicate misunderstanding and roots of war before it is too late.

This is the barest outline of the scheme of non-violent defence. Since its organisation and technique are fundamentally different from

that of the military, constant research will have to be conducted in different countries and under different situations in a spirit of faith and devotion.

We suggest that a preliminary International Liaison Committee be established to co-ordinate the work of recruiting and training Satyagrahis on the lines of the scheme indicated above. We readily admit that non-violent defence is full of immense difficulties. But on the success of such a plan of Satyagraha would rest the ultimate hope of mankind for world peace and brotherhood.

[*Adopted*

II. (*b*) RESEARCH AND TRAINING IN THE SCIENCE OF SATYAGRAHA

The goal of all pacifist activity is to free the world from the domination of untruth and brute force and to enthrone in their place truth and non-violence as the method of resolving all conflict, national and international, and to create a non-violent society in which alone the ideal of lasting and universal peace and happiness of mankind would be realised.

We have taken note of the general feeling of the Conference that practical application of the principles of truth and non-violence to human affairs, expressed by Gandhiji as Satyagraha or soul-force, affords the best hope of successfully meeting the challenge that confronts the world today.

The committee, therefore, recommends that a centre or centres should be established in some suitable place for students of all nations to come together for the study of the science of Satyagraha and for research and training in the same.

Since the principles of truth and non-violence, in order to become dynamic, have to be embodied in social relationships affecting the everyday life of the people, training in constructive service along the lines laid down by Gandhiji should form the foundation of such training. Seeing that India is the country where the institutions which Gandhiji formed for the reconstruction of society on non-violent lines grew up under his guidance, this sub-committee propose that the centre be located in a suitable place in India in the first instance.

The centre should have buildings to house the trainees and an international library containing Gandhiji's written teachings in as many languages as possible, together with writings of authors of various nations on relevant subjects. This centre should be the place where problems of world peace may be studied in the light of

Gandhiji's principles, and anyone from any country who earnestly wishes to train oneself in them may come for research and study and practice of the non-violent way of living.

A careful selection should be made by institutions and organisations in their respective countries of suitable candidates who have served a period of probation before they are sent out to India, and adequate provision should be made for their passage to and from by the country concerned. The period of stay in India may normally be expected to be two years, but no hard and fast rule can be laid down in this respect.

While students are in the centre, they will be expected to adhere to a minimum number of rules in conformity with the Satyagrahic way of living. These would be:

(1) Observance of truth, non-violence and personal purity.
(2) Avoidance of intoxicants and narcotics.
(3) Regard and respect for all faiths, and
(4) Performance of bread labour and sacrificial labour (i.e. for the service of fellow human beings) for a limited period every day.

Their activities would include:

(1) Taking part in the development of selected areas in India or outside, where a non-violent, self-sufficient happy and healthy society may be created, especially among rural populations, as a demonstration of Gandhiji's conception of the standards and ideals which are necessary for the achievement of peace and human well-being.
(2) Going out in service units whenever necessary where group conflicts, whether communal or social, may be resolved through the application of *ahimsa*.
(3) Preparing to go out in different parts of the world—
    (*a*) in times of crisis and distress.
    (*b*) to serve oppressed and so-called backward peoples, by identification with them, in pursuance of the ideal of world peace and brotherhood.
    (*c*) to work silently and unostentatiously for the removal of acerbities and causes of racial conflict as for instance today in Burma, Ceylon, S. and E. Africa, and U.S.A.

The centre should establish contact with individuals and organisations in other parts of the world engaged in similar activities for collation of information and co-ordination of work.

The centre would be administered by an international body, the members of which would meet at least once a year.

The countries which participate in the plan would have to provide the bulk of finance. Whilst India would do all she can to take her due share, her contribution will be largely the provision of facilities for the study of Gandhian thought and constructive non-violence in action and in the making.

After finishing their term at the centre, the candidates will be expected to go back to their respective countries and in their turn set up institutions for the training of youth in pacifist action in conformity with local conditions and requirements.

The committee notes that there are, at present in Europe and America, a number of organisations and individuals carrying on work-camps and other service projects, through which it is likely that the most fitting persons might be found to be sent for special training in the projected centre. Wherever these camps exist and circumstances are favourable, it is to be expected they will be able to offer valuable experience in various fields of service to the trainees of the centre.

[*Received*

III. The Relations of Pacifists with Communists

1. Toward individual communists or communist sympathisers pacifists will cultivate the same attitude of good-will and love as toward all other human beings. In no case are communists, fascists, or members of any political or religious group from which we may differ, to be shunned or treated as if they were beyond the pale of simple human fellowship. If they are in need, we are to be ready to minister to them, and while not condoning the violence in which some communists may engage, we must not lose sight of the frightful persecution which many of them have suffered and with which many are even now threatened. Serious discussions between communists and pacifists, in which each tries to understand the other more deeply and an effort is made to determine what are ultimate human standards and values, are to be encouraged.

2. Pacifists should openly and vigorously defend freedom of speech, press, assembly and association for communists as for other

political or ideological groups. They should oppose any policy which seeks to deprive any individual of a teaching post or any other work on the ground of membership in the communist party or some other political, ideological, religious or racial group. The sole test should be whether the individual is competently discharging his job. There should be no prosecution of individuals except for actions which are proved in a fair trial under laws which apply to all, regardless of political or other affiliation; there should be no prosecution for expressions of opinion, no matter how extreme or abhorrent they may be or seem. Communistic elements will probably be strengthened, rather than destroyed or even weakened, by repressive measures. The true way to meet the menace of what is evil in communism is (*a*) to adhere to the democratic process even when that involves grave risks; and (*b*) to remove the major social injustice, the persistence of which makes communism appear an attractive way of deliverance for people in many countries.

Even at the risk of being suspected as communists or communist sympathisers for the moment, pacifists should, as the way may open, 'identify' themselves in suffering with the communists who are persecuted. Our clear adherence to the way of truth and non-violence will probably in most cases suffice to make it clear that such 'identification' with them in suffering does not mean adhering to or condoning violent methods.

3. In all countries which are not in the Soviet bloc perhaps the most fundamental way for pacifists to express brotherhood in the political sphere towards communists and toward the government and people of Russia and lands in the Soviet sphere, is to oppose all attempts to arouse anti-communist hysteria and to rule out any policy of preparation for war with Russia. When we are in the position in which the communists and Russian people are convinced that we shall never fight them or take any part in violent action against Soviet countries from within, and as we win numbers of our fellow-citizens to join us in withholding all support from the war preparations and measures of our respective nation-states, we may find that opportunities to achieve understanding and reconciliation, on a smaller or larger scale, at a deep level, are opened. Such opportunities will not come to those who can, with any reason, be regarded as the conscious or unconscious agents of the 'bourgeoise' or of a nation-state hostile to Russia.

4. Without assuming to lay down an inflexible rule, since none can foresee what the future may bring, especially e.g. under conditions of occupation, it is our judgment that at the present time it is unwise for pacifists and pacifist organisations to collaborate organisationally in so called 'United Fronts' for limited objectives with the communist party, or with organisations in which its members have a substantial influence. The communists are frank in stating that as party members they will carry out the orders of the party in all united front groups; they are not in the present period against all war, opposing war in a given country when that country would not be on the Soviet side, but not otherwise. They are not against conscription as such, but only in non-Soviet lands, and so on. Groups collaborating with communists in an anti-war campaign one day, may find the next day that the communists have withdrawn and wrecked the organisation. Not only is precious effort thus wasted, but the pacifist witness is confused and weakened. That is a tragedy in the present state of the world. Nor is it clear that such organisational collaboration results in reconciliation with communists, since they regard such collaborators as tools. They are much more likely to be touched in their hearts and 'reconciled' by the lives of pacifists who are as clear and unequivocal in the expression of their views and as devoted unto death to their cause as the communists themselves are.

In working out this policy from day to day, we must of course not fall into the error of assuming that it is only Soviet foreign policy which is not completely free from opportunism, duplicity and other evils. Similarly there may be others, besides communists, who are to be dealt with as individuals and as human beings, but with whom organisational collaboration might result in a weakening or compromise of the pacifist forces. Where we find that such groups make sound and useful statements on specific matters, e.g. in criticism of Western imperialism or racism in the United States, we shall certainly not reject or seek to blunt the edge of such criticism; on the contrary pacifists will work at least as vigorously as communists against these evils, but along parallel lines rather than in organisational collaboration.

5. We must close on the positive note that was struck a moment ago. Gandhiji once suggested that the communist 'problem' would be solved as soon as pacifists were as ready to suffer and die for their faith as communists are. When there are disciplined pacifist forces in many lands who are able to say to the communists and to the

Russian Government and people: 'We are not fighting you. Why should you fight us. We have withdrawn support to the utmost possible extent from our country's militarism. Why do you not try to liquidate yours also? We have withdrawn our support as far as we can from exploiting capitalism or imperialism in our own countries; we do not stand in the way of the social revolution which will uplift the masses of mankind, but join with all our might in the struggle for social justice. Why then are you satisfied with the partial and in some ways false 'revolution' which you have achieved? Shall we not all join hands in achieving the true, profound revolution of ourselves and of the 'social order in which alone we can have peace?'—then the evil of communism can be met because thus the hearts of communists, as well as those against whom communists fight, may be converted to truth and non-violence, which is the way to peace.

[*Adopted*

IV. Disarmament

The work of arousing public opinion against the violence expressed in armaments is practicable. Armaments are an important factor in creating 'the fear and mistrust' that are required to perpetuate the war mentality. They first provoke attack and then offer a false sense of security.

But are pacifists concerned with security, since the armies of small countries are admittedly inadequate and there is no defence against the weapons of modern war?

Work against armaments gives concrete opportunity to the people to express their desire to build their security on truth and non-violence and to rely on moral power for their protection.

Many countries are spending large proportions of their budgets for military armament; while children all over the world lack food and education. Since no permanent society can be built on neglected and under-developed children, armaments are undermining the very foundations of a good society.

Military training, which is condemned from the angle of education must also be condemned as a part of the propaganda department of armaments. Compulsory military training, conscription, and the draft each provide us with an excellent starting point for immediate work for disarmament.

Unilateral disarmament is possible, under the present psychology of society, for the strongest nation. The hope is that as soon as the

strongest nation disarms it will have given the best proof of its peaceful intentions and there is every chance of all peace-loving nations also disarming and rallying around the banner of the strongest nation. This powerful peace-block will naturally be morally invincible.

We would urge pacifists, as a major project, to develop the moral power which would take away the occasion for armaments and to co-operate with all genuine attempts to bring about disarmament, general or unilateral, and to abolish military training and conscription.

[*Received*

V. (*a*) PACIFIST POLITICAL PRISONERS

Recommended conclusions:

The Conference has considered the situation of pacifists now serving prison sentences and the attitude which should be adopted with regard to this situation.

The Conference reminds pacifists that they should be ever more concerned for the cause to which their imprisoned fellows are bearing witness than for the welfare of these objectors.

Whilst holding that the witness of voluntary suffering will continue to be necessary until states have renounced warfare, the conference believes that it is the duty of pacifists to promote passage of legislation giving the fullest recognition of fundamental rights of conscience.

The Conference further urges pacifists not to limit their concern to their own number, but to extend it to all persons imprisoned without trial, or sentenced on account of their ideological beliefs when no acts of violence were in fact committed or attempted.

The Conference, therefore, recommends that pacifists

(1) seek adoption or improvement of C.O. status where lacking or insufficient;

(2) afford moral and material support to imprisoned pacifists and their families, preferably through existing organisations;

(3) take action against imprisonment without trial and against prosecution of persons on account of their ideological beliefs when no acts of violence have been in fact committed or attempted.

[*Adopted*

V. (*b*) WAR CRIMINALS *

1. The Conference has considered the situation of persons now imprisoned on charges of 'war crimes.'

The Conference recognises

(*a*) that the judges entrusted with the trial of such crimes have been chosen from amongst the fellow citizens of the victims of the alleged criminals and in some cases from organisation representing those who have suffered most at the hands of the enemy;

(*b*) that many of these trials have taken place in an atmosphere of tension and prejudice incompatible with the spirit of justice;

(*c*) that many sentences have been imposed on the basis of laws passed after the alleged crimes were committed and, therefore, unknown to the accused at the time of their acts;

(*d*) finally, that in some nations, the law requires that members of reputedly criminal organisations should prove that they did not take personal part in the crimes committed by these organisations, a proof generally impossible to establish;

(*e*) consequently, that serious errors have been committed in the prosecution of these crimes.

2. While by no means ignoring the atrocious nature of many crimes occasioned by the last war, nor the understandable depths of emotion of the general public stirred by these crimes, and on the other hand, while not entering into the many basic issues involved in the mere existence of any system of prosecution for crimes,

The Conference believes

(*a*) that the very gravity of the charges made requires special care in the definition and the establishment of the crimes involved;

(*b*) that these crimes originated mainly in conditions inherent to the state of war and that the desire for vengeance

* *Note.*—It is especially suggested: (*a*) that in the case of Japan, war criminals should be returned to the occupation authorities to serve the expiration of their imprisonment on Japanese soil and (*b*) that when the peace treaty with Japan is negotiated, suitable provision should be made for the detention on Japanese soil of her remaining war criminals.

as well as the need to satisfy the public resentment should yield to the major concern for creating an appropriate climate for the re-establishment of peace;

(*c*) that this concern is all the more legitimate because war crimes committed by members of victorious nations have mostly not been dealt with in a similar way;

(*d*) that the application of death sentences even to the gravest crimes, the resort to retro-active laws, the introduction of special procedures, the requirement of impossible proofs, are incompatible with the respect for human personality which is an essential condition of peace.

3. The Conference, therefore, recommends to pacifists,

(*a*) that they should work for the commutation of all death sentences, the revision of trials when necessary and legally possible, the support of appeals on legal grounds when constitutional or international law has been violated by judicial decisions, the reduction of unfairly long sentences, the grant of parole releases and pardons;

(*b*) that they should support the abrogation of all special laws dealing with war crimes, in order that the common principles of criminal law should be respected;

(*c*) that they should give spiritual and material help even to the guiltiest of these criminals, and that they should thus bear witness to the condemnation of war as a reason for these crimes, and to their willingness to forgive the gravest offences in order to effect peace.

[*Adopted*

V. (*c*) INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The Conference gave prayerful consideration to the India-Pakistan tension. It recognises the gravity and the complexity of the situation, and fails to offer any ready-made solution. It also feels that the problem is not only one of deep concern for them but also a challenge and an opportunity.

The Conference expresses regret at the existence of narrow, nationalistic or communal feelings, which are partly responsible for the existing tension between the two countries.

It is hoped that the nationals of each country will work in such a manner that the prevailing misunderstandings and suspicions should

be squarely faced and adequately dealt with. They should also try to bring about such economic and social reforms within their own territory, as will result in promoting healthy relation between the two States within the shortest possible time. This should be brought about by means of non-violence alone. The means will naturally include (as a part of it) the whole of the constructive programme. And in this task, the nationals of each country will have the moral sympathy and support of the World Pacifist Meeting.

The Conference would also encourage pacifists from other countries in associating themselves with such work in India or Pakistan, wherever the way opens. Whether any particular individual should undertake this service or not, or when one should undertake it, must be left to the individual to decide in one's own conscience.

The Conference also wishes to point out that anyone who so decides, must work in a spirit of complete dedication. And, in this endeavour, the prayer of pacifists all over the world will undoubtedly support and sustain them.

[*Adopted*

V. (*d*) PALESTINE

The sub-committee on Palestine, on which both Arabs and Jews were represented, has considered different aspects of the present situation in a spirit of mutual understanding and good-will. They have been able to reach agreement on several points of practical significance, and those members who are directly concerned with the issue will continue to work in the sense of the agreement for peace in the Holy Land.

The Arab and Jewish members of the sub-committee wish to put on record their particular gratitude to their colleagues for their help towards achieving these results.

[*Received*

V. (*e*) SOUTH AFRICA, RACIALISM, AND COLONIALISM

In the building of a peaceful world, full recognition must be given to the importance of racial tensions existing in many nations and to race as a factor in international power politics. These tensions all contain the seeds of war and command the attention of men of good-will everywhere if a lasting peace is to be achieved.

Because our faith is in the essential unity of mankind above all barriers of race, creed or culture, we believe

(1) that no human being or group has any right to dominate or to exploit other human beings or groups;

(2) that differences of race, creed or culture afford no justification for such domination;

(3) that it is our responsibility to identify ourselves with the needs of dominated people for self-determination;

(4) that we should encourage the use of non-violent means to overcome domination and injustice and to establish a social order resting upon the consent and responsible participation of the people involved.

Concerning 'trusteeships':

Pacifists vigorously condemn the systems of violence upon which the trusteeships of the colonial powers have been built and call for the immediate abolition of the relationship between peoples which implies that any racial, cultural or national group is incapable of self-government. The continuation of this system is the continuation of violence, which pacifists must unreservedly condemn and work to end.

The good faith of the present trustee nations requires their immediate and complete withdrawal from their dominant and exploiting positions, and the offer of their services through the organised and non-self-seeking channel of the United Nations functional agency, the Trusteeship Council, to peoples in all areas of the world. Pacifists should work for a world order in which the peoples of the former trusteeship countries and of the so-called under-developed areas have at their disposal such assistance as they may request from a central, international agency for the improvement of their governmental skills, economic, social and other needs, without in any way submitting to the domination and exploitation of a foreign power.

Regarding racial segregation and discrimination, we believe that they are in themselves, in whatever form they are practised, evils that must be ended immediately. We believe that equality of opportunity and brotherly co-operation cannot be had under any system of discrimination on the basis of race, creed or culture. Where this system exists we should exert every effort to facilitate friendly contacts in work, worship and play. We should encourage and participate in every non-violent effort to end the system itself.

In South Africa, where discrimination has become the state system, which is in effect the rule of one race by another, pacifists should openly seek by non-violent means structurally to change the system itself into one which adequately represents the people.

Pacifist Responsibilities :

1. We should seek to establish opportunities for persons of different racial and religious communities to co-operate in projects designed specifically to end the systems of discrimination and domination.

2. In all situations it should be the purpose of pacifists to awake the consciences of the dominating people, as well as those dominated and to involve them in non-violent direct action to achieve justice.

3. The trained leadership of the pacifist movement should be made available to areas of special tension.

4. Realising the need for leadership trained in objectives and tactics, we strongly recommend the establishment of training centres in strategic places throughout the world.

5. We should initiate and encourage projects, both by voluntary groups and by governments, to share our material and moral resources with people who have suffered under discrimination.

6. We should identify ourselves personally with the victims of discrimination and injustice in non-violent ways which will release the moral and spiritual power to reconcile the oppressed and the oppressor.

[*Adopted*

V. (*f*) Refugees and Displaced Persons

The situation of refugees and displaced peoples, throughout the world today, is a terrible demonstration of one of the most cruel aftermaths of war and strife, and emphasises the truth that the only real solution lies in eliminating war as such. These situations as they now exist, in Europe, Palestine and the surrounding areas, India-Pakistan, China and elsewhere, should be urgently and continuingly called to the attention of men of good-will everywhere.

In this it should be noted

(*a*) that almost without exception the individuals affected suffer through no fault of their own;

(*b*) that in the handling of their cases the basic and recognised human rights of man are frequently ignored or disregarded;

(*c*) that the solution includes

(1) temporary relief in cases of acute distress;

(2) necessary legal help in clearance of papers of identity and past background;

(3) adequate plans on an international basis for restoration of, or compensation for, confiscated or despoiled property;

(4) the reunion and rehabilitation of broken and separated families;

(5) an appropriate and acceptable place for resettlement or repatriation;

(6) and a well-devised programme for rehabilitation.

Under-developed and under-populated areas must be opened to these victims of war and conflict without prejudice to their social status and by peaceful means.

Men and organisations of peace and good-will must persistently keep before the nations and the appropriate organisations of the U.N. the basic needs and problems of the individuals affected.

While we commend the efforts made by the nations individually, by the U.N. and the I.R.O., and by voluntary organisation, etc., such effort is still entirely inadequate to the magnitude of the problem. We, therefore, appeal to all men of good-will everywhere to give such help as they can to supplement this effort and to urge their own country's deeper concern and more liberal support. We also particularly appeal to the U.N. to continue the I.R.O. or a succeeding organisation empowered for wider service.

[*Adopted*

V. (*g*) Soviet-American Relations

The appeal of communist or Soviet effort for social justice for the masses of men and the elimination of exploiting capitalism and imperialism can be successfully met only by those who are themselves devoted to the achievement of social justice and the removal of the various forms of exploitation, racial, economic, political, which mark the existing order.

It has been pointed out in other reports received by this World Pacifist Meeting, that men are virtually certain, whether in response

to communist propaganda or not, to rebel violently against gross oppression and intolerable suffering unless they are acquainted with effective non-violent means to ameliorate their conditions and achieve liberation from enslavement. One of the essential ways in which pacifists should work immediately to reduce war and other forms of collective violence is, therefore, to train themselves in giving practical help and inspiration to the under-privileged and oppressed in all lands in their efforts to achieve a just and co-operative social order. In the degree that pacifists by these means—including their own personal commitments to a simple and non-exploiting life—help to remove the roots of war, they will help to eliminate war itself and reduce the tension between the Western and the Soviet World.

The problem is complicated by the power struggle between the colossal and dynamic power-states, the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. Apart from economic and ideological conflicts, though aggravated by them, the struggle for position by these power-entities, armed to the teeth as no nations have been in the past, takes place daily all round the earth. Each of these nations has a history of persistent expansion; each is deeply convinced that its own intentions are peaceful and those of its adversary hostile and aggressive; each is deeply devoted to a 'way of life' which it believes to be superior and one that ought somehow to become world-wide.

Other nations and peoples are drawn into the vortex of this power-struggle, and largely deprived of their power to determine their own destiny, including whether they shall be victims or executioners in atomic and biological war. The conflict is, therefore, not the concern of the United States and the Soviet Union alone.

As any advance in armament in either nation is matched by the other, each move in the power-struggle calls forth a countermove, fear and tension are heightened on either side. Each, consciously or unconsciously, drives the other to more desperate action. The result is a tense dead-lock which blocks efforts in the U.N.O. and elsewhere towards saner economic policies, general disarmament, world organisation.

Whatever can be done to reduce the tension and ameliorate certain aspects of the conflict should be done, including certainly the effort to substitute objective information and comment for the hysterical propaganda which now floods the press and radio of both countries. Useful suggestions are provided in this connection in the report of the

American Friends Service Committee which is referred to in another section of this report.

There are strong reasons, however, to believe that in this case the various factors breeding conflict are so closely interrelated and the forces of disintegration so powerful, that counteraction to be effective must also be comprehensive in scope and go to the heart of things. Some 'revolutionary' way to deal with this 'revolutionary' situation may have to be found if a vast disaster is to be averted. We have already mentioned the task of radical social justice to which pacifists must address themselves. But there is no assurance that this task can be discharged with sufficient rapidity to avert war. It remains to ask whether in the realm of national political action, some step to break the psychological deadlock between U.S. and U.S.S.R. can be taken which might avert the transformation of the 'cold war' into open and all-out conflict.

Our basic pacifist faith involves reliance upon creative good-will and suffering for individuals and nations, rather than in asking the other person or nation to take the initiative in repentance and good-will. Since, to our regret, no representatives from the Soviet Union are with us and we do come from non-Soviet and largely Western countries, we, including the American delegates, express the hope and prayer that the people and government of the United States may find a way to perform an act of good-will and reconciliation which may bring back the hope of peace to all peoples.

1. Nearly half the wealth of the world is in the United States. Nearly two billion dollars' worth of foodstuffs are in storage, which has already cost the American people 75,000,000 dollars while millions in other lands are starving and under-nourished. It is certain that the world will know no peace so long as this economic unbalance exists. Let this democratic nation abandon all efforts to hold on any longer to its privileged position—efforts which may require the expenditure of billions in preparation for a possible atomic war. Let it use its resources in a world programme, under international and of course not exclusively American control to provide the earth's children on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain' with food, schooling, and medical care. This would, in our view, provide more real security than all the atomic armament in the world.

2. We are convinced that if the U.S.A. were to move rapidly toward the complete abolition of racial discrimination and segregation in its own midst, this would win the respect and affection of great

multitudes throughout the world, relieve tension, and again provide a more real security than arms can furnish.

3. It is our plea that the U.S.A. will not shut the door to negotiation with the Soviet Union on outstanding issues and over joint and general disarmament, including abolition of atomic and biological weapons. If genuine efforts to secure such joint disarmament should not succeed, we ask the American government and people to consider that there is no practical, rational or moral ground for preparation by any nation to engage in atomic and biological warfare for whatever cause. No democratic or human values could possibly be protected by such means. If the nation, which took the risk of unilaterally introducing the use of atomic weapons into warfare, were now to take the initiative, if necessary unilaterally, in laying down its atomic and other arms, it would be hailed by all mankind. It may well be that such a daring and costing act of peace-making will be needed if peace is to be found. For it has been truly said, 'there is no way to peace, peace is the way.' There is ultimately no way to peace through war or other devices, no security in military weapons, but rather increasing insecurity. We cannot build non-violence, peace and love out of other things, since it is through non-violence, peace and love that everything which is of value in the world must be built. This is the law by which men as well as nations must learn to live.

[*Received*

COMMISSION B

I. Basic Education and the Social Order

The doctrine or faith which is called pacifism in the West, and non-violence in the East, like all other vital doctrines, must needs evolve new forms of expression from time to time. In the West, during the last forty years pacifism has passed from a policy of war-resistance, pure and simple, to a demand for far-reaching social and economic reconstruction, the abandonment of imperialism, racialism, and capitalism. Today in East and West alike non-violence demands far more fundamental changes still, changes which go down to the very roots of social life.

The world is in chaos. Its material part is almost completely divorced from its spiritual part. The material, which knows no moral law, has become a law unto itself. If the physical world is to be stabilised and saved from self-destruction, it must become part of

a unified world order. It must, that is to say, be brought under the control of moral and spiritual law.

In the East, spiritual traditions have not broken down to the same extent as in the West, although in fact spiritual values exercise little influence upon economic life. In the West, the chief emphasis is placed unashamedly upon high standards of material living. Hence, in both hemispheres there is an almost complete failure to synthesise the spiritual and the material.

To achieve this synthesis is the outstanding need of our time. By one means or another the things of the flesh must be brought into proper relationship with the things of the spirit. Only thus will they be able to make their fitting contribution to the well-being of individuals and of society, and to the peace of the world.

This relationship can best be established in the field of education, where conduct can be determined in relation to human needs. Education is fundamentally a process of training in the art of living. It is the art of putting all things in their right order so that every function, interest or activity which has a contribution to make to the good life may find its appropriate place. We are thus brought to the vital principles involved in what Mahatma Gandhi called Basic Education or Education for Living. In the exercise of all man's powers in purposive social living, which is in essence co-operative living, Gandhi discovered a unifying principle by which the human person might become a whole man, capable of building integrated families, integrated communities, and a peaceful world.

Work is man's basic activity, the means by which all his material needs are satisfied. It is also the means by which his spiritual needs are satisfied. It exercises and develops all his powers and enables him to experience the joy of self and social fulfilment. The moment a person handles any raw material with the object of giving it a serviceable function in the life around him, he becomes a creator, and develops an inward strength and self-reliance which spur him on to greater fulfilment.

Here then we have a life principle of high value. To make something in the external world correspond to something in the spirit is to add beauty and value to life and quality to human personality. This order of labour exercises all man's spiritual, mental and physical powers to their utmost and so calls for their renewal. This renewal is achieved in rest, in sleep, in meditation, in religious devotion, and in artistic appreciation and enjoyment in all its forms.

Accordingly, in the Indian ashrams where Gandhiji's Basic Education is now being practised, periods of silence for meditation come as naturally as sleep and waking, while silent or meditative spinning, in addition to this, symbolises the sacredness of every common task. In this latter act we have found the same principle at work which during the Middle Ages in the West was expressed in the words: 'To labour is to pray'.

The major evils of our time, including deepening ideological conflicts and total war, are the direct outcome of failure to connect work with religion and with art. The result is the atomisation of the human person, the disintegration of the home and the community, and a complex of vicious international relations.

The primary cause of this failure is the materialism which has led to the exploitation of the masses both in the highly industrialised West and in the tradition-bound East during several centuries. In both cases exploitation has led to the dehumanisation of the masses, in the west by repetitive labour and in the east by appalling poverty.

It is customary for those who defend the highly mechanised life of the West to argue that machinery paves the way to a short working day and to ample leisure in which man may develop his creative powers. This, however, is a delusion. In a mass-production society, work is deprived of its natural satisfactions. Man can work only for money. He thus becomes a materialist, who expects to buy with hard cash all his pleasures and reliefs. Thus arises an endless multiplication of appetites and wants, and the promised leisure is swallowed up in the attempt to satisfy this growing demand for goods and services. The prophets of mechanisation and leisure are false prophets.

Furthermore, this expansion of material demands (which we now know as 'standards of living') dominates the home and foreign policy of every country where a money economy operates. In commodity after commodity (as for example food), supply is unable to keep pace with the demand. Hence competition for the earth's resources, which leads inevitably to imperialism, ideological conflicts and world wars. The consequent demand for bigger and bigger expenditure on militarism also prevents the enlargement of leisure.

The key to world peace lies in the development of an economy which is peaceful by nature, which does not produce the stresses which lead to war. Such an economy is the purpose of Basic Education, the essence of which is creative, co-operative living. Its significance cannot be too strongly emphasised. It transforms every human and

social function and gives rise to an economy which is related to the needs of the whole man and the whole of humanity. The acceptance of Basic Education in all its implications, with its concepts of man's ends and needs, would cause the demands which nations make upon the world's resources to be profoundly modified. At one stroke, therefore, the major causes of international friction in the modern world could be removed by the practice of Basic Education and all that it involves.

In these circumstances it is possible to face the world's political and economic problems with a new hope. About the nature of the organisations that would be required to perform the functions necessary to the smooth working of international relations we need not here be concerned, since these can easily be determined once the field has been cleared of its major tensions.

So long as the aim of nations is ever-rising standards of material living, there can be little hope of anything in the nature of world government. Those countries with high 'standards of living' will not cease to plan and strive to maintain and even to raise their standards, notwithstanding that by so doing they will stimulate revolt and ideological upheavals in other parts of the world. They will then devote larger and larger percentages of their national income to militarism and the buttressing of collapsing national economics, as is happening in our time. In such circumstances world governments like the United Nations Organisation evade the more vital issues in world affairs. Not until the stresses caused by this canker of materialism have been removed, will effective co-operation at the world level become a practical policy. The Gandhian remedy for this materialism and its consequences is a revolution in values by means of Basic Education.

We must now consider the size and nature of the social unit which Basic Education envisages and how it may be established. Let us keep in mind the values on which Basic Education is founded. These include responsibility, creative opportunity and community co-operation in various forms as the means of developing whole, self-reliant persons and a neighbourly community, able to ensure a large degree of self-sufficiency and so confident of its unity and inward strength.

The social, economic and political aims of Basic Education include (1) a community of limited size such that every person within it can embrace it in his imagination and feel a communal relationship

with all its members, (2) small-scale industries communally or co-operatively owned and co-operatively run, (3) new industrial techniques for the use of power machinery.

The economic and social organisation of these small communities would constitute the basis of their political life, which would be in the control of small councils, the title and constitution of which would differ according to the varying conditions in different countries. These small communities would achieve varying degrees of self-sufficiency according to their size and make-up. In highly industrialised countries, small industrial units capable of supplying the needs of several or many villages would no doubt be established, which would call for a measure of planning and thus for a regional economy. Even where this situation did not occur, there are many reasons why a regional economy would be advantageous. A region consisting of a group of villages round a small country town could build up a cultural centre of great value to them all, and stimulate a varied artistic life of high quality. Such centres might give birth to a new creative era.

By combining agriculture with a wide variety of handicrafts and several small-scale industries, these new social units would become well-integrated, and life in them would satisfy by its completeness. To belong to a community rich in the fruits of good husbandry, of numerous craft skills, of thought and imagination expressed in letters, painting, music, drama, dancing, etc., would be of incalculable value to the individual person.

These village communities would be of a wide variety of types and organisation. In general, those in the East would be simpler in character, and would achieve a much greater degree of self-sufficiency than those in the West, because of their different climatic and environmental conditions.

Many villages would be built wholly under our new conception, while others would be old villages reconstituted. In the West, small-scale power machinery would be introduced in many villages, which would give them a distinct character. At the same time, it should be stressed that home-crafts possess a remarkable power of personal and family integration.

The highly centralised industries raise problems which cannot be dealt with in a paper of this kind; but since some sixty per cent of industry as organised in the West is capable of being decentralised, the problem of the remaining forty per cent can safely be deferred for the present.

It is in such a setting that we must consider the teaching and practice of Basic Education or the art of living. This mode of education is basic because it is a way of life and not a creed, a process of developing inward strength by self-giving in contrast to the way of money-making or profit-planning. The former wins all because it gives all, whereas the latter loses all because it seeks to possess all. Self-giving opens hearts and hands everywhere, and so gains friends and unbounded spiritual treasure, whereas self-seeking grasps dead things only, and loses the pearls of greatest price.

How then are these new communities to be established? Obviously they can only be built by those who have the vision of them. For a long time to come, therefore, the extension of small communities living by the concepts of Basic Education must proceed independently of governments, on voluntary lines, and prevail by reason of the abundant life they bring within the reach of all.

On the other hand, as reconstructive, regenerative work comes into conflict with tradition and various vested interests, opposition may occur which may be untruthful and cruel. Here will lie the real test for the worker in Basic Education, the test of soul-force, the basis of which is humility, patience, and unlimited faith in the possibility of spiritual miracles—in the triumph of the good over evil in human nature. The process of spiritual re-birth may be short or long; hence the need of patience. In general, however, self-giving is the most potent force which lies within man's power, and on it the pioneers in Basic living must rely to the uttermost.

'Basic Education,' said Gandhi, 'extends from the moment a child is conceived to the moment of death.'

The Recovery of Spiritual Values :

It is to the recovery of spiritual values that we must look for the solution of our major national and world problems. To regard Russia, and not materialism, as the arch-enemy of freedom and progress reveals a fatal lack of imagination. Let us not forget that Soviet Russia is the outcome of social and economic breakdown and that communism is a sincere attempt to find a better way of life. That it has failed in this purpose only makes more urgent the continuation of search. Both socialism and communism, despite their professions of faith, have taken over the values of capitalism, in consequence of which they are now floundering in the morass created by that system. Were the diplomacy of the big powers during the last fifty years to be

exposed, which country would dare to cast a stone at any of its neighbours?

The alternative to capitalism has yet to be found, and it is our view that it is to be found in Gandhiji's Basic Education, which offers to humanity what may be its last chance of saving itself from destruction. Once again men and women in every country are looking into the heavens for a sign of better days to come. But no sign is given to them. Salvation must be won, and only courageous living can win it. The courage of twenty men, or ten, or even one, might yet save the situation.

The Freeing of Colonial Peoples :

There are still wide areas of the earth to be freed from colonial rule. The duty of securing this freedom falls chiefly upon members of the ruling race. Basic Education is a major means of freeing such peoples, in that it develops self-reliance and community self-sufficiency through co-operative effort. Here lies wide open a big field of heroic endeavour for the youth of the imperial power, which offers so few vocations with a spiritual content.

Disarmament :

To ask for disarmament without removing the fears that are responsible for armaments is to trifle with reality. It is necessary to face the grim fact that amidst the injustices, the inequalities, the privations, the tyrannies and the conflicting ideologies of power-politics, the mounting financial, economic and political problems of our age, disarmament is an idle dream. A peace propaganda that is unrelated to a policy of fundamental social reconstruction and human transformation will fail in its purpose in a period when time is fast running out.

War Resistance :

This does not mean that there is no place for determined war resistance in a war-based society. On the contrary, the pacifist who tries to live in accordance with the demands of peace has the duty to obey his conscience should war break out. His role will be that of a Jeremiah who delivers the judgment of everlasting truth upon a truth-denying generation; and in part that of presenting a constructive alternative to a war economy.

The Roots of War :

It is a common saying that the people do not want war, and that governments alone are responsible for it. The issue is important, for if the statement is true, the abolition of war ceases to be a fundamental problem. But in truth the seeds of war go deeper into the life of nations today than they have ever done. Not only the profit-seeking of capitalists or the power-politics of governments, but the high 'standards of living' which the workers in most lands are encouraged to expect, are among the causes of war. We all need to walk humbly, therefore, and to ponder more deeply over this problem of the roots and causes of war. We must ask ourselves to what extent violence resides in the demands we make upon the earth's resources by reason of our self-indulgent existence, and what is to be our personal contribution to the realisation of peace.

A Four-fold Task :

Every age has its own peculiar problems, and makes special demands upon its people. The present age calls for action in four directions: (1) Personal discipline and simplification of personal life, so as to reconcile one's demands upon the resources of the earth with the needs of all mankind. In the one human family no responsible member will consume more than his share. (2) Personal and group action in re-organising society on the lines above indicated. (3) Expounding to others the need of establishing these basic social conditions. (4) Influencing political opinion with a view to securing maximum freedom and help in laying the foundations of world peace in one's own country and of bringing the national economy into conformity with the world's needs.

Is this a long or a short-term policy? Who can say? It is a policy which places the maximum reliance upon what Gandhi called soul-force, which none can measure.

[*Adopted*

Appendix to Report on Basic Education and the Social Order :

In view of the fact that the above Report had to be confined to a statement of principles and brief outlines, the Conference agreed that many of the issues raised in it should later be set forth at greater length in pamphlets—e.g.

1. The problems connected with highly industrialised, urban areas, and the big industries which cannot be

decentralised such as railways and coal-mines, including how social-ownership and control over such industries and over basic resources may be achieved by non-violent means.

2. The techniques of financing small community enterprises such as local co-operative savings agencies, non-interest bearing loans operated through Trusts and the use of voluntary labour.
3. The techniques of Exchange, such as barter and the use of tokens with a view to obliterating interest, and in a measure to contracting out of the money complex.
4. The techniques of initiating schemes of Basic Education in different kinds of countries, and differing conditions in each country.
5. A brief description of Basic Education as stated by Gandhiji and of its application in Indian Ashrams.
6. The problem of how to achieve decentralisation in societies where the trend is towards a war economy which diverts the attention of workers from sound solutions of their economic problems by the propagation of patriotism etc.

[*Adopted*

II. Food and Population

Security in Unity :

1. The basic ground of all pacifist action is the feeling for and faith in the oneness of all humanity. Pacifists, however, cannot content themselves with individual adherence to this feeling and belief and to actions which lie within the range of individual contacts. They must make the oneness of humanity real through the world-wide sharing of the physical necessities of human life. It is essential to the peaceful world which we seek that there should be world-wide co-operation in the effort to overcome a jungle like struggle for existence by ensuring to every human family the minimum adequate needs of food for a balanced diet, fuel, clothing and shelter.

2. Pacifists are deeply concerned with the fact that millions of our human family in many parts of the world are now living below the minimum adequate level.

3. In the presence of all the discouraging facts and opinion prevailing in the world today, pacifists must persist in the belief that

this situation of want and suffering can be relieved by world-wide co-operation.

Simplicity of Life :

4. Pacifists everywhere should examine themselves and the life of their immediate neighbours, to see whether in the light of world-wide human need, they themselves are consuming more than their rightful share. If this is found to be the case, they must take the initiative in the establishment of simplicity of life, restraint of use, and planned sharing in every fundamental way.

Mutual Help :

5. It is a basic principle of the pacifist world-view that nations in possession of abundance should accept major responsibility for planning relief for nations and peoples who live in a condition of perennial insufficiency, and assist in the exchange of commodities, the loaning of scientific and technical assistance, the offer of capital goods on a service basis, with the purpose of enabling them to achieve self-dependent economy as quickly as possible.

Pacifists should seek to encourage among people who live in areas of great need, all such measures of increased production and more efficient use of land, as may be needed to provide a minimum adequate balanced use of food, fuel, clothing and shelter, within the resources now available to them within their present national and regional boundaries.

Sharing the Resources :

6. Pacifists however cannot accept the view that the existing national boundaries must limit the use of land and the natural resources thereof to those who now occupy it. They must hold that the land, its products, and all the natural resources of the earth are the God-given resources of all life upon the earth, and that it is the duty of mankind to achieve such an organisation of production and use as shall make possible the adequate sustenance of all such life without violence, and in ways which confirm brotherhood and peace.

By their own thought, research and publication, and by the stimulus of others, pacifists should encourage voluntary national and international movements in this direction. When circumstances seem

to require it pacifists should also engage in direct action to draw attention to the need for such movements.

Self-sufficiency in Primary Needs :

7. In all their efforts to increase production, pacifists should be concerned and vigilant to beware of those methods of production, exchange and restriction of production which in themselves are injurious to the people. This necessary precaution should be supported by objective and extensive inquiry and research whenever the facts seem to suggest that a particular form of production or exchange, or restriction of production or exchange may be operating injuriously upon the life of the people affected. Pacifists should seek to make the results of such research publicly and widely available. Pacifists should be concerned to encourage such planning of production as shall lead, everywhere and on a world-wide basis, to the maximum self-sufficiency of local areas in the matter of balanced production and use of food, fuel, clothing and shelter.

Rationalisation of Production :

8. Pacifists should encourage inquiry into and experimentation with improved methods of increasing soil fertility through the application of chemical fertilisers, compost, all organic waste, farmyard manures, etc. and should make such information widely available to the public.

They should also give their support to afforestation, irrigation, prevention of erosion and all measures that may contribute to the increased use, restoration and recuperation of exhausted, abandoned and devastated lands.

Pacifists should take note of the fact that the land area required for the support of a vegetarian population is much less than that needed by a meat-eating population. They should reflect upon this fact and should encourage others to reflect upon its significance in relation to the world's ability to provide a minimum adequate balanced diet for its population.

They should be concerned to relieve the people from dependence upon an economy resting heavily upon resources in short supply, such as coal, petrol and iron ; because competition for the possession of such resources will continually generate violence. Alternatively, pacifists should encourage the development of economies based largely upon

resources which can be increased and adequately supplied by man's own efforts.

Exchange of Real Values :

9. Pacifists should be concerned that in the exchange of commodities the real values acquired in the process of production shall be conserved and truthfully exchanged. They should exercise vigilance that money, wherever, shall subserve the primary purpose of facilitating the truthful exchange of real values, and that it shall not be used for the manipulation of values to the disadvantages of one party or the other in the exchange. One of the basic conditions of peace is that people should have faith that the products of their labour can be relied upon to yield their full value in the processes of exchange.

Formation and use of Capital :

10. Pacifists should be concerned that the savings of the people invested in multipurpose co-operative societies be made available for increased production in accordance with their real need. Regional, national, and international agencies shall be designed to make the savings of the people available to areas beyond their immediate region, but pacifists should be concerned that the loans facilitated by such agencies shall be dominated by a service purpose, and the terms of repayment shall be designed to create and sustain self-reliant production of the borrowing areas, and to protect them against subservient dependence.

Population Control :

11. Pacifists should accept for themselves the obligation of self-control and personal discipline in the family life, as it relates to the increase of the population, and they should consider that the development of such self-control and personal discipline is an essential part of the education of adults and adolescents in every part of the world. To this and to the related end of a healthy world population they should encourage universal education in natural living involving simplicity of life, physical and mental hygiene, outdoor activities in consonance with nature, and the fullest possible use of regulated diet and other natural remedial methods of the prevention of illness and the restoration of health.

[*Adopted*

COMMISSION C

I. The Basic Principles of Peace-Makers

Preamble:

This Conference includes members of most of the major religions of the world as well as some who have no religious affiliation. The substance of the following statement was agreed to by all as an attempt to put into words the deep unity which we have in fact experienced and which may be the most fruitful, if the least tangible, outcome of the Conference. It is hoped that the statement will be of use to pacifists of all shades of thought, who are naturally free to interpret its implications according to their particular beliefs. Those of us who are religiously minded believe that such a declaration can only be fulfilled with reference to God and His Grace.

Recommended Basic Principles for Peace-Makers:

1. There is a universal, underlying, spiritual unity.
2. We can trust this spiritual unity, believing it to be the source of the truth, love, goodness, beauty, creative power and moral law which are present in some degree in every person, even though hidden by false values, fear, greed and pride.
3. The individual finds fulfilment in the small group, which, in turn, finds it in the larger group until the whole of humanity is reached. Nevertheless, the worth of the individual must never be lost sight of.
4. War and the use of any kind of violence and domination destroy our participation in the underlying unity and violate the moral law.

We therefore believe that, as to method, we must act on our principles as follows:—

1. Maintain an absolute respect for every person.
2. Recognise and try to remove whatever hinders goodness in ourselves and others. Shed fear, anger, greed, lust for power, pride and all divisive thoughts.
3. Reverence all life, give love, sympathy and practical service to all fellowmen. Meet opposition and violence with loving acts, patiently repeated.
4. To be able to do all this, we must train ourselves, singly and in groups, by means of

   (*a*) self-examination (for false values and motives);

(*b*) self-discipline: control of appetite and desire, study, manual work, meditation (by those who believe in it);

(*c*) self-sacrifice: readiness to pay the price of peace personally and collectively.

5. Make our means consistent with our ends.
6. Never cease our efforts for peace. Recognise no failure but the failure to keep on trying.

A Personal Statement:

(The following formulation of principles by an individual member of the World Pacifist Meeting was felt by the Meeting to be so valuable that it is placed on record here as an appendix to the Commission's Statement of Basic Principles.)

All human beings, irrespective of race, creed, religion, language or culture belong to one human family. Their mutual relations, therefore, should be guided by the law of the family, i.e., the law of mutual love, forbearance, support and service.

As human beings, each one of us is responsible for the well-being of all. 'Any injustice done to anyone is injustice to me.'

Being members of one family men should not use violence towards anyone. If any one individual or group uses violence against another, it is our duty to resist that violence but of course in a non-violent way, i.e. through Satyagraha. It must be the mission of our lives to spread this law of love and collective responsibility through

(1) Persuasion,
(2) Unbounded patience,
(3) Selfless service, and
(4) Ungrudging self-sacrifice.

This mission should be permeated with a spirit of humanity and prayerfulness arising out of an abiding faith in goodness.

To be worthy of this mission, we must be always wakeful and introspective. There should be an uninterrupted effort at self-purification, truth, non-violence, self-restraint, non-possessiveness, simplicity, neighbourliness—these should be the guiding principles. Bodily labour and austerity must be the hallmarks of such a life. Goodwill towards all religious groups, races and cultures should be the fragrance of such a life.

[*Received*

II. Education for Peace

Introductory:

The Committee is aware that society, as constituted today, rests upon self-interest and the principle of competition, and relies on force as sanction. Education in general reflects the nature of society. Education for peace, which trains the individual for a co-operative life of service, without limitations, nationalistic or ideological, is therefore dissimilar from that which obtains in most places. Its methods must be those of mutual understanding, and must rest on persuasion, rather than upon the imposition of external mandates.

Some Test Questions in Educational Practice:

Child psychologists and educationists generally accept as fundamental guiding principles the child's need for security and freedom from fear, and its right to feel itself loved and wanted. Do they face the implications of the philosophy of education which they accept, and which is essentially pacifist in its nature? Is school practice in harmony with these ideals?

The following specific points (the list is not necessarily exhaustive) deserve thought:

1. Is any one form of religion taught in such a biassed fashion as to exclude the contribution of all others to man's spiritual growth?

We recommend that in order to foster mutual understanding and an appreciation of the contribution of various peoples to the historical, cultural and religious achievement of mankind, school-children should be introduced, through suitably selected passages, to the original scriptures of all the major religions, and to stories and allegories from their literature. We suggest that where such teaching does not exist, it should be added to school curricula.

2. Does current practice encourage exaggerated and aggressive forms of nationalism?

Any programme of peace education should be directed towards making parents and teachers increasingly aware of the evils of such things as falsification of history, excessive flag salutation, exaggerated respect for war monuments and similar symbols, derogatory generalisations about whole nations or groups and the use of insulting terms of reference (such as 'Wops', 'niggers', 'coolies', etc.), the propagation of racial and national myths, the glorification of physical prowess, and group egotism which subjects the individual to the mass.

3. Is the interest of the group (whether national, cultural or any other) given undue predominance over considerations of the full development of the individual?

4. Is military training being confused with education?

The commission is unreservedly opposed to the introduction of any form of military training into the educational programme. The confusion of the two should be ended.

In reply to the usual argument that military training is necessary to discipline, we maintain that educative discipline must be a training for self-discipline and for life in a free society, in which each individual has his place and must fulfil his responsibilities to the whole community. Such discipline is obtained through a rightly organised system of work and play, and not through military training or any form of regimented mass drill.

5. Are current forms of punishment and retaliation consistent with the guiding principles?

No form of punishment, physical or otherwise, which injures the child's self-respect and causes emotional frustration, has any place in education for peace. A well-adjusted and co-operative citizen free from fear is not produced by such methods.

6. Are we sufficiently alive to the evils of the spirit of competition and rivalry between individuals and groups?

We recommend such modification of the current examination systems as will meet this challenge, and the abandonment of those methods of organising games which are devised to secure the triumph of one group over its rivals.

The commission further recommends:—

1. That all groups and individuals concerned for the creation of peace should carefully consider ways and means by which the status of teachers might be raised in their own country.
2. That a thorough-going study should be made of the principles and methods of Basic Education as practised in India, as an example of one nation's contribution to the education of peace-makers.

[*Received*

III. The Transcendence of Egotism.

A. *Definition of Egotism.*—By egotism is meant a perverse development of the 'self' (an individual or the group as a unit, either

by itself or in its social context) in such a way as to produce a state in which (1) the self is convulsed by an inner conflict, conscious or unconscious; or (2) the world finds it a cause for strife or violence; or (3) both the above obtain.

B. *Methods for the transcendence of egotism.*—The commission recommends for consideration and experimentation the following approaches for transcendence of egotism:

1. *From the point of view of the individual in isolation,* it is recommended that—

(*a*) we daily examine our thoughts, emotions and actions (of omission as well as commission) in the light of our sincere conviction of truth and righteousness and by reference to the highest moral concept that we know of;

(*b*) we endeavour (1) to seek wider and deeper understanding of truth and its bearings on our moral life by study and reflection in quiet retreat, (2) to give reality to that understanding by living our life according to its light and implications, and (3) as a means of moral training, to devote our body, mind and heart to some manual as well as mental creative work in retreat (without seeking to be known or rewarded) and (4) for the sake of moral discipline, to begin by doing at least one distasteful thing a day that conscience or good-will bids us to do;

(*c*) we endeavour to eradicate fear, covetousness, pride and self-righteousness by the adoption of a new sense of value. Begin by leading a life of simplicity, self-denial and renunciation. It will be found that renunciation of intangibles is even more difficult than of tangibles. When a crisis arises, resolve to follow the dictates of truth and conscience honestly, fearlessly and in their totality. True emancipation of the self consists of freedom from its own tyranny;

(*d*) when we feel exceedingly righteous or suffering under intolerable injustice, especially when the feeling is attended with emotional heat, we ask ourselves whether we are just being self-righteous. Try to be honest with ourselves in all the implications of honesty;

(*e*) we avail ourselves of the redemptive effects of a moral crisis within ourselves. Modern psychology reveals the fact that an inner conflict nearly always has a moral

counterpart due to some form of egotism, and the resultant crisis is meant by nature to be redemptive as well as corrective. A prolonged or recurrent (1) lack of inner peace and joy, or (2) sense of misfit to life in general, may be taken as a symptom of the existence of such a crisis. In most cases self-examination will bring the conflict to the surface and open the way for its resolution. Moreover, any attempt at resolution by external adjustments alone often aggravates the crisis;

(*f*) those of us who have faith in religion must devote a quiet period daily for (1) prayer, (2) meditation, and (3) worship, in order to seek inner light and guidance for actual details of day-to-day life. Such guidance will be found to be of increasing clearness and cogency with continued obedience to it. The busier the person, the more necessary it is for one to have this daily quiet period in retreat alone.

2. *From the point of view of the individual in one's social context,* it is recommended that—

(*a*) we accustom ourselves to a new frame of reference for moral evaluation in regard to the individual in his social context. The individual finds fuller self-realisation and development in a suitable group, which in turn derives its vitality from its members. The moral relationship between the individual and his group can be placed on a rational basis only by reference to (*i*) a framework which is inclusive of both, and (*ii*) to a centre which is not confined to either *;

* An analogy: Greek ancients tried to account for the apparent irregular behaviour of the planets by analysing their movements into more than fifty perfect circles. The brilliant ingenuity and overwhelming amount of calculations involved did not leave mathematicians quite satisfied. Satisfaction was only achieved by transferring the fixed point in the framework of reference from the Earth to the Sun. The movements of the planets then became at once simple, regular, intelligible and consistent with the unity of the solar system. We have been accustomed to assume the individual as the centre of reference in one's moral relationship to one's group. We suggest that this is inaccurate. Some modern socialists adopt the opposite assumption. We suggest that this also is inaccurate. A correct definition of the rights of the individual as against those of the group cannot be arrived at rationally on either assumption.

(*b*) we adopt the principles recommended in Section I(*b*) and apply them in fellowship. Form small working groups of not more than, say, a dozen people, which is the size found by experience to work best. Individualist life in extreme seclusion is often dangerous;

(*c*) when we find ourselves involuntary members of a group: (i) we try to preserve moral independence by acting as if the group were already morally acceptable and (ii) try to influence or reform the group according to an acceptable common moral concept. This is also best done in fellowship and in smaller groups within the larger;

(*d*) those of us who have faith in religion adopt the recommendations in Section I(*f*) and apply them in fellowship for the purposes of seeking enlightenment and spiritual sustenance through study, worship, and contemplation. This should be done both in smaller groups for intensity and in larger groups, such as the Churches, for unity and richness.

3. *From the point of view of the group as a unit*, it is recommended that—

(*a*) we have a clear understanding of wherein a group differs from an individual. An integrated group acquires a purposive dynamic of its own, which is distinct from the aggregate of the conscious wills of the members. The moral evaluation of a group and its motives and activities must be made therefore on its own merits and considered from (i) the point of view of its effects on humanity as a whole, transcending frontiers of race, creed, or nationality, and *vice versa*; and (ii) the point of view of its effects on its members, and *vice versa*. It is particularly to be noted that group-egotism is apt to manifest itself as group-self-righteousness which is perhaps the most potent of causes for the bitterest and most prolonged animosity and violence and which acts most effectively when the members are wholly unconscious of it.

Group self-righteousness operates by warping our moral judgment and by perverting our highest moral assets into tools of vice or sin, or into fuel for flames

of hatred and violence. Even our legitimate concern to share our best with our fellow-men, e.g., wealth, freedom, culture, etc. and even truth itself, has often been perverted into cause for exploitation, strife, persecution, revolution or war. The most selfless of men have often been inspired to blind allegiance and to live and die heroes or martyrs for a cause which has after all been found to be a colossal piece of unsuspected group selfishness. Under civilised conditions no major war or revolution is possible without each side being convinced of its own utter rightness, justice and morality and the utter wrongness, injustice and depravity of its opponents;

(*b*) we endeavour to apply as strict and high a standard of moral judgment to groups as to individuals. Judgment should be formed as objectively as possible, and when groups are in conflict each should give more weight to factors put forward by its opponents;

(*c*) attempts be made to resolve inter-group conflicts by synthesis* rather than by fighting to the bitter end, or by compromise.

It is often useful to substitute a 'We-centre' for the 'I-centre'† in human relationship and its moral evaluation, bearing in mind that the greater the 'we' the more harmonious and healthy is the relationship;

(*d*) as a practical step towards promoting inter-group harmony of a worldwide scope, each one of us should participate wholeheartedly and fearlessly in some major international group devoted exclusively and disinterestedly to the building up of positive lasting world peace;

* When a music mistress and a dress-making mistress both demand more time in a school curriculum, a compromise is usually arrived at. But when the class is to produce a play, the amount of time to be devoted to music and dress-making as well as the nature of the work, is automatically controlled by the demands of artistic unity of the play. This is synthesis. Since the adjustment is not made with the object of settling a quarrel, it is a resolution of the conflict by synthesis on a higher plane.

† The terms 'I-centre' and 'We-centre' are used by some psychologists with great effect. The 'We-centre' corresponds to our Sun in a former footnote.

(*e*) since the laws relevant to the growth, decay or perversion of the group as a quasi-moral being are as yet little understood, it is incumbent upon advocates of pacifism and non-violence, or ahimsa as re-vitalised and successfully practised by Gandhi and his faithful followers to undertake further research, without which the problem of transcendence of group-egotism can only be tackled empirically and at a disadvantage.

CHAPTER III

WORLD PEACE AND THE WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

AMRIT KAUR

IT is indeed most unfortunate that Sri Rajen Babu, as he is lovingly called, is unable to be here today to address this gathering. Apart from his close association with Gandhiji and his special understanding of the creed of non-violence, he was particularly suited to preside over this occasion. I know how much he has contributed towards making possible the holding of this Conference, indeed without his help and his unflinching resolve that this meeting should take place I believe I am right in saying that we might not all be gathered here today. I had come here to listen in and to learn, and I know what a very poor substitute I am and how unworthy of the honour that has accidentally come to me.

I am sure all present here today are aware of the genesis of this gathering. In a world where in spite of two world wars in one generation mankind is still thinking in terms of a third and what must be a worse conflagration, it was only natural that those who had worked and suffered for peace in other lands should seek to come to Gandhiji and learn further from him. From before and during the war years and after he alone had been as a lighthouse, standing out serene and unharmed by the storms that beat around him. When he was taken from our midst doubts arose in many minds as to whether it was any use holding a gathering of this nature without him. But I for one am glad that our friends from far and near have come. After all though Gandhiji is not with us in the flesh, his spirit lives and is always there to bless and guide us.

Man is peaceful by nature. Life could not exist for one moment if he were not, and yet it is a sad commentary that even today the vast majority take it for granted that there is no solution for our problems other than by armed conflict. There must be something wrong somewhere and it is towards trying to set that something wrong right that gatherings like this one can contribute.

Gandhiji showed us a way of life that would militate against war. If we study closely the eleven vows that we repeated in his daily Ashram

prayers we will see clearly the way of the man of peace. All his creative activities in this country were based on non-violence, i.e. the work of these organisations was essential to the creation of a non-violent society. 'Truth is God' he said and 'Truth and non-violence are inseparable'. It is for us to consider whether what he tried to build up here is not the way which the world should adopt for the attainment of world peace. I venture to submit that it is. Our friends from other lands have come with their own experiences. We shall hear of these from them. It is only by pooling our resources, both mental and moral, that we can hope to create an atmosphere for, and a will to maintain peace amongst fellow-men.

The path trod by the saints and martyrs who have been sent by God from time to time to lighten our darkness has always been a hard one. I believe that Gandhiji went as he would have liked to go—laying down his life so as to make it easier for others to live.

We are meeting in what is known as the abode of peace. It is difficult in these lovely surroundings to believe that the ugliness of hate and war can exist. It is meet that this gathering should have taken place here and should later go to Sevagram. Both these immortals, Tagore and Gandhi, lived in order to bring light and love where there was darkness and hate and also strove for that international good-will which alas does not exist today.

I cannot do better than quote what is one of the gems of Gurudev's inspired writings. May this prayer be in the hearts of each one of us as we deliberate in the coming days:—

Give me the supreme courage of Love—
the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at Thy will,
to leave all things or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of Love—
the faith of the life in death,
of the victory in defeat,
of the power hidden in the frailty of beauty,
of the dignity of pain
that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

(*Presidential Address at the Inauguration.*)

RAJENDRA PRASAD

About one hundred Pacifists of the world have been meeting in India and discussing in an earnest manner the great problem of

establishing peace in the world. They send their greetings and good wishes to the peoples everywhere. Those who have met come from 34 countries, but they do not claim to represent their States or Governments, which have their own way of looking at things and solving their problems. The members of the Conference are ordinary men and women following different avocations in life but anxious for peace; that does not mean merely absence of war, but peace positive which is good-will in action—peace for which they have worked and suffered in their own humble way. Their appeal is to the common men and women of the world to search for the causes which breed war, and to remove them.

These causes are rooted in the desires and ambitions of individuals and nations; these desires and ambitions conflict with similar desires and ambitions in others. Lasting and fruitful peace can be assured if individuals and nations curb their ambitions and keep them within limits. In modern times achievements of man in the conquest of nature have served only to whet that ambition and pour oil on its flames. The world has seen two devastating wars within a generation, each fought with the object of ending wars but succeeding only in leaving a legacy of hate and another war in the making.

Mahatma Gandhi saw the futility of trying, as the Indian saying goes, to wash mud with mud, to end war by war, by more deadly armaments and better regimentation of the peoples. He tried to tackle it at its root by making the individual a fit instrument of peace—simplifying his life, reducing his individual needs, spreading and securing confidence and love all round, fearless himself and giving cause to none to fear him. For creating the atmosphere that will be helpful and beneficial in producing that kind of individual, our lives have to be remodelled. Life is an integrated whole and man cannot achieve peace while living a life which breeds war. Environment undoubtedly influences man but man can alter and change his environments—can in fact create them, if he is determined and follows the straight and difficult path which is no other than that which has been pointed out to mankind by all seers and prophets in all the great faiths of the world, no other than the one taught by the Hindu seers of old—'ahimsa paramo dharmah'—non-violence is the supreme law and duty—no other than what Christ taught in the great Sermon on the Mount—no other than what the Koran described as 'Ihdina as sirat al mustaqeem. Sirat al lazeena an-amta alaihim; ghair il maghdoobi alihim wa lad dal-leen.'—'(O God) Guide to the straight high-way; The

high-way of those people on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace; and do not lead us to the path of those people who are the object of Thy anger and who have gone astray.' Man has not only to restate and reiterate the great principle but to find ways and means to implement it in his everyday life. That can be done by each individual adopting what may be described in one word as simplicity for himself and active good-will towards others. Simplicity requires and demands greater and greater dependence on oneself and independence of others. Active good-will can manifest itself in service to others. Individuals constitute nations and can influence their compeers and comrades by their lives, even more than by their words. They can also exert influence on their Governments to change over from a war basis to a peace basis. But to do this effectively they must purify their own lives and simplify their own needs. When we speak about simplifying needs it does not mean reducing ordinary and normal standards of living. It only means that they should not allow themselves to be enslaved and dominated by those material needs but should be in a position and have the strength to control them.

When we think of peace in the world we may not ignore the fact that exploitation of one section of humanity by another is the direct effect of the domination and enslavement of the exploiting section by its ever-mounting need of satisfying its ever-rising standard of living; it is also the direct cause of conflict between individuals and between nations. Exploitation must therefore end in every form—social, political, economic and even religious—and everywhere in Asia, in Africa, in Europe and in America. Education of the individual, which is the same thing as education of the people at large, in the art of simplicity and self-dependence, in methods which can enable him to seek happiness within himself and to do without having to exploit others, is an essential process in the establishment of peace.

Mankind today possesses knowledge and capacity which can enable it to satisfy all its requirements for a comfortable and contented living. But its resources are being used to an ever-increasing extent for destructive purposes. They can be diverted to constructive work, if only every section of humanity can be persuaded to realise that even its own comfort and happiness will increase if it knows how to seek it in renunciation rather than in acquisition—if it can turn hatred into love, fear into confidence, right into duty and exploitation into service. The appeal and prayer therefore of this Conference of the Pacifists of the world to the common man and woman of the world is so to

shape and mould his or her own individual life as to make it an abode of peace. Its appeal to the nations is to utilise the material and moral resources which each possesses for constructive purposes. Let the nations bravely abandon their present preoccupation with instruments of destruction and armed defence. This is the message of Mahatma Gandhi, the modern apostle of peace who till the other day walked on this earth and infected millions by his life and faith; and it is given on this solemn and sacred day of the birth of Christ, the Prince of Peace from the hut which Gandhiji occupied for years at Sevagram in India.

(*Broadcast from Gandhiji's hut at Sevagram on 24th December, 1949.*)

KAILASH NATH KATJU

Individual examples may satisfy individual conscience and lead to inner peace for the individual concerned, but will be of little avail unless they move national conscience and animate national policies. How to achieve that end will, I suppose, be the main consideration of the World Pacifist Meeting.

Collective disarmament in the prevailing atmosphere may be a far-off goal, and collective security is still more distant. Some one nation must give the lead in this noble enterprise, particularly one of those nations which have shown sincerity and genuineness of purpose and desire for world peace, by shedding their imperialism. How electric, vast and tremendous would be the repercussions on mankind if England were, for instance, to declare today definitely for unilateral disarmament. It has nothing to fear and it can change the course of destiny and fate of mankind.

(*From the Inaugural Address.*)

MICHAEL SCOTT

Many of the delegates of the United Nations, like many millions of the people of the world, are looking to this Conference and to the efforts which are being made to find a way of peace for the world. They are looking in the hope that a new force may emerge here. I say that the world is searching for a new spirit of peace.

We have come here to Sevagram in search of peace. We are reminded of some things which are as old as our civilisation and

perhaps even older. We have been reminded in the beautiful words and songs that have been heard here that a new spirit of resistance against all evil things was born on this Christmas day. It was on this day that Lord Christ came into this world unnoticed. We can remind ourselves, some of us who belong to my race, that we have truly discovered that light when something of the same spirit was born in all the stress and turmoil of South Africa's racial conflict. There in that turmoil the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi was born. It was not at first recognised for what it was, but it was a spirit which resisted with goodness some of those evil things which we know can exercise great evil influence in South Africa. That spirit which was born there, still lives here in this Ashram and in India.

(From a speech at the Sevagram Session.)

RAJENDRA PRASAD

I desire to convey our thanks to all the friends who have come from foreign countries and also to those of this country who have done their part in organising this meeting. It was my great regret that I could not attend the meetings at Santiniketan on account of ill health; but I think I have greatly profited by my association with the meetings that we have had here. It has been a matter of inspiration which I have received by coming in contact with so many of you coming from so many distant countries, all actuated and inspired by one ideal and all giving your time and your leisure to a cause which is so dear to the world at large at the present moment. The difficulty of carrying on work on a large scale in a cause like this is very great and we all appreciate what difficulties there are with Pacifists spread all over the world in small groups, who are not able to make their power felt in quarters which are really responsible for war; but we have to remember that in a matter like this, nothing can be expected to come out instantaneously or immediately and we have to have faith in the saying that ideas are really more powerful in the long run than anything else that we can think of. So the idea of the abolition of war is gaining ground and there can be no doubt that the time will come—I hope within our own life time, if not very soon—when war will actually be banished by all civilised people. We have, of course, the immediate problem of preventing another war. If we go on working with zeal as we have been doing all these years, I have no doubt that that also will have its effect on people who are in power.

Here in this country we have only recently come into power, but those of you who come from countries which have had their own problems to solve and who have solved them must have very much larger experience. And when we thought of having this meeting here after Gandhiji's death, one of the ideas which was present in my mind was that we will be able to get inspiration to do what little we can in this country. I am using no words of mere convention when I say that we have had that inspiration from you in generous measure. I hope it will enable us to carry on the work with zeal, and if it is backed up in other countries I have no doubt that it will bear fruit, if not immediately, at least some time later. I wish to thank all those friends who have contributed by their speeches and writings and in other ways to this cause, and I can assure you that we shall always remember to do in our humble way what we can in furtherance of this cause.

(*Concluding remarks at the Sevagram Session.*)

TAGORE AND NATIONALISM

RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

Thirty years ago the founder of the institution (Rabindranath Tagore), envisaged Santiniketan as a meeting place for kindred souls coming from all over the world. 'Let us have at least one little spot in India', he said in a letter written as far back as 1920, 'which will breakdown false geographical barriers, a place where the whole world will find its home. Let that place be our Santiniketan. For us there will be only one country and that will comprise the whole world. We shall know of only one nation and that will comprise the whole human race. Throw open the doors of Santiniketan, the doors of your hearts as well, so that whoever comes from outside may have here a feeling of home-coming.'

The selection of Santiniketan as a venue of the World Pacifist Meeting is, I believe, a tribute to the memory of Gurudeva and at the same time a recognition of what little the Visva-Bharati has been able to do towards realising his great ideal of 'Strengthening the fundamentals of world peace'.

Gurudeva never lost faith in the common man. Standing amidst 'the crumbling ruins of a proud civilisation strewn like a vast heap of futility,' he did not succumb to despair. In his last utterance

which may well be described as a testament of faith occur these prophetic words: 'And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest despite all barriers to win back his lost human heritage.'

(*From the Address of Welcome.*)

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

Half a century ago a man of vision had the courage to defy the emergent, violent, terroristic type of nationalism which was sweeping through India when he was a young man, I mean Tagore. He was already disturbed at the emergence of this new thing on the horizon which called itself by the name of Nation-State. That thing was not so crude then as it is now—the concept of nation separated from the other concept which we have always accepted as the basis of civilisation, namely, free association of peoples. We do not know what name to give to such a concept of civilisation. We believe that was the basis on which culture flowered and maintained itself, as you will see today in China and India and in some other countries, and which has held together a united civilisation, multicultural and yet a coherent pattern—in a medley of cultures, nations, races and religions. What is the secret of that unity which can maintain a civilisation as an individual entity without running into the danger of aligning itself with military power and militaristic ambition associated with the name of nationalism? Tagore believed that the basis of civilisation lies in that impervious unity, which, when crisis comes, serves as the binding, the cementing power, namely, culture. There is one pattern, namely, the human pattern which does not change. It does not show that alarming waning and flux which we see in national movements. Peoples in the various countries which are ruled over by Nation-States, have a common cause and throughout his period of work here, Tagore had been trying with less knowledge about the human world than the kind of knowledge we possess today, to indicate this approach, that the peoples of those countries, representing as they do an impervious and intangible entity, really constitute the basis of unity of that civilisation to which they belong. It is not the national pattern which is the ultimate pattern of humanity. It is the pattern of the human

family. The peoples of the world must discover the ultimate pattern which would hold them together and make them break through the barriers created by economic and industrial power. Let us even perish in trying to remain human and maintaining our living traditions.

(*From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

HORACE ALEXANDER

Gandhiji described Rabindranath as a great sentinel who dared, even in the moment when India was full of nationalism, to say 'Beware, there is danger in nationalism'; a man who was prepared to stand alone against the tide that was flowing through the country under the leadership of Gandhiji. Even in these discussions during the last two days my sympathies stand largely with Kallinen when he says that all nationalism is evil. Do not think I say that simply because I belong to a country which is an independent country. I believe English nationalism is the worst kind of all, just because we do not make any noise about it. We never even think about it, we take it for granted. So I have taken this opportunity to bear my testimony to the great message that your great founder Tagore gave to the world, a message that is still needed, a message to everyone to search his heart and see whether some evil seeds of nationalism still remain inside it. I am at liberty to add this: A few weeks ago I was talking to the present Governor-General of India about this Conference and you know he has an ironic humour and he said: 'I dare say most of you pacifists are really nationalists at heart and if so, have you any right to be pacifists?' I leave that question not only to the fellow-delegates but to all of you. How can we claim to be indeed serving non-violence if we allow seeds of nationalism to remain in our hearts? So once more let us thank God for the noble prophetic life of Rabindranath Tagore who believed at all times and under all circumstances that humanity comes first.

(*From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENCE

KAILASH NATH KATJU

When the whole world was involved in conflagration, Gandhi stood by his principles like a rock, imperturbable and unyielding, and when he died the death of a martyr, the whole world shook and

wept and lamented his death, because the common men and women in every country felt the passing away of one who, by his sheer moral grandeur, seemed to stand between them and disaster.

You and I need him and his advice sorely these days. It is true that he has left his precepts behind him but world conditions are fast changing and in every country new problems are emerging calling seemingly for a new approach to their solution. The excellent doctrine of non-violence-cum-non-co-operation stands, but its application to these new problems is beset with difficulties. Gandhiji taught us in India the supreme need of fearlessness. He asked us in our struggle against British Imperialism to shed our fear. In a large measure the Indian people acted on his advice and following his lead we achieved independence.

But today the whole world seems to be enveloped in fear, and fear produces a sense of insecurity and out of this sense of insecurity comes an anxiety for preparations of defence against aggression, and defence means by violence—by force of arms, the shell and the bomb. Days of naked bare-faced aggressive imperialism seem to be over. Every nation disowns all aggressive designs against its neighbours. Gigantic military preparations are professedly for defence against aggression.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind was his extension of the doctrine of truth and non-violence from the domain of the private life of an individual to the life of the community. But this extension requires training. The technique of non-violence-cum-non-co-operation is as difficult as the technique of training for military warfare. Indeed, it is more difficult because it lacks all the paraphernalia which have for ages lent colour and magnificence to the pursuit of arms.

(*From the Inaugural Address.*)

MANGALDAS PAKWASA

Gandhiji was not satisfied with mere idealism. While telling people what should be the goal and the object, he always was in search of means to the end. He always troubled to find out what should be done to achieve the end. He was experimenting with truth, i.e. he was himself a laboratory of research. People go to laboratories for the purpose of finding out huge powerful resources; they have discovered the atomic bomb, and in order to discover it they had to spend millions

and millions and to employ thousands of men. Gandhiji's research led him to the conclusion that *Atmic* (soul) force is as good and as powerful as atomic force, and he continued his experiments in this direction. He found that unless we developed certain constructive activities, and they grew from few to many, and unless those activities were practised by people who had strong faith in what he had put before them as ideal, we cannot succeed. In a comparatively short time he spread the gospel throughout India and in times which were very difficult and when a war was waging in nearly half the world, he preached his principles, put the ideals before the people and very nearly succeeded. After the war was over, the struggle culminated in a remarkable success. People in India got freedom.

(*From a speech at the Sevagram Session.*)

J. B. KRIPALANI

I am rather apprehensive that I may not be able to do justice to what I have undertaken. I will place before you some of the views of Gandhiji, as I understand them. The interpretation that I give will be mine and the responsibility for the views I express will also be mine.

The first question is, 'Was Gandhiji a pacifist in the popular or accepted meaning of the term'? I would shock you when I say that Gandhiji was not a pacifist. I will also shock you when I say that Gandhiji did not consider violence as the greatest evil that can befall individuals or societies. Having lived with him for over thirty years—because I came in contact with him in 1915 and actually began working with him from 1917 and up to his dying day I was working with him—I think Gandhiji considered fear, whether in the individual or in society, to be the greatest evil from which mankind suffers. It is our greatest enemy. It was fundamental to his thought that people be free from fear. He considered that the fearful cannot be truthful, cannot be non-violent. Therefore, the first problem that he tackled in India was that of fear. Only we Indians know the fear in the grip of which we lived before Gandhiji came in the political field. The biggest of us when we spoke against the British Government and its doings did so in whispers. If by any chance those whispers were heard, we engaged learned lawyers to prove that we had not said what we were supposed to have said, or that it could not bear the interpretation that was put on it by the public prosecutor. We lived in constant fear.

The first task then of Gandhiji in India was to try to remove this overwhelming and all-pervading fear. I was with him in Champaran where he first began his political work in India in 1917. The indigo planters there, they were Englishmen, had complete control over the land and terrorised the peasants. The peasants had to cultivate a portion of the land of the planters. For this they got incredibly low wages. A peasant labourer working on the planters' field got as little as a farthing per day. A man with two bullocks and a cart got as much as four pence per day. No Indian could go in that area with an umbrella, for that was considered as an insult to the White planters. Nobody could ride a horse. Even the biggest Indian, when he had to visit a planter on business, was kept cooling his heels in the open under the shade of a tree till the Saheb came out to talk to him. An Indian whatever his position and education might be, could not enter the drawing room of a planter. I shall not weary you with the details of these humiliating conditions. When Gandhiji went there the first thing that he did was to take away fear from the hearts of the people in Champaran, and you will be surprised to know that he did this in an incredibly short time. In ten days time every peasant felt that he was free to move about and he was not afraid, for the time being at least, of the police or the planter.

In 1921 when he inaugurated his Satyagraha movement the very first thing he did was to take away fear from the hearts of the people. In those days even for singing the national anthem, Bande Mataram, Indians were awarded sometimes seven years imprisonment. At such a time Gandhiji boldly and unequivocally declared that the British Government in India was evil; not only he said it was evil but he said it was Satanic and every urchin in the village repeated fearlessly the slogan that the British Government in India was Satanic. Then he took away the fear of police, jail, lathi charge and bullets from our hearts. He told us that when charged with spreading disaffection and sedition against the Government we were boldly to admit the charge and take pride in it and declare that spread of disaffection against the foreign Government was our national and moral duty. All this was done when the Indian people were in the grip of great fear. About a year before the whole of the Punjab had been terrorised by the massacre at Jallianwalabagh and subsequent humiliating repression. Only those who have suffered under totalitarian regimes of the present century can have some idea of the constant terror under which we Indians lived then. Gandhiji's first and greatest

contribution to the Indian liberation movement was to drive away this overwhelming fear.

As I understand Gandhiji then, the first and foremost thing that he wanted from people is to be fearless and not to be weak and cowardly. Gandhiji considered weakness, cowardice and fear as sin against the human spirit. A person in the grip of fear is capable of undergoing any humiliation and tolerating any tyranny. He is also capable of committing any crime however heinous. After all violence is something positive while fear is negative. A violent man is a powerful man but a fearful man is a man without power or potency. We do not associate virtue with weakness or impotency, though it may do no wrong. Those who have nothing to renounce, what can they renounce! For doing and achieving, one must have something positive. A very common phenomenon—the first babblings of a child may be abusive to the mother but every mother is happy to hear her child speak. It is better that the child use bad and defective language than be unable to speak. It is not want or deficiency that we admire. We know that want cannot be turned to useful and fruitful accomplishment. Violence is something positive. It is vitality misdirected. It can, when rightly directed, be turned into fruitful activity. It is just like electricity or any other power, which if unregulated injures but if properly directed accomplishes great things. You have heard of sinners turning into saints. The writer of our great epic, the Ramayana, was a robber. Something happened to him and he turned into a saint. Why? Because the necessary strength was already there. In Christian history Saul, who persecuted Christians, was converted and became a saint—St. Paul. Power can be used for destructive as well as for constructive purposes.

The first thing then that Gandhiji despised was not violence but fear. Here is an example from his life which I myself witnessed. I talked to you about the Indigo Planters. One day a Planter's man went and plundered a village. The villagers ran away in panic leaving all their possessions, and even their womenfolk behind. I have never seen Gandhiji more upset and more indignant. He was not impressed by the non-violence of the cowardly peasants. He rebuked them and told them that if they could not resist non-violently they ought to have resisted violently. The very worst thing that they could do was to run away in fear. Gandhiji did not deny the patriotism and bravery of the violent revolutionaries. I am sure he liked them better than those who bore the tyranny of the British Government without

raising any protest, even though they were non-violent. Though Gandhiji considered Gokhale, who was a moderate, to be his political *guru*, his (Gandhiji's) companions and followers in Satyagraha came mainly from the extremist section of the Congress which believed in a violent revolution. Many former terrorists joined his ranks. His army of Satyagrahis was not recruited from the weak, the vacillating or the cowardly. During the last world war Gandhiji declared that the Polish resistance to Nazi Germany and the Chinese resistance to the Japanese aggression were the nearest approach to non-violence. Why? Because the Poles and Chinese did not tamely yield to tyranny. If they had offered non-violent resistance it would have been best in his opinion. But even violent resistance to tyranny is much superior to cowardice. In 1917, he asked all Indians who had no objection to the use of violence for the settlement of international problems to offer themselves as recruits for the army. All this goes to prove that Gandhiji did not consider violence, but cowardly submission to tyranny through fear, to be the worst enemy of mankind. I have an idea that he felt more sorry for the coward than for his oppressor, as he held that the coward by his unresisting submission created the tyrant. He therefore wanted the victim of tyranny so to strengthen himself that the tyrant would find tyranny a costly and not a comfortable game.

Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence had certain stages. It was graded. The lowest in the scale was the man who was full of fear and was cowardly and who did not bestir himself in any way to resist tyranny. Such a one encouraged tyranny. Higher than this came the violent resister. The third was the physically non-violent resister. He resisted non-violently out of necessity because he could not organise violent resistance. That to a very great extent is true of the passive resisters in the Indian National movement. They followed Gandhiji because he organised physical non-violence, as in an industrial strike, and made it effective. Gandhiji preferred even this non-violence to the violence of the soldier because while the non-violent physical resister shows at least as much bravery as a soldier does, humanity is saved from the mass cruelty and carnage of war with all its normal degradation. However, the physical non-violent resister though brave like the soldier, is yet fearful.

I learnt from Gandhiji that a brave man may be fearful. I myself belonged to the class of violent revolutionaries. For my country I hope I was prepared to go to the gallows, but brave as I was I was

afraid of the police and the C.I.D. I always looked behind to see if anybody was following me or listening to what I was saying about the Government. I did not want to be arrested. I was afraid to go to gaol. I was suffering from a fear complex. When I came in contact with Gandhiji my bravery did not desert me but what I gained was fearlessness. I can't say that I am altogether fearless, because I do not possess complete control over myself. Physical non-violence is not enough. The highest form of non-violence is the non-violence of the strong, of one who has made it the law of his life. He is non-violent in thought, word and deed. Such a one has shed all fear. His is the purest form of non-violence.

When I joined Gandhiji, I did not believe in Gandhiji's non-violence. I was then a Professor of History and all the heroes of history are men of iron and blood. At that time Gandhiji thought that the sum-total of the Englishmen's activities in India was beneficial to India, and I considered that the sum-total of the Englishmen's work in India was not only not good but positively bad and harmful for India. Gandhiji then was more free than he ever was afterwards. I had very long and intimate talks with him. I can tell you that no one irritated him more than I. He was a man who trusted people, and he thought I was needlessly suspicious of the intentions of the British Government. I told him that he was ignorant of history, that the Englishmen were great hypocrites, that he in his simplicity and trustfulness did not understand them, and that one day he would understand 'The Perfidious Albion'. In return he told me, 'You do not understand non-violence but one day you will understand it.' And a day came when I understood non-violence, and he understood that the English were not here for the good of India and the British Government was Satanic.

I was not converted easily and yet I joined him. I joined him not because he was non-violent but because I found him fearless. On the very first day I arrived at Santiniketan to see him, I was convinced of this. He was a barrister and perhaps you do not know how barristers behaved in India in those days. They copied the Englishman in everything, in manners, in food, speech, etc. When they talked of England they, like the Englishmen, used the word 'Home'. This particular barrister's dress was unconventional; even from the Indian viewpoint his dress was outlandish. Everything about him, his food, his behaviour, his thoughts and ideas, were unusual for a member of his class. He walked bare-foot. People laughed at him. But

he was unaffected. He was shameless. Such a one, I thought, if convinced that he was right, would stand alone against the whole world. In this respectable conference to call Gandhiji shameless is like committing sacrilege. But I cannot help speaking what is in my mind. Gandhiji did not care what others thought or said about him if he was convinced that a course of action was right. If he took up a cause he would act fearlessly without caring for consequences to himself or to others who voluntarily joined him. Again and again I saw that whenever he was obliged by his convictions to stand alone he could do so. One significant example of this is the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. The British Government was fully mobilized for resistance to Germany and Japan. They had the men, the money and the materials. They had powerful allies. Yet Gandhiji wanted the country to throw out a challenge at that critical time to British Imperialism. This action was likely to be misunderstood by America, Russia and China who were known to have great sympathy with our cause. But Gandhiji thought that if the country did not resist then, the Freedom movement would be dead for a long time to come. The majority of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress were hesitant; they were afraid, if of nothing else, at least of world opinion that would veer round in favour of British Imperialism if action was taken at that time. Gandhiji however was adamant. He told the Working Committee that if the Congress were not willing he, on his own responsibility, would start the movement of resistance.

I was, in those days of political depression, in search of a person like that. Therefore I did not mind what his views in other matters were. Then by a long and slow process I became intellectually converted to non-violence. Emotionally I am not yet converted, because it requires a great deal of discipline to be able to act non-violently at critical moments or when one is taken off one's guard. I will give you a very interesting story to illustrate my point. In Calcutta at a meeting of the elite of the city, a question was put to me, 'If you were going with your sister and if a ruffian tried to molest her what would you do? (I believe such silly questions are put to all those who believe in non-violence as if on their answer to such questions depends the whole philosophy of non-violence.) My answer was, 'Before my brain begins to think, my foot will begin to act'. I was told that this would be violence. I said, 'No, it would only be a reflex action of a healthy person who has not made non-violence the law of his life and who yet is not a coward.'

I said before, that a physically non-violent person, who opposes tyranny is as brave as a soldier. But socially the former's action is superior. You mark this superiority in the Indian revolution. No revolution for national independence has been less destructive of life and property; none has generated less hatred than the Indian struggle for independence. The two peoples have parted as friends.

Another thing that I would bring to the notice of this assembly is that Gandhiji's non-violence is not the non-violence of the saint or the mystic. The mystic throws the burden of judgment on God, and along with it the responsibility of righting wrongs. He says, 'Judgment belongs to God, for he alone knows the hearts of men'. The mystic therefore offers no resistance to evil. By resistance I mean physical or external resistance. The mystic's resistance is psychological. Christ has said, 'Resist not evil'. Evidently he was thinking of physical and external resistance. As for psychological resistance to evil his whole life was that. Sometimes, however, a little physical reaction to evil was not wanting in him as when he overturned the tables of the money-changers in God's house and used for them and the Pharisees strong and choice epithets, which I am sure few in this assembly of non-violent men and women would use. Often the mystic seems to encourage the evil-doer, in the belief that such encouragement will have a psychological reaction for the good. Christ says, 'If anybody smite thee on thy right cheek, give him thy left also.' 'If anybody ask you to walk one mile, walk two with him.' That this non-violence did work is testified to by the biographies of saints and sages of all religions. Being encouraged, instead of resisted, rebuked, thwarted or punished, the evil-doer is taken by surprise. He is thrown on himself and he begins to analyse his actions. His memory is strengthened and so is his understanding. Often he turns over a new leaf.

Gandhiji's non-violent resistance, at its highest, is both psychological and sociological. Group action is chiefly external. In sociology one cannot avoid giving due consideration to external action. Society has no criterion to judge motives and intentions except through external action. Social action manifests itself mainly through external means. It works through external rules and laws as also through rewards, punishments and external resistance. Heretofore punishment and resistance have been of a violent nature. Gandhiji, in accordance with advanced and up-to-date methods in social psychology, does not believe in violent punishment. It is awarded in anger at and

hatred for the evil-doer and often takes the form of reprisals. He, therefore, where external action has to be taken, advocates non-violent methods both of punishment and resistance, and if I may say so also of coercion. However, the motive is never coercion but so to use external non-violent measures as to make indulgence in evil difficult, painful and not worthwhile. In this external group non-violence something of the keenness and quality of the purely psychological non-violence is lost, but that loss is compensated by the range and extent of the non-violence practised. While psychological non-violence can be practised by the select and the spiritually elite, external non-violence can be practised under proper leadership by average men and women. It also creates habits of non-violence which in course of time develops into a permanent attitude towards violence. Even today most of the non-violence in society is of this nature. Generations of people have not earned their livelihood or settled their disputes except through means that are externally non-violent. They have formed thereby habits which descend from father to son. To this is added the up-bringing and education of the child. The result is that a respectable number of people in modern society will not under ordinary temptation indulge in physical violence. And in thus refraining from violence they will neither think in terms of social obloquy nor in terms of the police and the magistracy. It is as in spiritual training. The prophet preaches inner and psychological prayer. He says, 'When ye pray, stand not at the street corners so that ye be seen of men.' He again says, 'When ye fast show not by your depressed countenance that ye are fasting; neither mumble your prayers nor count your beads nor put on the holy mark on the forehead.' But yet he does say that those who do these things have their reward. The reward is the forming of desirable habits which in time may ripen into attitudes of civilised social conduct. In the case of some who joined Gandhiji for mere external non-violence it has come to pass that their constant and intelligent practice of non-violence has induced in them inner faith and belief in non-violence. We find this phenomenon in war too. The soldier who is not brave to begin with, may in course of time, by merely obeying orders and acting in conformity with them, come to acquire physical bravery. Gandhiji therefore did not altogether reject mere external action and conformity, though he always insisted on the genuine stuff which was non-violence in thought, word and deed, in short the non-violent way of life.

If then non-violence is the way of life it must regulate all the activities of the individual, personal and social, professional and non-professional. As a matter of fact, moral life is not possible unless the fundamentals of morality guide and inform all our activities. Eastern Philosophy recognizes this demand made upon man by morality and spirituality. For instance, if a man wishes to be a *Brahmachari* and exclude sex from his life, he has not only to eliminate mere physical sex contact but has to regulate the whole of his life from that point of view. Elaborate rules and regulations are laid down for a *Brahmachari* what he shall eat, what he shall drink, what he shall see and what he shall read; everything is done with a view to the goal of sex-purity. Gandhiji held that he who makes non-violence the way of life will likewise have to regulate his whole life. Gandhiji's non-violence was not therefore mere pacifism and hatred of war. Pacifism flowed from a non-violent life lived in a social order free from exploitation and violence. Gandhiji considered all economic exploitation as violence. The non-violent man must eschew all such exploitation. To do this he must give up not only such professions as involve exploitation, but so far as possible the use of articles that are produced through the exploitation of man by man. He must also advocate and work for a social order based upon economic non-exploitation. I am afraid pacifism in the West is conceived in terms of armed international conflicts and war. It is not conceived in terms of life. So long as political systems are conceived in terms of power politics, centralised bureaucratic and totalitarian rule, so long as economic systems of production and distribution, and exchange of material goods, are conceived in terms of profits and undertaken through huge centralised mills and factories, and so long as man's physical wants are allowed to increase beyond the reasonable limits necessary for a good life, non-violence cannot be the law of life. Average men and women under such circumstances cannot be non-violent in thought, word and deed. If an individual covets another's goods, if he wants exclusive possessions and enjoyments that are denied to his neighbour, if he fails to understand that his commerce with society must be an equitable exchange of services and goods, he cannot destroy the psychological bases in which violence is firmly rooted. Violence has both psychological and sociological causes. It can therefore be eliminated completely only when the individual in his life, and society in its external arrangements, are free from injustice and inequality. This means that

we must recognise the unity of life before we can make a moral principle like non-violence a law of life.

After all war is not an isolated phenomenon. It is intimately connected with our individual and social life. We cannot stop its recurrence if we leave its psychological and sociological causes untouched. Peace in the world can only be the ripe fruit of our ideas, beliefs and modes of thought and action. If there is no proper integration and harmony in our lives, external institutions like the League of Nations or the United Nations Organisation alone cannot bring about peace. If the right understanding and the right will are not there or if the social organisation is not built upon equality and justice, the mere external organisation for peace will only produce under different circumstances what is called the Balance of Power. A Balance of Power produces an unstable and temporary equilibrium which can be disturbed at the slightest provocation. External machinery for peace can succeed only when it is organised in response to a psychological and social will to peace.

Gandhiji's constructive programme in its comprehensiveness was designed to reform the individual and on the basis of the reformed individual to build a non-violent social order. Both, the individual and the social processes, were to go on side by side and help each other. As Gandhiji's fight against foreign domination was non-violent, the constructive programme was also used as training for the fight. That it could be so used was an added advantage. It must, however, be remembered that there was nothing new in this programme. Many of its items are found in the programmes of various reformers before Gandhiji. Removal of untouchability dates from the time of the Buddha. It finds a place in the programme of the reformist sects like the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj that grew up in modern times. Revival of cottage and village industry was advocated by political and economic reformers even before the birth of the Congress. Basic education is as old as human society. In Europe the system has been advocated as natural and scientific by educational reformers from Rousseau in the 18th century to Dewey in the present. Gandhiji's originality was like that of Shakespeare, most of whose plots were borrowed. But his genius put life in them and made them the things of beauty they are. It was Gandhiji's genius that collected and co-ordinated all the social reforms of old times and made of them a scheme for the establishment of a new social order. Nay, by making them part of a revolutionary plan of national independence he made them

all revolutionary. Even his prayer meetings he revolutionised. His discourses therein were concerned not only with the moral reformation of the individual but with current politics and economics. Through them he informed the public about the whisperings in high circles whether in the Government or the Congress. Some of his important plans were unfolded in these meetings. Through them he advised both the Government and the people. If he wanted the removal of controls he discussed it in his prayer meetings. If he wanted to draw the attention of the people to communal troubles and their remedy, he brought up the subject in his prayer meetings. By making people chant *Ramnam*, he taught them to keep time and otherwise behave in a disciplined manner. When he visited a new place, the congregation knew neither how to observe silence nor how to chant *Ramnam* in chorus. After a couple of days' drill Gandhiji taught them silence during prayer time and made them chant *Ramnam* in harmonious unison, with the result that even those who had come to scoff remained to pray. Personally I do not believe in congregational prayers. Therefore at first I avoided the prayer meeting. But what was the use? Next day I had to search the paper, for Gandhiji had made some important announcement on a topic of the day. Sometimes, Gandhiji would waste what to others appeared many precious moments of his over-occupied time to teach the inmates of the ashram how to clean utensils or latrines properly. Remember he cleansed us through and through from our latrines to our souls. There was no activity, however seemingly trivial, that he did not link with the swaraj of his conception. It was just as with the mystics whose whole life is consecrated to the Lord and to whom every action is an act of sacrament. There is a story in our scriptures about the sage, Narad, who was in the habit of visiting the Lord every day. One day he saw the Lord with swollen face sitting glum and unresponsive. Narad asked the Lord what the matter was. He replied, 'Having slapped me on your way here, you ask me the reason for my anger?' Narad protested and said he had done nothing of the sort. He had only slapped a woman who had insulted the Lord inasmuch as she, while throwing her sweepings outside her house, had said 'an offering unto the Lord'. Shree Krishna replied, 'Don't you realise that the whole life of that woman is a dedication unto me, and whatever she does is a sacramental act? Don't you remember that when you gave her the slap she again said, 'I dedicate this too unto the Lord'? 'How could I refuse to accept such an offering rendered in utter forgetfulness of the self?' It is in

that spirit that Gandhiji linked the whole of his constructive programme to his revolutionary idea of establishing a new social order. If the Constructive Programme had not been so linked up with the revolutionary movement it would have been merely missionary work about which there is no hurry. It would have been, as in derision it is called by its detractors, 'Old Dame's Work'.

Another thing that Gandhiji did was that he brought a sense of urgency into all that he did. Without this sense of urgency nothing great can be accomplished. In 1921 he told us that Swaraj was possible inside one year. It appeared absurd. But it created unusual enthusiasm and a sense of urgency. In 1930 he said that he would not return to his ashram unless he had won Swaraj or perished in the attempt. In 1942, the situation was even more critical and dangerous, his sense of urgency was greater and the slogan given to the nation was 'Do or Die'. This sense of urgency has marked all the great leaders and prophets. Christ believed and made his followers believe that 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand'. The first Christians worked in the fervent belief that it was round the corner. It has not yet come! But it is this belief that made Christianity one of the great religions of the world. The reformer knows that time matures and ripens things. But he also knows that time kills. It is the great destroyer. Gandhiji knew that if he did not put an immediate stop to the material, cultural and moral degradation of the nation, consequent upon a century and a half of foreign domination, the nation would perish. So he was in a hurry. Yet his concentration was intense. It was like the concentration, as Shri Ramkrishna said, of the thief who is separated by a thin wall from a heap of gold he covets. He wanted to take the Kingdom of Swaraj by storm! Unless this sense of speed and urgency guides and influences the activities of the Pacifists they will fail in their attempt to put an end to war. Already the nations are talking about and preparing for a third world war and world conflagration. Unless we are quick about our business we and the world will be overwhelmed by the forces of evil.

But nothing much can be done merely on sentimental grounds. Gandhiji was no sentimentalist. I will again shock you when I say I have rarely met a man more cruel. I know of occasions when he would not have prevented rivers of blood flowing for a cause he considered right and just, provided it was the blood of willing victims. In 1942, he knew that much innocent blood would flow, for the British,

who were fighting for their very national existence, were like infuriated elephants.

Yet to these infuriated animals that had lost all control over themselves through fear, he did not hesitate to throw down his challenge. On one occasion when a companion of his had a slight bullet wound, he wired to him saying that he would have congratulated him if the bullet had gone through his heart in the service of the nation. On another occasion when I pointed out to him the failing health of a companion to whom, at his instance, strenuous duties involving hard work and worry were being assigned, and told him that he was simply endangering his life, Gandhiji's reply was, 'What does it matter if he dies?' If then hardness is opposed to sentimentalism, Gandhiji was hard-hearted. A real reformer has to be hard-hearted. Much pacifism that we hear of is mere sentimentality. It is the shrinking of the nerves at the sight of cruelty and blood. In Gandhiji there was no such sentimental shrinking from blood. He knew life was hard, arduous, and even cruel. He wanted to mitigate its hardship and cruelty by looking calmly and unflinchingly at its ugly visage. One can't be squeamish if one has to undertake the task of drain-cleaning. And Gandhiji's whole active life was a prophylactic against the stinking scum that society had collected round itself through the ages. He therefore needed strong nerves which undoubtedly he had.

One thing more. Gandhiji, believing as he did in the moral law, firmly believed that nothing great could be accomplished unless men and women were prepared for martyrdom. He who has unswerving faith in the Moral Law cannot avoid martyrdom. Martyrdom does not consist merely in the last supreme act of giving one's life for a good cause. At every step he who wants to act morally has to undergo martyrdom. He has to suffer pain and humiliation. The way to success is not always the moral way. Often measured by the results, present or future, moral conduct yields no material dividends. The justification for moral conduct is indomitable faith in the moral law. It is that 'whatever be the results I must follow the light vouchsafed to me'. Morality is its own reward and its own justification. Gandhiji therefore said that he who had faith in non-violence must have faith in God. But we must clearly understand what Gandhiji meant by God. He had given us a variety of conceptions about God. Sometimes he conceived of Him as a person when he repeated *Ramnam*. But he also warned us against thinking that the Ram he worshipped was the son of Dasarath, the husband of Sita or the fighter against

Ravana. Ram was the Eternal in his breast and in every breast and he who pervades the Universe. Sometimes he talked of God as transcendental. Sometimes he talked of Him as an abstract principle when he said God is the moral law or when he said, not as it has often been said, that God is truth, but that Truth is God. Gandhiji made no distinction when he talked of God between personality, super-personality, abstract principle or the Law that governs the Universe.

Some of you have asked what would have been Gandhiji's conduct in particular situations that confront the Pacifists. I must remind you that however extensive his canvas, Gandhiji did not attempt to solve all problems. His non-violence was confined to the national struggle of an overwhelming majority against an insignificant minority, whose tyranny and existence depended upon the willing or forced co-operation of the majority. He also showed the way in which injustice and falsehood could be resisted by individual martyrdom. But life is full of situations which no teacher or prophet can foresee. In such situations you cannot profitably quote his example. Much less can you mechanically follow him because the situation appears similar. In his various satyagraha campaigns against British domination, he scarcely ever repeated himself. It was always something new he devised in the light of his principles. In 1942 he said that every Congressman was to be a law unto himself provided he never lost sight of truth and non-violence, the two basic principles of satyagraha. We can therefore only work in his spirit of Truth and Non-violence and his utter faith in and devotion to one master—the Moral Law. Also, we should not forget that Gandhiji was a genius. As such he was greater than his principles. That does not mean that he did not work in conformity with his principles. It only means that while principles are abstract and work logically, a living personality, especially a genius, is self-regulative. In him principles are no more abstract. He puts life in them and makes them dynamic. His seeming deviations from the norm are to fulfil the law more comprehensively, not in the letter but in the spirit. It is useless to try mechanically to follow such a living spirit. We can only work in the light of his spirit.

(*Speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

THE TRUE NATURE OF AHIMSA AND OUR DUTY

VINOBA BHAVE

The power that drew you here has ceased to exist today in physical form, but it is my daily experience that in its spiritual form it is present here even more than before. Had Bapu been alive, he would have offered you the nectar of his spiritual thoughts. It is not given to us to offer you that. But you can see the little work we are doing here. The defects that you may discover—and there are many—are all ours; and if you see any good therein, take it that it springs from the immortal nectar of his thoughts.

Ahimsa is not merely non-participation in destructive activities; it principally manifests itself in constructive activities—services which lead to the upward growth of man. People say that the Goddess of Ahimsa has no weapons; I say that that is wrong. The Goddess of Ahimsa has very powerful weapons at her command. They are the weapons of Love and are, therefore, creative and not destructive. Yet they do destroy; they destroy hatred, inequity, hunger and disease It is true, however, that the weapons of Ahimsa look small in size and slow in action.

People say that these small tools of ours will not work in this machine age. But we gave them a trial and found by experience that they do work even in this machine age. We plied the spinning wheel and the hand-mill and we found that in spite of the machine age, the wheel gave us the yarn and the hand-mill the flour. Then we went further with the experiment and you can see some of the results.

Our main shortcoming is that we have not yet been able to identify ourselves fully with the poor around us. As far as I can see, this is not possible so long as we do not give up our dependence on money and do not rely completely on body labour. We do perform a certain amount of body labour, but it is not enough. We should pledge ourselves to earn our bread through body labour alone, and free ourselves from dependence on money. Without this Ahimsa can never manifest itself as a great Power. I believe to the very letter what Jesus Christ said (and would paraphrase it thus); 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for the rich (one attached to money) to enter Heaven (i.e. realise Ahimsa)', however

much he may profess it by mouth. My mind is working on these lines in these days. I am trying to think out how we may put this principle into immediate practice. I am trying to persuade my friends to leave money alone and get going with production. It is yet to be seen how far I shall succeed in this.

Now let me briefly place before you what I think about World Peace. The whole world today is thinking of a third World War and if we continue to think about it constantly, it may well come about. But I am not afraid of World Wars. I am rather afraid of small wars and quarrels. To me a World War appears to come very close to non-violence. I always say to friends who believe in violence, 'If by reason of your faith (in violence), you cannot take the vow of non-violence, do not bother about it. But at least take this vow that if you fight at all, you will fight World Wars, and that you will on no account fight small wars or busy yourselves with petty quarrels.' I have even said that World Wars are from God. When we do not understand what is right straightaway, the all-merciful God sends World War to free man's mind from limitations and make him think in terms of humanity as a whole. This is a big step forward towards Ahimsa. But this is not true of small wars. They are the sworn enemies of Ahimsa and all the time push Ahimsa further and further away. We therefore ought to be on our guard against these. Those who believe in violence are not unaware of this. Their effort, therefore, is to prevent World Wars as far as possible and to go on with small wars.

Once we realise that Ahimsa has mainly to fear from local and small wars, our task becomes easy and we get the right direction. That sets us to the service of the people around us and we endeavour to see that there is no discord within our field of service. Then we turn our eyes inward, and realise the need for the purification of our minds. This leads us to the right solution of our problems. But if our minds always dwell on the bogey of World Wars we do not get down to the root of the matter, but become involved in superficial thinking and external organisations only.

This leads me to my views about organisation. I referred to it in my letter to the Santiniketan session. 'If along with service, we purify our lives, we may become receptacles of God's light. After all, it is He who will achieve it. We can only be tools in His hands. But in order to be such tools, we must be altogether humble, and reduce ourselves to zero. But mere organisation cannot produce

the light of non-violence. It can be produced only through purification of life.' Very often we think of Ahimsa, but do so in terms of Himsa. None the less, use of wrong words leads us astray. For instance, we speak of an army of peace. We think that we should maintain a standing army of peace so that it could be detailed immediately to offer resistance and self-immolation, whenever there is a breach of peace in any part of the World. But here is a point that needs thought. The farther you send an army of violence the better for it; for its duty is to hate. Therefore, the less it knows its opponents or the more false its notions about them are, the more intense will be its hatred. But in non-violence we have to conquer through Love. Therefore, an army of peace can serve better only in a familiar field. What sort of an army would that be? It will be a band of social workers engaged in producing food by daily manual labour and in serving the afflicted, completely identifying itself with all fellow-beings in a spirit of humility. What should be the weapons of this army? As described by Saint Tulsidas in the Ramayana, and as Gandhiji has laid down in the rules of his Ashram, they are the vows of truth, non-violence, self-control and the like. Call these observances weapons if you will, but it is an entirely different concept.

The light of Ahimsa cannot be spread by the external and formal mechanism of organisations. History shows that Jesus came alone and the light that he brought pervaded the world—not through church-institutions or 'Christian' governments, but in spite of them. The light inspires us even today. The same is true of the Buddha. He was a prince but his message could not be spread by the authority of the State. It spread because he threw his kingdom away like a wisp of straw.

After all, what is it that will spread non-violence? It is not the body that can do it, for the body is an embodiment of violence. Ahimsa is assimilated to the extent one rises above one's body. Non-violence is the natural state of the soul. What Ahimsa, therefore, needs is the quest of the spirit, the purification of the mind, service of living creatures, love universal and fearlessness. This has become with me such an unshakable conviction that I keep on telling myself in the words of St. Francis: 'Do not get entangled in organisations.'

I do not wish to dilate upon these ideas at length. You are all men of experience and have made your own experiments. In all humility I have briefly placed my ideas before you and you will please take whatever you find worthy of consideration.

You have come here with great faith in the hope of gaining something from this country. I believe that your hopes will not be belied. 'I look upon the world with the eye of friendship, so that the world may also look on me with the same eye.' This is the message of the Vedas given to India in very ancient times. In historical times, the Lord Buddha by his life revealed the same truth in this country. Although we have not yet been able to put it into practice satisfactorily, still history bears witness that even in its days of power and glory, India hardly ever invaded another country. It comes easily to an ordinary Indian villager to think of all men as brothers, while the idea of nationalism does not come easily to him. And it is in the villages that real India lives. Even in the worst days of the British Government's oppression in this country, our great national poet was busily engaged in founding a world university at Santiniketan, 'The Abode of Peace', and singing songs of Universal Love, and our political leader taught us lessons in Ahimsa, and strictly forbade the use of violence even for the winning of Freedom. We made many mistakes, but we lived and worked for thirty years within the limitations set by him. It is but natural, therefore, if you expect something from this country.

The question is: In which direction are we going after the passing away of Gandhiji? also, in which direction is our Government going? I cannot speak of the future. But as I see things today, I feel consolation that Gandhiji's best colleague, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, leads our country at present. Whatever may be the shortcomings of his Government in internal affairs, its whole weight so far as international affairs are concerned, is thrown on the side of World Peace and the freedom of all nations.

None the less, our people do feel some darkness after Gandhiji's death. Some feel that we have perhaps begun to forget Bapu. The fact is, that they to whom this remark might apply never cared for Bapu's principles even during his lifetime; but those who had enshrined him in their hearts have not forgotten him. Even so there *is* darkness, and I think that the reason is that we remember Bapu too much. Whenever there is an occasion for some deliberation our first thought is always: what did Bapu say or do in such a situation? This manner of thinking sometimes throws us into darkness instead of leading us towards light. But this will not go on for long. Gradually we shall begin to think for ourselves about Ahimsa and have courage to make new experiments on our own account. Even if that does not come

about, there is no great cause for anxiety because by God's grace we too shall not live for ever. He will take us away and will send others in our place, who will think with fresh minds. They will become God's instruments and will carry on the work so dear to his heart, until Ahimsa pervades the World. Therefore, please do cherish hopes about India. It is this hope of yours which makes us weaklings strong; and how can Hope, which gives strength even to the weak, fail to make the hopeful all the more strong?

(*Address at the Sevagram Session.*)

PEACE AND SOME OF ITS REQUIREMENTS

RICHARD GREGG

Peace is like happiness. Anyone who says 'I am happy' will find that happiness is the result of his condition. Peace is the result of a cumulative process, the result of other conditions. Peace is a relationship between people and between certain kinds of people. Peace begins with a harmony within the individual and grows into a harmony between individuals. So if we are going to have a non-violent society, it cannot be made non-violent just by periodical or occasional great struggles on the political ground. It has to begin at the bottom, and the ordinary man must somehow learn a way of life which revises his values, enables him to judge wisely, gives him normal, healthy surroundings, puts an end to injustices and wrong.

India is predominantly agricultural. Most of the people live in the villages. That is not true of the West. The West is accustomed to think that its way of life is better. I am not sure of that. I myself think that one of the reasons why the great cultures and traditions of the Orient have endured so long is that in the Orient great emphasis was laid on two small organisations—the village and the family—whereas the overall organisation was either entirely lacking or weak. Certainly the Orient did not follow the idea of the West in thinking that the large overall organisation must be political. The overall organisation of the Orient has been primarily cultural. That conduces more to a non-violent world than does the Western idea.

Many people who have been trained in modern thinking, when they look at Gandhiji's programme, think that he is trying to turn the

clock back, as they say, and go back to the Middle Ages. They say you cannot go back. But in this connotation the word 'back' begs the whole question. We do not ever say it is impossible to go back home. We take great pleasure in going back home. For mankind as a whole, going back home would mean going back to the values and circumstances in which man as a species grew up and out of which developed his powers. If we believe in God, that fundamental reality is not material but spiritual, then we must ask ourselves, 'Is this modern world with its science, technology, industry, commerce and huge organisations leading man nearer to God?' If the aim of our lives is spiritual truth, then are these great cities and other features of modern life wise or are they not? I think we would be wiser and happier if in our society spiritual values and small organisations predominated. Such a society would be non-violent. I think our present society, without such fundamental changes, cannot become non-violent.

(From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.)

Beauson Tseng

Eastern idealism, in its various forms, has so far largely lost itself in abstractions and even vacuity due to its lack of embodiment in terms of the mundane. Western culture, characterised by precision, logic, energy, organisation and tangibility, excels in the technique of mundane embodiment. It lacks on the other hand freedom from the limitations imposed by tangibility. In so far as the tangible must seek justification by the intangible, the Realism of the West is responsible for no less social as well as individual injustice and misery than the Idealism of the East. The East is wont to fail by default; the West by profanity. The twain may only find fulfilment in each other.

(From a speech at the Sevagram Session.)

J. C. Kumarappa

We shall have to consider the various types of violence. Violence does not necessarily mean stabbing somebody. Truth and non-violence must be the basis of our relationship with our fellowmen. Our relationship now is not based on truth or non-violence. Periodical conflict

cannot be avoided as long as there is violence within ourselves. We find the sources of violence (1) within men, (2) from resources of nature; we have sources of violence, (3) in production, (4) in distribution, (5) in exchange, (6) in consumption and (7) in our social group working as a democracy. Until we recognise these sources of violence in these things we cannot banish war. We know the symptom but we have to trace the cause. Unless we do that we shall never be able to find a remedy. Gandhiji's constructive work is based on non-violence and truth. It is not pure 'Pacifism'. It is trying to destroy the roots of violence, namely, untruth and dishonesty, in our everyday life. Consider the way in which King David looked at the water of the well of Bethlehem; if he had drunk it he would have been guilty of cannibalism—drinking the blood of those young men.

Gandhiji's idea is that work is not an evil; it is a blessing from God. Work has a reaction on man and that reaction is more important than the material manifestation of work. It is here that you find the roots of basic education. Work has a creative faculty in it. Basic education is built on this theory of work. Those who ask for leisure are asking for a curse. We call the food we eat a balanced diet only when it has everything that is necessary for the human system. Under division of labour in factories and centralised industries, work is not a balanced diet for men. One man is doing the same routine every hour, every day of his life. Work under such circumstances is drudgery.

Life becomes one whole according to the principle underlying village industries. In the factories, workers become nervous wrecks and it is a nervous wreck that finds recreation in alcoholic drink. Family life, commerce, pleasure and leisure are all integrated in work in the village industries. Under the capitalist system there is nothing to provide an intellectual recreation for men. Prof. Cyril Burt said that in the last forty years the intelligence of the British race had gone down at an 'alarming' rate. There is discipline also under the village industries scheme, but the discipline you get here is different from military discipline. Military discipline does not come from within, somebody orders and the soldier takes the order. In the village industries scheme it is purely self-discipline, on which democracy can be based. Cottage industry is not to be understood as any charitable or philanthropic work; it is part of a social work.

(From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.)

THE RESTORATION OF SPIRITUAL VALUES

WILFRED WELLOCK

Responsibility, creativity, and neighbourliness or well-knit social relationships, constitute three basic human values which are usually to be found at their best in civilisations in their more pristine state, that is, before they become 'advanced'. It is when civilisations become 'advanced' that they begin to deteriorate. When science, invention and numerous mechanisms cause great riches, financial, social and political power to supersede spiritual values, the quality of life falls and civilisation decays.

From time immemorial riches and power have acted as a brake on man's spiritual development, have obscured his true nature, and especially the fact that he can only develop his complete being and preserve his wholeness, or health, by the exercise of his creative powers in the service of his deeper instincts and impulses.

It is in the nature of man that he can develop only by the exercise of responsibility, his creative powers and his social instincts, and this daily, in what we call his labour, or work-life. Man's supreme function on earth may be described as the perennial effort to make some part of the external world correspond to something in the spirit.

To this end education, culture, religion and art, ought to be directed. Man's fundamental purpose is the fulfilment of his being, to express and embody in external reality whatever of truth, beauty and divinity resides in the depths of his being. Religion, meditation, art and culture are aids to this process of self-fulfilment. Hence the fundamental purpose of all human labour is to beautify the earth, magnify the human soul, and glorify God. The fulfilling of this purpose will call upon and develop to the utmost all man's powers, and thereby broaden his mind, enlarge his vision, awaken his imagination, and refine his spirit.

In the organisation of man's life, therefore, we must give pride of place to his labour. It is not enough merely to live. It is man's duty to live well, to the utmost of his powers. His deepest instincts are creative and his chief duty is to give them the fullest scope possible. To this end he must find time for meditation, when his spirit may drink of the springs of divine inspiration.

Man must always think in terms of better worlds, better civilisations and better human beings. Perfection never comes, but he may always come nearer to it. Nature is beautiful, but man can increase

the sum and quality of its beauty. He may adorn the landscape with beautiful houses and gardens—not luxurious palaces, for that is degradation, but homes that are chaste and simple. And in the making of a beautiful world man beautifies and ennobles his own soul.

In order to make civilised life possible, the majority of people must, and all should, engage in some form of labour which contributes to the common well-being. The values of meditation and religion,—one of which is a knowledge and understanding of truth,—should be expressed in those hours of labour which usually occur between early morning and late afternoon; if they are not permitted thus to be expressed by reason of social decadence, the materialism so often born of science and mechanisms, it is highly improbable that they will ever be expressed at all.

If we follow the course of civilisations, ancient or modern, in the East or in the West, we discover that they have flourished most when they were organised in self-governing, self-supporting small communities. In these conditions they developed innumerable craft industries, wonderful skills, before whose handiwork we moderns gaze in wonder and conscious impotence, thanks to our mass production. The spiritually and artistically richest period in our short British history is what we call the Middle Ages,—say between the 12th and the 16th centuries. This, our finest creative period, was the product of common men, workmen who underwent long apprenticeships in order to become Master Craftsmen, the M.A.'s of the Middle Ages. They were proud of their skills, and banded themselves into Guilds in order to protect and guarantee the high quality of their work not less than their standards of living, which in their era were high. In the atmosphere of this creative life in which the common people took an honourable part, the human spirit was able to express itself as it has not been during the last two centuries of science, invention and mass-production industrialism. The creative genius of the common man expressed itself in everything that was produced, and in scores of our villages there are still to be seen emblems of utility and beauty which stand out as beacons of inspiration amidst the dull, uninspiring monotony of our giant factories and their output. Respect for human personality was never higher than in that period. Men were respected and honoured for the good work they did. They lived in dignity and high esteem. A master craftsman was addressed as Master so and so, in recognition of his skill and the honourable place he occupied in his local community. And because every man

had honour, he had a reputation to maintain, which exercised a powerful influence upon his general conduct. There was something of every man's soul impressed in his village, for each man made his appropriate contribution to the quality of its life and its well-being.

This great creative era was eventually followed by the modern era of industrial mass-production, which came by way of the Industrial Revolution. That Revolution brought fundamental changes in two directions. First, in the nature of the social order and in international relations, and second, in the nature of man.

It so happened that this Revolution started in my country, and it is a fact of some importance that until very recent times it has, with slight exceptions, been confined to a small area in Western Europe and the United States. Japan forced her way into the sacred precincts of this monopoly about the end of last century. The West European countries involved in it were France, Belgium, Holland and Germany.

This small group of Western States, together with Japan later on, successfully controlled a monopoly of mass-produced goods for more than a century. By reason of the riches they amassed they developed considerable military power, which became the basis of modern power politics. By means of power politics they forced their cheap machine-made goods upon most of the countries of the world, thereby pinning down vast countries like India and China to primary production, which of course was much less profitable. They became the colonial powers of the modern world.

In this way the world was divided into primary and secondary producers, by reason of which the latter, for nearly a century were able to sell dear and buy cheap, while the former were condemned to sell cheap and buy dear. In consequence, the primary producers have been kept poor to this day, while the secondary producers became inordinately rich. Latterly, however, nemesis has stepped in to square accounts, whence all the West European Powers above mentioned are verging on bankruptcy. On that fact hangs an interesting but tragic story.

In this new world economy, the countries which were pinned down to primary production were deprived of the numerous vocations which the pursuit of a balanced economy would have afforded them, while the half-dozen or so countries which concentrated on secondary production, soon produced far more goods than they could consume. These they sold abroad at great profit, and bought cheap food in return, even to the extent of forcing vast agricultural areas in their

own countries, out of cultivation, and large numbers of agricultural workers into the giant factories of the industrial towns and cities.

There is a limit to the food acreage of a country, but none to the amount of machinery it may set up. Hence Great Britain increased her population under the stimulus of industrialism so that today she is able to feed only about thirty million of her fifty million population—which in these days of food shortage is a tremendous handicap. Hence Britain must either find huge world markets for her manufactures or starve or live on charity, as to some extent she is even now doing.

Now it is obvious that if you establish an economy in which you arbitrarily divide up the world into primary and secondary producers, the time will eventually come when the latter, in pursuit of profit, will establish a production potential which outstrips the demand for its products, and that when this time arrives, terrific problems will arise, such as how to employ, feed, house and clothe vast idle industrial populations.

That situation in fact arose in the early years of the present century. It led to the first world war. War would certainly find employment for the idle, and if successful would probably secure a monopoly of markets.

Well, as we know, the Versailles Peace Treaty was a monopoly Treaty, in that it distributed Germany's economic power among the victors—her colonies, her mineral resources and her markets. But it undermined the economy of Europe and led the way to the Great Economic Slump of 1929/34, in which at one time there were nearly 40,000,000 unemployed workers in Europe and America alone. It was in that tragedy that Hitler came to power; and from Hitler's determination to secure atonement for the Treaty of Versailles, came the Second World War.

The Second World War was a total war, that is, it demanded the entire resources of all the nations which took part in it,—financial, industrial, military and man-power. It even demanded that the economy of the Industrial Revolution be reversed, that any country which was willing to render aid should be provided with whatever machinery was necessary to do so. As a result, almost all the primary-producing nations of 1939 are now on the industrial road, and doing everything in their power to establish a reasonably balanced agro-industrial economy and their financial and economic independence. India is among their number, and whereas India was a British debitor

in 1939, today she is one of many British creditors. As the result of two world wars Britain has lost most of her foreign investments, and in due course, owing to the reversal of the pre-war world economy, she will lose many of her world markets also, whence she too must prepare to develop a more balanced agro-industrial economy, as she has already commenced to do.

Thus have the fate, fortunes and prospects of the powers of the world been revolutionised, first in one direction and then in another during the last 150 years; and today they are all confronted with the possibility of the third world war, which would shatter to its foundations whatever there is in this spiritually lost world that can still be called civilisation.

I now come to the second fundamental change wrought by the Industrial Revolution, that, namely, in the nature of man. The compulsory transference of craft workers from well-integrated villages to tend power-driven machines in giant new factories, crowded together in slums built around these grim emblems of the new prosperity, was transference from a life which had meaning to one which had none, from a position of responsibility, independence and dignity, to a condition of abject dependence upon the will of a rich and powerful employer whose primary concern was professedly and unashamedly to make money.

In due course, as the competition for markets increased, it became the practice to cheapen production by means of specialisation, one of the products of which is the work-line, or the assembling-line. When this stage is reached, anything from sixty to ninety per cent of the workers in a manufactory mill become repetitive workers, who will exercise no more skill than a child of 10 could perform. This condition is the negation of everything which has to do with human dignity. It is the negation of the spiritual man, man the creator, made in the image of God. In this set-up, intelligence is a hindrance rather than a help, a cause of frustration, the consciousness of which takes away one's interest in one's work. Hence all manner of diversions have to be introduced in order to condition people to function at the sub-human level. Indeed psychologists are introduced for this very purpose: to such degradation has modern science sunk.

Is it not a degradation that civilisation should pride itself on reducing man to an automaton, that it should seek to fill the world with characterless, mass-produced goods, and characterless mass men? It is a fact of life that quality in men and in the things they make is

comparable. Goods which lack the quality of human personality, signify human beings without personality. What a man does he becomes, and do as you will, if you deny to men the right and the opportunity to put their souls, their minds, spirits, imaginations into their labour, the quality of human personality, of man's environment, of life itself, will fall. It is falling today for this very reason.

Our big problem in the West today is how to restore these lost spiritual rights and values. It will involve a major personal and social revolution. The first thing is to discover the size and nature of the social unit wherein neighbourliness, vital social relationships may be developed. I am convinced it will be a small community, about the size of an English village. In the second place, the new social unit must integrate industry and agriculture. The industry must be in small units and be run on co-operative lines. It may consist of a combination of handicrafts and of power-driven machinery developed under new industrial techniques. Homecrafts have a high cultural value and are an admirable means of family integration. Children love nothing better than to acquire new skills. Homecrafts have the opposite effect of repetitive factory labour, which drives people's interests outward, to the street, the cinema, the excitements of mass spectacles, miscalled sport. Today man is losing his soul in a welter of emotional and other excitements. Moreover the new economy must be supported by a new culture. Hence Gandhiji's system of Basic Education.

Gandhiji revealed to India an economy on these lines, as an alternative to the dehumanizing nature of Western Industrialism. Both the East and the West need such an economy. We thus may work together in building a civilisation which harmonises with man's nature and gives greater guarantee of peace in the world than can all the devices of modern materialism. It is, in its main features, an ancient economy; it remains to model it to the new conditions. I hope we may come together, East and West, on this programme, and so bring wholeness, unity and peace into the family of humanity.

(*From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

EGO AND ITS ELIMINATION

YRJO KALLINEN

From the daily newspapers and political oratory it appears that human beings are divided into two specific categories: those who

are good people and those who are intentionally, deliberately bad people. In every country, in every political party, etc., it seems that on our side there are relatively good people, and on the other side relatively bad people. That is the way of thinking which has been mostly followed by mankind, and it seems to me that as long as we think and act on these lines, there will be no end of conflicts.

Modern psychology and modern psychotherapy, on the other hand, do not have in their vocabulary such a conception as an intentionally bad or evil person. They have revealed that instead there are innumerable illusions and delusions which distract the human mind and lead it astray.

So our main problem is this: how does it come about that average human beings of more or less good intentions should threaten to destroy one another in the course of horrible wars?

I would repeat that those men who are drifting in this direction are, in the main, so-called good people. They will agree that war is horrible and disastrous. They say they abhor it. But, they add, there are values which must be defended even by war. These are in most cases economic, national and ideological values. And to justify themselves they tell us that these are values of such paramount importance that they cannot be sacrificed.

That is the way of thinking not only of normal, simple people but also of those who are most idealistic, seemingly most ready to sacrifice their personal interests in the service of human virtues. Obviously human virtues alone will not be able to solve these problems. On the contrary human virtues, if not illuminated by understanding, might lead to war.

There is a common belief that especially the economic and national values are things unquestionably real and matter of fact. Those who support and defend them even by force call themselves 'realists'. This belief is so common that it is very difficult indeed to see clearly that it is only a belief. It is only a materialistic creed, a false kind of religion. Behind it there are certain ideas and belief in those ideas. The fact that food, clothing and shelter are prime necessities does not alter the case. There would be plenty of food, clothing and shelter for everybody if we had taken them as biological necessities and not as means to satisfy our self-assertion urge.

All wars of our time are ultimately ideological wars, religious wars. And all ideas, all creeds, all religions, which lead to war, are illusions of a very dangerous kind.

Let us examine the self-deception which is behind the large scale controversies, cruelties and wars.

We have learned, as individuals, to restrain our personal egotism, our self-assertion and our aggressiveness. If I tried to prove to you that I am very wise, that I am always right, that I was created to lead you and that I have a natural right to take your property, it is obvious that my motive power would be self-assertion urge and this very display of the baseness of my motive would ensure its defeat. You would consider me afflicted by madness.

But there is a way which allows us to give self-assertion fairly free play. We form groups, bigger or smaller 'We'-formations. These groups, these 'collective persons' as they are referred to in psychology, may be based on family, tribe, nation, state, party or any ideological formations. Very often they are based on a confessional religion. When acting and speaking on behalf of the group we do not say 'I', but 'We'. And having attained this we can freely affirm to ourselves and to others that we are wise, strong, always right, and that history intended us to rise to ever higher greatness. There is an endless series of such 'we'-shouters, aglow with the desire to conquer the world, full of self-assurance and self-assertion. And the step to aggression and violence is short. As a member of such a group I feel that I am not fighting for my own interests, I am not an egotist, but altruistic, self-sacrificing. If I perform cruel deeds, if I murder and burn, I do so in the service of a thing greater than myself, for my conviction, for my country, for the right cause. We accept bad means as instruments in the fight for a good cause. We separate means from ends.

And so the great tragedy of history continues: peace, like many other good things is regarded as an end, as an ideal of the future. What a cruel illusion ! Peace is realised only by means of the peaceful methods employed in settling human problems. Violence can be removed only by non-violence. Either peace is a reality of this very present moment or it will remain an illusion forever. The more intensively we prepare ourselves to promote peace by arming and violence, the more remote peace will be.

And so mankind finds itself, on account of all this, in a vicious circle. We sin in order that righteousness may survive, we hate in the name of love, and we go to war in the name of peace.

How can we ever attain a lasting peace, as long as our minds are dominated by the feeling that we are essentially, primarily Finns,

British, Americans or Indians? How can we foster a feeling of unity with humanity if our thoughts and feelings are dominated by such organised thought-systems as Christianity, Hinduism, Mohammedanism? How can we feel all-human brotherhood if we segregate ourselves into ideological camps such as communism, capitalism or socialism? The world is full of such ideological camps, and they drive men against each other, they prevent free thought and free friendship. They force us to fight each other, and how can we then speak of peace?

I do not believe that we can ever free ourselves from these conflicts on their own level, the level of discriminations and conflicting interests and groups. But we can at least clearly see and understand the egotistic, unholy root of all glorified, 'we' formations, collective persons, and this understanding means freedom.

Since it is a question of man freeing himself from the age-long accumulation of illusions and prejudices that rule his social environment, the task is most difficult. The power of tradition and environment is enormous. But I see no other way to peace than undertaking this task.

This freedom does not mean that a man should relinquish his nationality, his religion or even his party. An illustration may be found in the fact that whenever a strong national feeling has tied the different localities together into an entity, it is not necessary for the individuals to relinquish their respective local formations. The smaller formations remain, but allegiance to them no longer entails dynamic emotions, it does not entail passions and aggressiveness. In the same way when a man is internally free from such emotional allegiance to national or other combative groups and formations, these groups and formations remain only as a scaffolding for his everyday practical pursuits, in the same way as latitudes and longitudes serve the seafarer.

Unlimited good-will towards, and undivided solidarity with, all humanity are by nature friendship and peace. They are exceedingly simple, but having become covered over by the accumulation of thousands of years of habits of thoughts and feeling they are not easy to attain.

(*From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

MANILAL GANDHI.

We have been indulging in quite a lot of talk. I have followed it with great interest, but I was not moved by it as I was when my friend

raised the question of the ego. I dread to speak in public, but I could not resist the temptation to give expression to my thoughts after listening to my friend's speech on ego. I think that is the crux of the whole question. That is the very thing that we have to fight against if we wish to fit ourselves for the service of mankind. My father did not give us the education that we give to our children today. One of the reasons was that he did not want us to be egotists. He wanted us to be humble. That is what he preached and practised. If you want to be of service to humanity you must humble yourself to the dust.

We have been talking of how Mahatma Gandhi carried the masses with him. It was because he cultivated the moral and spiritual strength by sacrificing the self. How many of us here can claim to have developed that strength? We cannot do so without the grace of God and the grace of God comes by self-abnegation and intense prayer.

(*From a speech at the Santiniketan Session.*)

FACING REALITIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have been listening with great interest to what has been said this afternoon. I had hoped perhaps you would simplify my task, but instead of that I feel I am a little more confused than I was when I came here. I do not quite know what to say and what subject to tackle. Mr. Horace Alexander said at the beginning that I was not a pacifist and he was right in saying so. We have, I suppose, no one who is a thorough-going pacifist and can at the same time be connected with a modern government, so long as it retains the character of a Government or remains a modern State such as this. No pacifist can be connected with a Government which keeps an army, a navy and defence forces. So that I am not a pacifist, and therefore, in a sense, I have come to this Conference under false pretences. But without being a pacifist one can be intensely desirous of maintaining the peace of the world and avoiding war. You have been discussing this matter here and at Santiniketan. Most of us who are sensitive and those who have to deal with public affairs have to think of some at least of these problems in a variety of contexts. For a number of

reasons I have not succeeded in arriving at any kind of conclusion which I can put before you and before myself.

But, first of all, the problem of what he should do is difficult enough for one individual to solve: it becomes infinitely more difficult when you are thinking in terms of what others should do. That is to say, a person in a position of authority, governmental or other, functions with certain material, i.e., human beings, the whole human being. Now, that material may be influenced, may have to function, in a certain way. Obviously it is not very easy to make it function exactly as you want it to. So, even if you are clear in your own mind about what should be done, it is not an easy matter to make clear to a large number of human beings what they should do. They may occasionally become emotionally drawn to certain things but unless they have been trained this will not carry them very far. First of all, the individual must grasp the truth, if I may say so. That is difficult enough and all kinds of questions arise.

The second difficulty which a person in authority, or a political man, or a leader, has to face is that he has to make other people grasp the truth, become receptive to the truth. It is a complicated thing. Now, if he is a leader—and a leader in more or less a democratic sense of the word—he affects the public and is affected by them. He cannot carry them all the way with him. He cannot always make them receptive to truth. Presumably, their training in receptivity for a new idea and a new way of putting higher ideas may be limited. He is limited in his action by their being limited because he functions through them. And that is a problem which every statesman has continually to face. It is all very well to say that this man should do this or that. Every individual in society is limited by other people round about him. Nevertheless, he can function. Of course, the absolute way to function would be to live at the peak of the Himalaya. There he can be limited only by nature, not by human beings. But on the whole the individual can function and bear the consequences. But what is that individual to do when he has to make others function who are under the influence of passion, prejudice, hunger, etc.? We can only hope that we are gradually training them, and that this training will spread. That is the only way to do it. We select persons and we set up here and there large organisations, and suddenly a gust of passion comes and these groups are swept away. I was in Geneva in 1938, when the Sudetenland incident cropped up. It was the headquarters of about 230 international organisations and peace societies.

But at the time when the scare of war came almost everybody was numbed and there was a total paralysis. There was no war just then not because of the efforts of these organisations and peace societies, but because the Governments concerned did not choose to have war. It took place a year later. Now, they were swept away by circumstances. You have to understand how it can happen. I have no answer to it. Still one has a certain faith that in spite of apparent disasters humanity goes on in a certain direction. If you ask me to justify it logically, I cannot. If you have courage to justify it you can do so. You may partly reason it out and justify your faith. So, there is a fundamental difficulty and I have no answer for that. And, therefore, I have to function more or less without presuming to advise others what they should do. I have to decide for myself what I should do for particular reasons or in given circumstances, and hope that my actions will lead in that direction. I have to compromise all the time and I have always to think in terms of whether I should compromise or not, and I don't know whether that is ultimately good or not. No uncompromising man, standing alone but functioning in a democracy, benefits by standing alone. It is obvious, on the other hand, that standing alone is sometimes a good thing and must be done. But it may also be that continuously standing alone makes you ineffective. The person who always stands alone is an erratic nuisance whom no one listens to. So, when you do not stand alone you have got to make some compromises. If you compromise, the question is what do you compromise with? Are you compromising with evil? That is bad. Well then, can you compromise by holding on to the truth but not going too far in that direction? Possibly that is the justifiable compromise. You don't go far, perhaps, because you cannot carry others far, but the way is a right one. I am just putting to you some of the difficulties that one has continually to face. Now, today I am in a position of governmental responsibility and ultimately one merely goes step by step, not knowing exactly what the next step will be.

Today we talk about conflicts between East and West, i.e., between the East and West as understood in Europe. It is very confusing. Here you talk about East and West, which means conflict with the Communists or with Russia. It is obvious that it is quite easy for any one to choose to criticise this party or that and point out their failings. At the same time it seems to me obvious that there are virtues too, otherwise they would not be there. We have gradually developed

in the world a certain social consciousness. Now, Socialism and Communism, whatever may be said against them, have an idealistic element. This attracts people because it promotes a certain social consciousness. This consciousness has grown, but, perhaps, not to a very great extent. We talk about democracy, and democracy is a good thing, but obviously a purely political democracy may not mean very much to the average individual. In a country like India which is poverty-stricken and industrially backward, people are more interested in the primary needs of life than in theories. There may be democracy or capitalism or communism or socialism, but they want their primary needs of life satisfied and that is the fundamental thing. They are not interested in God, if I may say so. After that other things arise. Therefore, whatever way you may choose out of the difficulty it must be a way which satisfies people's primary needs. It is not good being philosophical and theoretical and talking about this ideal or that unless you satisfy the primary needs. The essential difference between India, or the other countries of the East, and countries in Europe is that the countries of Europe and America have not to face the problem of primary needs to the same extent as we have to. The problem of primary needs in Europe has not, of course, been quite satisfactorily solved, but still it is not there to the same extent as in Asia. No doubt, the War has caused much damage in Europe, but still conditions are not so bad as in India. The governments there have not to face this problem of primary needs and, therefore, their minds may turn to other thoughts, such as power-politics, war and the rest, while in under-developed Asia we have not time to think of these things. It is not a question of Indians being virtuous. Don't be under any such illusions. I have heard a lot of praise of Indians. Don't imagine that they have behaved in an admirable manner. They have behaved in a most scandalous and disgraceful manner. I have seen it, and so I say that. But, inevitably, they do not think in terms of power-politics. We have other things to attend to. Of course, some occasion may arise and we may get entangled in power-politics, and that may lead to war. But, as I said, the needs of Asia are primary needs, and it is only when they are satisfied that other questions arise. Because of those primary needs, any philosophy of action or anything that promises to fulfil those needs is bound to appeal to the people. It is not a question of ideology or isms. Therefore, the question to which governments have to apply themselves is, how the primary needs of people can be satisfied. Of course, not by

magic. But those needs exist, and something has to be done which brings their fulfilment. So—in order to have a look at the problem in the world context—first of all, I think that in spite of very big conflicts in Europe there is no danger of war in Europe at present; none whatever. The danger of war comes from the fact that certain conditions exist in Asia and Africa. I have no doubt, whatever, that if these conditions are not remedied with some rapidity, that will lead to a big conflict. I have no doubt, whatever, that if conditions in Africa are not improved—I cannot fix any time period—but in a very short time, there will be trouble on a very big scale in Africa and elsewhere. So, without going into the philosophy of these things and purely as a practical person having to deal with these matters, I want to remove some of the obvious causes of war that I see. There may be other causes besides those that I have stated. But still let me remove those which I can tackle. I will try to do so. Whether I succeed or not is another matter.

Now, coming back to India, I am perfectly convinced of what I say. It is just fantastic nonsense for people to talk of India being the leader of Asia. It irritates me, because it is unrealistic. It only feeds the vanity of the Indian people. The first thing they have to learn is to look after themselves. That is, in itself, a big job and a very big problem. If you think that by sitting in Sevagram you have seen India, you are wrong. You have seen selected people, excellent people, who have done good work. But there are ten thousand other groups who are different from them and are just as much part of India. They represent ten thousand other ways. For example, here is a house where Gandhiji lived for many years. Mahatma Gandhi is, of course, almost worshipped all over India. So, most people would say that we must follow Mahatma Gandhi. But people have different ideas of what Mahatma Gandhi stood for, and maybe some of the persons who worked in the closest companionship with him have the quaintest notions of what he stood for. Quaintest, I say, in the sense of very narrow notions. Now, Mahatma Gandhi stood for a number of things—many many things. It is amazing to see how many activities he undertook, and whatever he took up he pursued earnestly. It is astonishing. You can make a list of his activities. Now, some may say that Mahatma Gandhi stood for vegetarianism and therefore that is an important thing. Maybe. He did stand for vegetarianism. For me it is not of much consequence. I am not a vegetarian and I do not propose to be one whether he stood for it or not. There

are so many aspects of him and each person takes a little of him and says this is the most vital thing he stood for, and he sits in a hut or somewhere without making reference to anybody in the wide world. Most of you have not seen him. He was a dynamic personality as great men are. He changed. He adapted himself to the changing situation and controlled it. But many of those who follow him follow the letter of the law and fail to come to grips with the situation. One of the horrible and painful things that happened in India after she got freedom was the enormous growth of narrow communalism against which he preached all his life. And, I have to see it among people who are his colleagues and my colleagues. I do not know where we shall be led. Now, under these circumstances, am I to come and preach to you what India stands for when I do not know where I myself stand? I have not presumed to do that. If we are to do anything worth-while in the world, obviously we must begin with ourselves and not preach to others. If we do not succeed here, obviously we are a failure. In a sense, I may say, India does stand in a favourable position and it is just conceivable that she may, to some extent, be a bridge between different ways of approaching the problem. What we want—and I am not going into highflown philosophy—may be broadly called a democratic approach or democracy in the widest sense of the term: that is, not only political democracy but economic democracy also. We see on the one side stress being laid on political democracy, on the other on economic democracy minus individual freedom. Now, as I said, if you ask an average poor peasant or worker in India, he attaches more importance to the primary necessities of life than to some abstract freedom. And quite naturally. Nevertheless, freedom is a very valuable thing, so also individual freedom. I am quite convinced that unless men have individual freedom they cannot progress in the end. They become stunted. Now, can one join that individual freedom in a democratic concept with economic freedom also? I do not know, because one sees one extreme on the one side and another on the other. We have a chance in India. Every country has a chance. We have a chance in the sense that we are fortunately starting, in a way, with a clean slate—a clean slate in regard to international relations. We are not tied up to any country or any particular international foreign policy. That is an advantage, or it can be an advantage, and it flows more or less from what we have been saying and doing for the last twenty or thirty years under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. Of course, we had no foreign policy

so long as we were a subject nation; but nevertheless, we were thinking in terms of it. Our approach is not a negative one; it is a positive approach to the problem, and we try in our own way to work it out. At the same time, our capacity is not great to influence world events; we may occasionally make more difference a little later on; but in any event, the problem before us is how to maintain individual freedom and a democratic approach to life and at the same time economic democracy. May I put it in another way? The tendency in the world today has been a tendency against which many of you apparently or probably protested—a tendency for growing centralisation, bigger and bigger units of wealth, power, etc.; whether it is a corporation, or whether it is a Government, or whatever it may be, it becomes bigger and bigger, and naturally the more centralisation there is, the less of individual freedom. This centralisation ultimately becomes a totalitarian State which is completely powerful and denies individual freedom, and in the economic sense makes people helpless. The Capitalist system of the nineteenth century has ceased to exist. The tendency now is for these forces to go in another direction or, as in America, to grow and develop into powerful concentrations of capital and industries, which do come in the way of a particular type of individual freedom that we may value. I do not personally think that we can do away with centralisation in the modern world; you can limit it by all means; but I rather doubt whether you can limit it to the extent you wish. Therefore, the problem is to have individual freedom and the amount of centralisation which is inevitable in the modern world. To have an answer for this you will have to experiment.

I was asked two questions; one was a very simple question, about the English language. I think it is obvious that English cannot have the same position in India as it has had in the past two or three generations. But I also think it is equally certain that English will remain a widespread language in India, and a compulsory language in the Universities, etc. It may even be that a larger number of people than today will know English, but will know it rather badly.

The other question was about South Africa. I have no doubt that just as today's problem in the world is no longer European, but Asian, so tomorrow's problem will be African. So far as India is concerned, we are not only conscious of this fact but we have laid stress on it in the United Nations, in our diplomatic dealings with other Powers and in Africa itself. In Africa there are a large number of Indians, mostly traders, and there is no doubt that there is a tendency

on the part of these people to exploit the indigenous population. We have repeatedly, in public and in private, stated that we are not going to support any Indian interest in Africa which in any sense infringes African interests. We have come into conflict, not with African interests, but with other interests whether in South Africa or in Kenya, where solid blocks of land are reserved for Europeans in which neither Indians nor Africans can go. We have come into conflict there, and we have protested. Undoubtedly there was a tendency for the Indians also to join in the process of exploitation of the indigenous population. We made it perfectly clear that we do not want even a single Indian to be party to exploitation, and I am glad to say that in spite of efforts made to create trouble between Indians and Africans, they are co-operating more and more and helping each other.

May I just put to you a difficulty I often feel? What exactly is violence? It is not an easy question for me to answer. It is obvious some things are violent. You talk about State violence; war itself is State violence. Then there is individual violence too. I find, sometimes, that a person who calls himself a complete pacifist still behaves in a most violent manner. I refer to individual violence, violence in the real sense of the word—that is, behaviour in a most uncontrolled way. One may not technically hit somebody else. Still out of him spreads an atmosphere of violence. Whereas, I have seen soldiers who were more non-violent than some people who refuse to fight. So, it is difficult to know what is violence and what is not. A pacifist who is terribly narrow in vision is likely to make others narrow also. Instead of helping in spreading the idea of non-violence, he, in fact, puts obstacles in its way. So, it becomes important how you place these ideas before the world. You have a whole background of experience which leads you to a certain decision; there are others who have their own experience leading to some other decision. How are you going to convert them to your way? The whole process is one of conversion of others. It is, in fact, a positive dynamic approach not a negative or passive approach to the problem. It is not what a man utters that matters. Slogans do not make him. What the man is counts for something. He counts when he becomes the embodiment of what he believes in.

(*Address at the Sevagram Session, December* 31, 1949.)

APPENDICES

I. SOME CONFERENCE PRAYERS

i

Do you together walk, together hold
converse, together come to a common mind:
Even as they who walked before us, finding
knowledge together, worshipped as one.
Be your prayers in harmony, and harmony
be in your meeting. May thought and
intelligence be all in harmony.

O God, in concord do we bow in worship,
in concord do we bring our offering.

Be your conclusions reached in harmony,
and with hearts in harmony let your
minds hold converse, that you may
dwell together in beauty and concord.

Prayer at Welcome Meeting.

ii

O Thou who art in earth and heaven and in the wide spaces between, we worship thy Splendour most adorable. Thou whose Spirit guides us all, lift up our thoughts to that Supreme Wisdom.

A Vedic Prayer.

iii

O God Who art Light,
destroy in us all that is evil,
nourish all that is good.

Thou who art Joy and Goodness,
we worship Thee.

Giver of happiness and all good things,
we worship Thee.

Thou God of grace and yet more grace,
we worship Thee.

A Vedic Prayer.

iv

The world to-day is wild with the delirium of hatred,
the conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,
crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed.
All creatures are crying for a new birth of thine,
Oh Thou of boundless life,
Save them, rouse thine eternal voice of hope,
let Love's lotus with its inexhaustible treasure of honey
open its petals in thy light.
O Serene, O Free,
in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness
wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth. . . .
Man's heart is anguished with the fever of unrest,
With the poison of self-seeking
with a thirst that knows no end.
Countries far and wide flaunt on their foreheads
the blood-red mark of hatred.
Touch them with thy right hand
make them one in spirit,
bring harmony into their life,
bring rhythm of beauty.
O Serene, O Free
in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness
wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

A song by Rabindranath Tagore.

v

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

He knows the sorrows of other men,
He brings them comfort in their grief;
No pride is in his heart.

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

He bows his head to the pure and holy,
His lips speak ill of none.
He has stilled his passions, stilled his words and thought
And blessed is the mother who bore him.

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

Serene is he before joy and sorrow, before friend and foe.
He honours all womanhood as he would honour his mother.
His tongue is clean of falsehood.
His hands are innocent of the touch of another's wealth.

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

He is bound no more by attachment and illusion,
His mind is turned away from the things of the world.
And he sings in ecstasy the name of God.
All holy shrines have met in his one body.

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

He has no greed, he knows no fraud,
He is set free from anger and desire.
I and mine are blessed indeed, says Narasinha,
Blessed unto seven generations,
That we have looked on him.

Know this man to be truly a servant of God—

Narasinha Mehta.

vi

Where tread the feet of Lord Buddha.
Village and city are full of grace.
The people live in harmony,
The climate is soft and gentle,
And there is never too much rain or wind.
The crops are ample, the folk are free from care.
Weapons and soldiers have no place there.

Mahayana Sutra.

vii

Let the noble disciple bear no ill-will towards any living being;
Let him cultivate love towards all, seen or unseen, far or near, born or yet to be born.
Just as a mother would protect her only child at the risk of her own life, even so let him cultivate a boundless heart towards all beings.

Metti Sutta.

vii

Wakefulness is the way to immortality;
Heedlessness is the way to death;
Those who are wakeful die not, the heedless are already dead.
From craving is born grief; from craving fear is begotten
There is no grief for him who is freed from craving;
Whence, then, can there come fear?
Let us then free from hate, live happily among those who hate;
Among men filled with hatred, let us dwell free from hatred.
Let us, then, live happily;
We who own nothing can call nothing our own;
Let us be like the Shining Ones who are nourished on love.

Dhammapada.

ix

Father beloved, at thy feet
I pray for strong faith,
That my heart may put its trust
Ever in thy merciful compassion.

When the clouds of sorrow cover the sky,
Or evil deeds scorch,
May thy name dwell in our hearts
Ever in thy merciful compassion.

The task to which we have set our hands,
May we together fulfil it,
That thy hands may rest upon us
Ever in thy merciful compassion.

Bhajan for Christmas Eve Prayers.

x

Peace upon earth below; peace in the middle air; peace in the heaven above.

Peace upon the waters, peace upon herbs and trees.

Peace, pervading all the worlds divine.

Shanti *Shanti*

By peace, by this peace, by the universal peace,
May we bring tranquillity
Upon the terrible, the cruel, and the evil of the earth.
Filled with that peace and grace be all the realms of Being.

II. ORGANISATIONS CONCERNED WITH YOUTH SERVICE FOR PEACE

International Organisations.

1. Liaison office of international work camp organisations, 9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris Ve., France.

Branches :

Fredsvenners Hjaelpearbejde, Vendersgade 29, Copenhagen K, Denmark.

Kausainvalinen Vapaaehtoinen, Trjoleivijarjesto, Frederikinkatu 77A, Helsinki, Finland.

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, U.S.A.

Fredsvenners Hjelpetjeneste, Gyldelovesgate 24 (iv), Oslo, Norway.

Friends Ambulance Unit, International Service, The Steep, Petersfield, England.

Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

2. Service Civil International, Head office, 9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris Ve., France.

Branches in Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Saar, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

3. World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, 37 Quai Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland.

4. World Council of Churches, Youth Department, 17 Route de Malagnon, Geneva, Switzerland.

5. World Federation of Democratic Youth, 21 bis, Rue de Chateaudun, Paris, France.

6. World Union of Jewish Students, 6 Rue Lalande, Paris, France.

Other Organisations.

Austria.—Jugend am Werk, Rathaus, Vienna.

Canada.—Christian Work Camp Fellowship of Canada, 27 Bedford Road, Toronto 5, Ontario.

Denmark.—Frivillig Dansk Arbejdstjeneste, Stolbergsvej 5, Horsholm.

France.—Jeunesse et Reconstruction, 137 Bd. Saint Mechel, Paris.

Japan.—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 14 Mita-Dai-Machi, Minato-Ku, Tokyo.

United Kingdom.—Youth Service Volunteers, 34 Welbeck Street, London, W.1.

United States of America.—Congregational Christian Service Committee, 110E 29th St., New York, N.Y.

Experiment in International Living, Inc., Putney, Vermont.

Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pa.

Handbook.—Organizing International Voluntary Work Camps. UNESCO, 19 Av. Kleber, Paris 15e., France.

(This list is not exhaustive)

III. LIST OF DELEGATES

A. From Outside India

1. David Acquah,
Deptt. of Social Welfare
and Housing, P.O. Box 204,
Sekondi, Gold Coast, West Africa.

2. Jorgen R. Andersen,
71 Vesterbrogade,
Copenhagen, Denmark.

3. A. C. Barrington,
Riverside Community,
Lower Moutere, New Zealand.

4. Lorenzo Bautista,
Town Hall, 929 Raon Street,
Manila, Philippines.

5. Tartt B. Bell,
c/o A.F.S.C., Women's
College, Greensboro,
North Carolina, U.S.A.

6. Ethelwyn Best,
c/o Indian Co-operative
Union, Faridabad Camp,
East Punjab, India.

7. Rene Bovard,
11 Rue D'Italie,
Geneva, Switzerland.

8. Russell Brayshaw,
Mottram Cottage, Dean Row,
Wilmslow, Nr. Manchester,
England.

9. Maude Brayshaw,
Mottram Cottage, Dean Row,
Wilmslow, Nr. Manchester,
England.

10. Vera Brittain,
2 Cheyne Walk,
London S.W. 3,
England.

11. Pastor J. J. Buskes,
Ooster Park 45, Amsterdam 2,
Holland.

12. Paul Erb,
Mennonite Publishing House,
Scottdale, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

13. Erik Ewalds,
Drugsfjard,
Finland.

14. John Fallding,
168 Marion Street,
Leichhardt,
New South Wales, Australia.

15. Mildred Fahrni,
F.O.R., 108 Charles
Street, West, Toronto 5,
Ontario, Canada.

16. Manilal Gandhi,
Indian Opinion, Phoenix,
Natal, South Africa.

17. Richard Gregg,
Forest Farm, Jamaica,
Vermont,
U.S.A.

18. Agatha Harrison,
2 Cranbourne Court,
Albert Bridge Road,
London S.W. 11, England.

19. Dr. Hassan Ibrahim Hassan,
Department of History,
Foud I. University,
Cairo, Egypt.

20. Dr. Karel Hujer,
University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee, U.S.A.

21. Abdul Aziz Bin Ishak,
177 Batu Road,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

22. D. D. T. Jabavu,
'Plumulong',
Middledrift,
C.P., South Africa.

23. Dr. Mordecai Johnson,
Howard University,
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

24. Aage Jorgensen,
Sotofen 28, Jentofte,
Copenhagen, Denmark.

25. Yrjo Kallinen,
Runeberginkatu 28 A 3,
Helsinki, Finland.

26. Lucy Kingston,
17 Charleville Road,
Rathmines, Dublin,
Ireland.

27. Bessie Lee Knox,
14739 McKendree Avenue,
Pacific Palisades,
California, U.S.A.

28. Dr. Tomiko Kora,
808, 2 Chome,
Shimo-Ochiai,
Shinjiku-Ku,
Tokyo, Japan.

29. Heinz Kraschutzki,
Hohenzollern-Strasse 27A,
Berlin-Wannsee,
Germany.

30. Yan Kee Leong,
333 Rahang Road,
Seremban, Malaya.

31. Diderich Lund,
Vinderen, Tuengenalle 9,
Oslo, Norway.

32. U Ba Lwin,
c/o M. A. Raschid,
B.C.W.A., 58 Phayre Street,
Rangoon, Burma.

33. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera,
The University, Colombo 3,
Ceylon.

34. Guy Marchand,
169 Rue De L' Université,
Paris 7, France.

35. Orie Miller,
Mennonite Central Committee,
Akron, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

36. A. J. Muste,
21 Audbon Avenue,
New York 32, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

37. Syed Naficy,
de L' Academie Iranienne,
Seh-Rahé Sepahsalar,
Teheran, Iran.

38. Riri Nakayama,
Hozenji Buddhist Temple,
1115 Arkabane-Machi,
3 Chome 3rd Street,
Kita-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

39. Ray Newton,
A.F.S.C., 20 South
12th Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

40. Mustafa Bey N'Souli,
c/o Department of Commerce,
Beirut, Lebanon.

41. George Paine,
6 Park Street,
Boston, Mass.,
U.S.A.

42. Janette Rankin,
Helena,
Montana,
U.S.A.

43. Reginald Reynolds,
Oak Cottage, Burghley Road,
Wimbledon, London S.W. 19,
England.

44. Grace Rhoads,
P.O. Box 90, Moorestown,
New Jersey, U.S.A.

45. Igal Roodenko,
c/o War Resisters' League,
5 Beekman Street,
New York 7, N.Y., U.S.A.

46. Henri Roser,
111 Rue De Flandre,
Paris 19,
France.

47. Sven Ryberg,
Sysslomansgatan 8,
Stockholm XII, Sweden.

48. Olaf Rydbeck,
c/o Chalmers University,
Gottenburg,
Sweden.

49. Dr. Isa Sadigh,
c/o University of Teheran,
Teheran,
Iran.

50. Dr. Zaki Saleh,
Teachers Training College,
Baghdad, Iraq.

51. Swami Satyananda,
Vivekananda Asram,
Brickfields Road,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

52. Aiem Sangkhavasi,
Buddhist Association
of Thailand, Pra Sumera Road,
Bangkok, Thailand.

53. Jerome Sauerwein,
24 Rue Jean Goujon,
Paris 8,
France.

54. John Nevin Sayre,
I.F.O.R., 21 Audbon Avenue,
New York 32, N.Y., U.S.A.

55. Kathleen Sayre,
I.F.O.R., 21 Audbon Avenue,
New York 32, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

56. Michael Scott,
Friends' Intl. Centre,
32 Tavistock Square,
London W.C. 1, England.

57. Heberto Sein,
67 Route De Meyrin,
Geneva, Switzerland.

58. Masahiko Sekiya,
Friends' Centre, 1-14 Mita Dai
Machi, Shiba Minato-Ku,
Tokyo, Japan.

59. Robert Steele,
74 Edwin, Ashville,
North Carolina,
U.S.A.

60. Magda Trocme,
I.F.O.R., Le Chambon-sur-Lignon,
(Haute-Loire), France.

61. Dr. Beauson Tseng,
124 Castle Peak Road,
3rd Floor, Kowloon, Hongkong.

62. Pao-Swen Tseng,
124 Castle Peak Road,
3rd Floor, Kowloon, Hongkong.

63. Prabhat Wattanasarn,
c/o Floyd Wilson, Y.M.C.A.,
Bangkok, Thailand.

64. Wilfred Wellock,
Orchard Lea, Saunders Lane,
New Longton, Preston, Lancs.,
England.

65. Lu Pe Win,
Archaeological Survey,
Mandalay,
Burma.

66. Magda Yoors-Peeters,
88 Haden Avenue, Purley,
Surrey, England.

67. Dr. Walter Zander,
97 Baker Street,
London W. 1, England.

68. Dr. Werner Zimmerman,
Ringgenberg, Bern,
Switzerland.

B. From India

1. Sriman N. Agarwal,
G.S. College,
Wardha, M.P.

2. Horace Alexander,
24 Rajpur Road, Delhi.

3. Ashadevi Aryanayakam,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

4. E. W. Aryanayakam,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

5. Janaki Devi Bajaj,
Bajajwadi, Wardha, M.P.

6. Kamalnayan Bajaj,
51 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

7. Radhakrishna Bajaj,
Nalwadi, Wardha, M.P.

8. Vinoba Bhave,
Paunar, Wardha,
M.P.

9. Hiralal Bose,
1 Upper Wood Street,
Calcutta 16.

10. Nandalal Bose,
Santiniketan, West Bengal.

11. Nirmal Kumar Bose,
37 Bosepara Lane,
Baghbazar, Calcutta 3.

12. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty,
The Institute For Advanced
Study, Princeton,
New Jersey, U.S.A.

13. K. K. Chandy,
Christavasram, Manganam,
Puthupally P.O., Kottayam,
Travancore.

14. Chogmull Chopra,
47 Khengrapatty Street,
Calcutta.

15. Malati Choudhury,
Buji Rant Chatrabus,
Angul, Orissa.

16. Amal Probha Das,
Pan Bazar, Gauhati,
Assam.

17. Satish Das Gupta,
Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur,
24-Parganas, West Bengal.

18. Swami Devatmananda,
Ramkrishna Mission, Belur
Math, Belur, West Bengal.

19. Dada Dharmadhikari,
Dhantoli, Nagpur,
M.P.

20. R. S. Dhotre,
Bajajwadi, Wardha,
M.P.

21. R. R. Diwakar,
5 Safdarjang Road,
New Delhi.

22. S. Fozdar,
Krishna Building,
Bombay.

23. Kanu Gandhi,
Asram, Sevagram,
Wardha,
M.P.

24. Krishnadas Gandhi,
Charkha Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha,
M.P.

25. S. K. George,
G. S. College,
Wardha, M.P.

26. Sudhir Ghosh,
24 Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi.

27. Donald Groom,
Friends' Rural Centre,
Hoshangabad, M.P.

28. Srikrishnadas Jaju,
Charkha Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

29. Kaka Kalelkar,
Kakawadi, Wardha,
M.P.

30. Bhagirath Kanoria,
8 Royal Exchange Place,
Calcutta 1.

31. Amrit Kaur,
2 Wellingdon Crescent,
New Delhi.

32. Ralph R. Keithahn,
Gandhigram, Ambathurai,
Madura, Madras.

33. J. B. Kripalani,
6 Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

34. Dr. J. C. Kumarappa,
A.I.V.I.A., Maganwadi,
Wardha, M.P.

35. Gurdial Mallik,
c/o M. C. Setalvad,
'Nirant', Juhu,
Bombay 23.

36. K. G. Mashruwala,
Bajajwadi, Wardha,
M.P.

37. Dhirendra Majumdar,
Charkha Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

38. Nausherali,
66/1/A Baitakhana Road,
Calcutta 9.

39. Shantaben Nerulkar,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

40. Gladys Owen,
Nur Manzil,
Lalbagh, Lucknow.

41. Prabhakar,
Kasturba Hospital,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

42. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Government House,
New Delhi.

43. Pyarelal,
Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi.

44. G. Ramchandran,
A.I.V.I.A., Maganwadi,
Wardha, M.P.

45. Amtus Salam,
c/o Sudhir Ghosh,
Rehabilitation Department,
Secretariat, New Delhi.

46. Kshitimohan Sen,
Santiniketan,
West Bengal.

47. Chimanlal Shah,
Asram, Sevagram,
Wardha, M.P.

48. Shyamlal,
Bajajwadi,
Wardha, M.P.

49. Marjorie Sykes,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha, M.P.

50. Rathindranath Tagore,
Santiniketan,
West Bengal.

51. Tan Yun-Shan,
Santiniketan,
West Bengal.

52. Vallabhswamy,
Nalwadi, Wardha,
M.P.

53. Sophia Wadia,
'Aryasangha',
22 Narayan Dabholkar Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.

C. From Pakistan

1. Muthar Quazim Hussein,
   42 Topkhana Rd., P.O. Ramna,
   Dacca, East Pakistan.

2. Jitendranath Kusari,
   Dhubulia Camp,
   West Bengal.

3. Satindranath Sen,
   Barisal,
   East Pakistan.

IV. WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

All-India Invitation Committee

1. Horace Alexander,
   Quaker Centre,
   24 Rajpur Road, Delhi.

2. Ashadevi Aryanayakam,
   The Hindustani Talimi
   Sangh, Sevagram,
   Wardha, M.P.

3. E. W. Aryanayakam,
   The Hindustani Talimi
   Sangh, Sevagram,
   Wardha, M.P.

4. Dr. Amir Ali,
   Coll. of Agricul., Osmania Univ.,
   Hyderabad (Deccan).

5. S. N. Agarwal,
   G. S. College,
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6. Kamalnayan Bajaj,
   51 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
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7. Alice Barnes,
   London Mission,
   Avanshi Road,
   Coimbatore, S. India.

8. Hiralal Bose,
   1 Upper Wood Street,
   Calcutta 16.

9. Nirmal Kumar Bose,
   37 Bosepara Lane,
   Baghbazar,
   Calcutta 3.

10. Mira Behn,
    Asram, Pashulok,
    Rishikesh,
    U.P.

11. J. K. Biswas,
    32 Lansdowne Terrace,
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12. Nargis Captain,
    3 Bombay Road,
    Garden Reach, Poona 5.

13. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty,
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    Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

14. K. K. Chandy,
    Christavasram, Manganam
    P.O. Puthupally,
    Kottayam, Travancore.

15. Ranjit Chetsingh,
Baring Union Christian
College, Batala, East Punjab.

16. Gopabandhu Choudhury,
P.O. Bari-Cuttack,
Anjul,
Orissa.

17. Malati Choudhury,
Buji Rant Chatrabus,
Angul, Orissa.

18. Mary Cumber,
1 Ballygunge Circular
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19. Satish Das Gupta,
Khadi Pratisthan,
Sodepur, 24-Parganas,
West Bengal.

20. Sankarrao Deo,
7 Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

21. Dada Dharmadhikari,
Dhantoli, Nagpur,
M.P.

22. R. S. Dhotre,
Bajajwadi,
Wardha,
M.P.

23. Swami Gangeshananda,
Ramkrishna Mission Asram,
Ibbetson Road,
New Delhi.

24. S. K. George,
G. S. College,
Wardha, M.P.

25. Sudhir Ghosh,
24 Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi.

26. Donald Groom,
Friends Rural Centre,
Rasulia,
Hoshangabad, M.P.

27. Muhammad Habib,
Muslim University,
Aligarh, U.P.

28. Dr. W. M. Hume,
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29. Dr. Zakir Hussein,
Muslim University,
Aligarh,
U.P.

30. V. Bhashyam Iyanger,
'Vardhini', Kilpauk,
Madras.

31. Chotelal Jain,
11/A Syed Sally Lane,
Calcutta 7.

32. Dr. S. Jesudason,
Christukula Asram,
Tirupattur, North Arcot
District, S. India.

33. Dr. J. P. Joshua,
Madras Christian College,
Tambaram,
Madras.

34. Kaka Kalelkar,
Kakawadi,
Wardha, M.P.

35. Bhedant Anand Kausalyan,
Rastrabhasa Prachar
Samity, Wardha, M.P.

36. Bhagirath Kanoria,
8 Royal Exchange Place,
Calcutta 1.

37. Amrit Kaur,
2 Willingdon Crescent,
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38. Abdus Samad Khan,
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Baluchistan,
West Pakistan.

39. Sucheta Kripalani,
6 Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

40. Dr. J. C. Kumarappa,
Maganwadi,
Wardha,
M.P.

41. Gurdial Mallik
c/o M. C. Setalvad,
'Nirant', Juhu,
Bombay 23.

42. Suresh Chandra Majumdar,
1 Burman Street,
Calcutta 7.

43. Rustom Masani,
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44. K. G. Mashruwala,
Bajajwadi,
Wardha, M.P.

45. Sosa Mathew,
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Road, Lucknow.

46. J. K. Mehta,
61/62 Tagore Road,
Santa Cruz, Bombay.

47. Nausherali,
66/1/A, Baitakhana Road,
Calcutta 9.

48. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta,
Bonus Road,
Karachi,
West Pakistan.

49. Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta,
Vidyabhaban, Udaipur,
Rajputana.

50. Saudamini Mehta,
c/o G. L. Mehta,
Planning Commission,
Govt. House, New Delhi.

51. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee,
2 Dehi Serampore Road,
Entally,
Calcutta 14.

52. Arthur Moore,
Cecil Hotel,
Delhi.

53. Dr. Kalidas Nag,
P/26 Raja Basanta Ray Road,
Calcutta 29.

54. Bejoy Singh Nahar,
48 Indian Mirror Street,
Calcutta 13.

55. Dr. Sushila Nayar,
Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road,
New Delhi.

56. Swami Nityaswarupananda,
R. K. Mission
Institute of Culture,
111 Russa Road,
Calcutta 26.

57. Gladys Owen,
Nur Manzil,
Lal Bagh,
Lucknow.

58. Vallabswami,
Nalwadi,
Wardha, M.P.

59. A. A. Paul,
International Fellowship,
Thothummukhom,
P.O. Alwaye, S. India.

60. C. C. Paul,
44 Oxford Street,
Secunderabad
(Deccan).

61. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Government House,
New Delhi.

62. Pyarelal,
Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi.

63. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan,
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64. Abdur Rahman,
Jagannath College,
Dacca, East Pakistan.

65. Dr. S. P. Raju,
'Hill View',
Red Hills, Hyderabad
(Deccan).

66. G. Ramchandran,
A.I.V.I.A.,
Maganwadi,
Wardha,
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67. S. C. Rampuria,
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68. Dr. Daniel Ratnam,
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69. Renuka Ray,
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70. Sujata Ray,
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P.O. Thakurpukur,
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71. T. R. Venkataram Sastri,
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72. Swarn Sarin,
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73. K. Sayidain,
Ministry of Education,
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74. Priya Ranjan Sen,
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75. Teja Singh,
Mahindra College,
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East Punjab.

76. S. H. Suhrawardy,
Public Service Commission,
Karachi, West Pakistan.

77. Rev. V. H. Sword,
Gauhati,
Assam.

78. Hafiz Syed,
13/G Chatham Lines,
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79. Marjorie Sykes,
16 Brandsons Gardens,
Kilpauk,
Madras.

80. Rathindranath Tagore,
Santiniketan,
West Bengal.

81. Raihana Tyabji,
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82. D. Velayudhan,
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83. Sophia Wadia,
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