

INDEPENDENT INDIA AND A NEW WORLD ORDER

by Y. G. KRISHNAMURTI

●
Introduction by
K. M. MUNSHI

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Foreword by
Prof. S. SRIKANTHASASTRI

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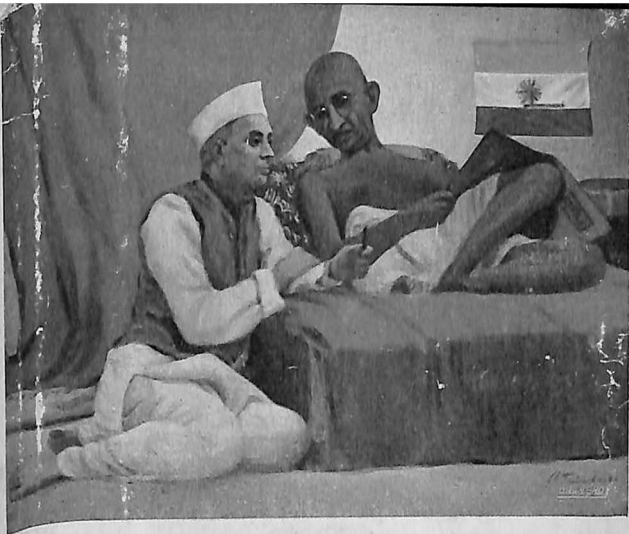
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ANDHI ERA IN WORLD POLITICS



Gandhi Era
in
WORLD POLITICS

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G. Krishnamurti

FOREWORD BY

S. Radhakrishnan

THE POI

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"In the progress of societies, three stages are marked. The first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have violence and selfishness, the second where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with courts, police and prisons, and the third where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The last is the goal of civilised humanity and it can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have renounced reliance not only on power but on other benefits the State can confer or withdraw from them, who have literally left home and sacrificed personal ambition, who die daily that the world may live in peace. Such a one is Gandhi. His claims for leadership are established, not because of physical violence or subtle propaganda but because of his moral power and spiritual vision. Blindness of intelligence and paralysis of will have now overtaken our tragic race and unless they are replaced by true sight and brave will, there does not seem to be much hope for us. Here again Gandhi points the way to a better world."

(*Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his Foreword*)

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GANDHI ERA IN WORLD POLITICS

(with two Portraits in Oils by Miss Angela Trindade)

BY

Y. G. Krishnamurti

FOREWORD BY

Sir S. Radhakrishnan

1943

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Dedicated to
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
Patriots and Scholars,
Who know more about Gandhism
Than I do

FOREWORD

“WITHOUT vision the people perish”. There are many plans about the future of the world. They deal with political and economic reconstruction. But these may be harnessed to right ends or wrong ends. The controlling motive should be the spiritual vision under which the politicians and economists find their places and take up their vocations. What matters most is the vision. A new world order is our supreme need. Society demands it. History points to it. And the present crisis permits of no other solution if our civilisation is to improve and not to remain crude and bestial as it is.

In the progress of societies, three stages are marked. The first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have violence and selfishness, the second where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with

courts, police and prisons, and the third where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The last is the goal of civilised humanity and it can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have renounced reliance not only on power but on other benefits the State can confer or withdraw from them, who have literally left home and sacrificed personal ambition, who die daily that the world may live in peace. Such a one is Gandhi. His claims for leadership are established, not because of physical violence or subtle propaganda but because of his moral power and spiritual vision. Blindness of intelligence and paralysis of will have now overtaken our tragic race and unless they are replaced by true sight and brave will, there does not seem to be much hope for us. Here again Gandhi points the way to a better world.

Benares,
Nov. 10, 1943.

Radhakrishnan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GANDHI'S political thought is beautiful and true because it is self-coherent and has a correspondence to life. Nationalism side-tracks the politician into narrowness and emotional dishonesty. As a politician Gandhi is more of his time than of his nation. His dominant ideas are neither angry over politics nor disillusioned over old age but they breathe a leaping vitality.

Spiritual essence is not the cause of his politics but it is among its conditions. The sense of values governing the created life is not utilitarian but mystical. Gandhi is a mystic, who has the spiritual vision, that is, unity and the spiritual will, that is, sacrifice. He alone can transcend the world of distinctions and reduce doctrines into a vision and not into a ritual. His politics may be a bridge into the unknown but it is a bridge

essentially spanned in terms of the known. If I have succeeded in presenting Gandhi's ideas with absolute fairness it is mainly due to the guidance of Professor S. Srikantha Sastri, the eminent historian.

I consider myself very fortunate in securing for this monograph a prophetic Foreword from Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who has earned a niche in history. Let me express my thanks and my gratitude to him. I hope that the fact that the Foreword has come from such an authoritative source indicates that this study with all its defects has a point of view which is felt to be valuable.

I offer my thanks to Mr. Ratansey Jetha for his far-sighted and eager interest in my work. Acknowledgements for assistance are due from me to Mr. R. K. Prabhu, who lent me out of his own excellent library some unique statements of Gandhi, which I might otherwise have a difficulty in procuring. I must express my gratitude for the valued help I have received from my friends Mr. N. G. Jog, Mr. K. A. Abbas, Mr. C. K. Joshi and Mr. K. S. Ramachandra. I also owe the most cordial thanks to Miss

Angela Trindade, the gifted painter, for the two oil-colour portraits which are reproduced here for the first time. My grateful thanks are due to Messrs. Sport & General and Mr. V. N. Kak for the photographs included in this brochure.

It is only right to say, that it is in the New Jack Press and in contact with Mr. D. K. Parker and Mr. C. N. Paramesvaran that I have learned to appreciate good printing. Authors looking forward for a better future cannot choose a wiser or a cooler guide than Mr. G. R. Bhatkal.

Y. G. Krishnamurti

PREFACE

GANDHI is a political seer with a sense of history. His World-View is not clouded by partyisms or sectarian doxies and it is abusive to attach national or party labels to him. He has sought not the triumph of a party but the regeneration of peoples.

Gandhi is a moral teacher for those who love mankind rather than a race. The Gandhi Era will represent the springtide of ethics in world politics. His tools are sharpened on the grindstone of an absolute ethic. The epic greatness of his soul which sees the God-Vision and Cosmic Consciousness has made him realise that the isolated systems are parts of a larger historical plan.

The race prejudice and imperialist attitude displayed by men who control the political destiny of the world have destroyed all

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grounds of certitude. We cannot any longer contemplate this negative approach with equanimity. The booming of war guns cannot feed the spirit of man. In this tragic hour the hope that sustains us is that the sufferings and aspirations of seers like Gandhi are not irrevocably doomed.

The future will be unstable and fugitive if the ethical solution is denied. Thought alone cannot solve the post-war problems. It should be aided by an intuitive grasp of reality. To aspire for world peace is not to become a deluded mortal.

In a world torn by hates and violence Gandhi holds up a vision of life. Total wars and civil strifes will vanish like pitiful mirage before the intensity and splendour of absolute oneness. Gandhi, the social idealist, has taught us to love truth, cultivate tolerance and realise the purpose of life.

Gandhism is no mystical indifference to reality. The confusion of the Ideal and the Actual is no doubt the bane of all political thinkers. The pragmatism of the Gandhian mind knows the indwelling idea of man, the

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state and the universe, immanent in history and evolving itself out in Time.

In this brochure I have made an attempt to show that Gandhi Era does not usher in the Commonwealth of God but a society of seekers after Him.

To deny the claim for statehood to a nation means an abridgement of its personality. The suppression of the yearning to be free poisons the well-head of creativeness and exhilaration of the people. But a world of competing nation-states will have the law of the jungle. It is possible to reconcile nationalism with civilization if distinct limits are set on the doctrine of self-determination. Armaments, tariffs, embargoes, strategic frontiers and immigration laws are the technique by which a nation-state fortifies itself. Unless the nation-state becomes "a province in the *civitas maxima* of the world" there exists a live threat to the continuance of civilized living. A world-community will become one of the most hopeful portents of our time if its title depends on the ethical adequacy which pervades the exercise of its

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power and if the sovereignty of the nation-state is abrogated.

Democratic diplomacy and not the chicane of pretentious phrase-makers can create definitive peace. If the peacemakers sit down to play jigsaw puzzles with the map of the world then they will fail to recruit the peace forces. Wilson tried to build a new world better than he knew. He was not a forceful dreamer but a neutral type of personality. Clemenceau persuaded himself to cut the flames of German revolution with a knife. Orlando planned to draw the Adriatic in a net. The other delegates made virtue of necessity. The four hundred pages of the Treaty of Versailles breathe the passions and pettinesses of statesmen who had no confidence in the validity of their dreams.

The destiny of a people is remade by the mystic who goes to a wilderness or rots in a cell. He alone can teach them that the empire of conquests lies not in continents but in the soul. By achieving a new synthesis of creeds and cults, of cosmologies and sciences he can alter the posture of affairs. The present may be bleak, the goal may be

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remote and the stones of the new structure may lie unquarried; still under the mystic's direction we may march with swift assured steps to the Promised Land.

Gandhi, who has made his vision determinate, has his political enemies. They see in his ethical ideals a subversive influence. Such critics no longer count in the controversy, for Gandhi has been universally acknowledged as a 'healer' like Buddha and Christ, and his politics is part of our culture. To dethrone him from our affections means to betray muddled thought and vulgar sensibility. The irrelevance of the mare's-nest of his pro-Axis sympathies contained in their accusations sounds comical today.

The passion of Gandhi's mind is universal. That passion, the force that has urged him into abundant action, is almost single in its aim. It is an irrepressible love of truth. In proportion to man's reverence for truth he would be sincere, just and tolerant. Therefore, the final quality of Gandhi's mind is truthfulness. This enduring value is not avowed in the dry air of asceticism but is

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awaiting a humane world for its due recognition.

Gandhi is the supreme expression of the politics of sacrifice. It demands the renunciation of sovereignty, ironing out of inequalities, pooling and sharing of raw materials and guaranteeing institutions of freedom. It is an attempt to discard snug securities and practise brotherhood in labour.

The most admirable paper scheme or political machinery is useless if the inner life of the individual remains unchanged. But political mechanism can affect the richness and quality of individual life. The zeal for full and purposive living should not lead to a hatred of the machinery. It is also vital to remember that machinery can never grind out perfection of living.

Biologists tell us that it took over thousand million years for primeval life to generate man and that man has equal span of life before him for further evolution. The contemporary man in spite of being heir to so much biological history finds life "nasty, brutish, short". But the new history will be

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a history of hope and life will be worth living. This is possible if men can achieve a satisfying purpose in existence.

The dilemma of our time is created by the clash between survival values and higher purpose. This has assumed the form of a conflict between totalitarian efficiency and a democratic solution. The emotions of men have become sour because the institutions have failed to enlist the souls of men employed in them. This difficulty can be overcome by devising some kind of spiritual strategy. Totalitarianism and efficiency are said to be Siamese twins, so that attack upon one imperils the life of the other.

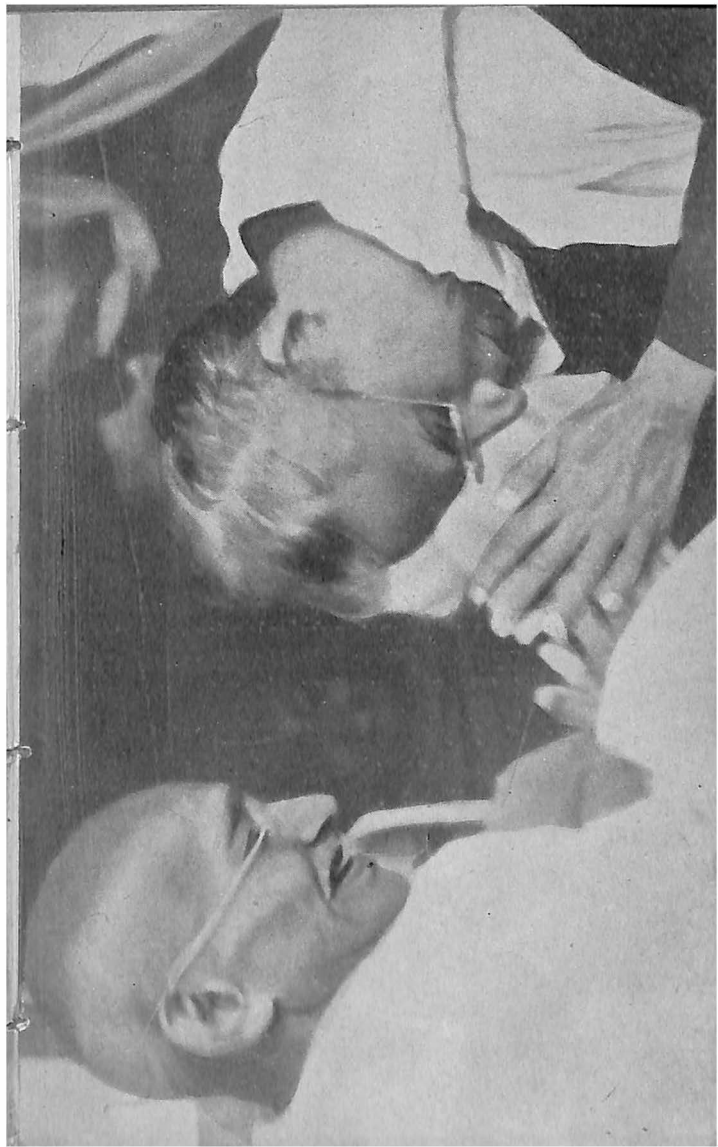
The mechanical mass culture obtained in a mass society destroys the freedom of the personality and impoverishes the spiritual values. A devitalized intellectualism is not culture but its pale abstraction. It is argued that a planned culture is the necessary complement to a planned economy. But there is an element in culture which transcends planning. Therefore in any planned democratic order the primacy of the spirit must be

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assured. Otherwise, beneath its mechanical structure there will be a spiritual vacuum. Against the recurring creeds of soul-destroying mechanism Gandhism has always maintained man's spiritual destiny.

Seen in this perspective, spiritual awareness is not only the basis of the New Order but it will complete and crown its edifice. And the complement of spirituality is tolerance and understanding. There are constellations in history in which certain possibilities have their chance. This passing chance should be seized to make the tomorrow by peaceful means. As the problem assails reason we must supplement principles with faith. And the only faith that is both concrete and convincing is an ethical-political arrangement.

Gandhi has felt the imperious necessity to bring about a change in man and the world of his knowing. If he fails in his mission mankind will fail with him. In his scheme of life all the human potentialities have a place and none are distorted. He never denies or lulls life by narcotic phrases. It is



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said that to seek and not to think is the essence of philosophy. And Gandhi is seeking a bright hope for mankind.

There is an intimate relation between his utterance and his living soul. He is alive to the truth that the energies of the human soul flow into each other and support and control each other. Therefore the quest for peace is the quest of the undivided soul. The Mahatma is entitled to speak for the humanity of the future because he has found the secrets of his soul and wants to communicate them to others.

Because he has cauterized half-truths and low passions in his soul the incommunicable pain of others is communicated to him. The scene of torn flesh and stench of wounds torments him. War is possible because "a human being suffers always in his flesh alone". Without a discovery of this deep sense of community understanding is only a phrase. That is why, Gandhi is spending his final strength to create a new hope, a new man and a new society.

Gandhi has tested each one of his faculties

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in isolation to its limit. By perpetually reevaluating his experience he has acquired deep humility which that knowledge alone can bring. He has discovered that each separate activity is a means to an end beyond itself. Thus by the process of withdrawal and return he has helped the mass to utterance. His own voice has become the voice of humanity. It weaves spells on us and troubles our depths because it bears on it the charm of a secret revealed. His utterance lifts us above the sphere of anger and despair as it throbs a haunting serenity.

The rushing, mighty events have proved the inadequacy of the faiths and institutions on which western civilization is grounded. In the whirlwind about the western man his proud claim that he is a civilized being drops to a childish whisper. It is the privilege of the mystic to see the chasm that separates proved illusion from the proving fact.

The winds of a new doctrine are blowing from the east. They are the finer breath and spirit of all politics. Statesmen by trimming

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their sails to them can give meaning to their politics. Political power joined with ethical power, is the hope of the human race. Gandhi has made a supreme effort to enact that union, without ceasing to be realistic. Then we may not stand aghast before the horror of man's nullity.

The philosophy of Gandhi may or may not be better than those of the older schools, but it is better for us, because it interprets, in a living language, a living world, and from that vantage point looks into the dark abyss of the uncreated with a steady and confident gaze. My belief is in Gandhism.

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IN WORLD POLITICS

THE subordination of morals to politics has given rise to a new technique of Government by force and fraud which has poisoned the springs of freedom at its source. The dictators who do evil coldly, by principle, have evoked the inner dynamic of the masses—self-sacrifice, heroism and devotion and canalised it in the assertion of their will-to-power. The pluto-democrats have also spread this new evil by imitation and thus paralysed their peoples' will-to-freedom.

It is despairing to see that evil is a progressive force. The leaders of the nineteenth century thought that they had banished for ever torture and slavery. But they have only returned back in a new form—prescrip-

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tion and persecution. The modern development of economic power led to the strangulation of the weaker races. The tacit connivance of science with uncontrolled individualistic activity in industry has driven these satisfied powers to slip blindly towards the abyss.

This moral nihilism was revealed with appalling vividness when the law of reason was substituted by the iron law of power. This meant the ruin of the hopes of civilized living. Therefore, this "phoney war" is a spiritual catastrophe. As Dr. Dawson rightly points out, the civilization which is now threatened by total subversion is a Christian civilization, built on the spiritual values and religious ideals of St. Augustine.

The problem is how to reconcile the principles of moral freedom and social justice with the needs of mass organisation and mechanized power. The challenge of the totalitarian system lies in the fact that it aims at the maximum of political and economic integration. The democracies can defeat the totalitarianisms not by themselves becoming totalitarian overnight!

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The crucial issues of life will have a new meaning only when they are redefined. This revaluation is possible when each issue becomes a part of the new world view. The emotionalization of the new issues demands a regenerated moral leadership. The Church has long ceased to be a basic ferment in social life.

Social conflicts are the symptoms of a discrepancy between the established attitudes and the changing environment. To resolve these conflicts a spiritualization of the environment and a reinterpretation of the ancient attitudes are necessary. The utility of the method must be made plain before its application. Sociological awareness of the historical variations of these virtues will liberate creative intuition, which will develop a true response to a changing world.

In a monopoly-capitalist society the moral standards are vitiated. In a state where strict regimentation and orthodox control prevails the religious impulse is crushed. The moral crisis has revealed the truth that man cannot live on Hollywood and ice-cream alone. The foundations of a society are root-

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ed in deeper layers of the soul. Therefore to plan a new and stable society means that the spontaneity of life must be restored.

The great antithesis to authoritarianism is Gandhism. It has the courage to associate religious experience with political thought. It is precise about the social implications of human activities. Its emphasis on the freedom of the individual, primary virtues, experiment and growth helps to formulate a new pattern of conduct. Gandhism is moral activism. It is world affirmation and not other-worldliness. Thus it tends to keep alive the question of conscience in a democratically planned society.

Gandhi is a moralist before he is a politician. His religious beliefs and political notions go together. His own moralism is a transcript from the philosophy of the Upanishads. First and last is man's conscience, the unspoken but strong voice of God. First and last men are individuals. The state is an instrument for the redemption of man.

It is futile to search the pages of Gandhi's political writings for a blessing upon the

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absolute state, lacking moral foundations and blighted with efficiency. To Gandhi contemporary history is not a thrilling news-reel but an epic of ideas. He can catch the very trend of history before it has become history. He judges all things, actions and events, in relation to the fixed laws which govern their existence and limit their possibility. In other words, he is a political seer, who knows the innate moral principles of men and societies of men.

The uniqueness of Gandhi's political thought is its unity. It is a false dichotomy which would divide his ethics from his politics, or his way of life from either. The unity of Gandhi's political thought is both horizontal and vertical. It is a unity in time: from his long forgotten writings in South Africa to his best known speech on August Eighth. It is also a unity in substance: religion, politics and sociology interpenetrate each other. He has made his mistakes, as a creative mind would, in the process of actualizing his ideas. His mind never changes but his thoughts get refined. The truth to him is a vision, not a synthesis of ideas.

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When he is a politician he is a pluralist and therefore a democrat. He is incapable of holding political views which do not spring from his religion. He keeps alive the core of individualism when he emphasises the eternal value of each individual. He upholds the principle of unity by subordinating the individual motive to social purposes. As the abiding unity of his thought is embedded in his soul he has not made an elaborate statement of his political philosophy. It is a false and negative philosophy which has now drenched continents in blood. Gandhi has given mankind the political truth and the political technique that could save men and for which mankind is athirst.

II.

THE ideas of Nehru are far from being in opposition to Gandhi's and they are an expression of those principles from the sphere of ethics to economics. The improvements in the field of social techniques have enabled a minority to rule the mass society. This enormous concentration of power in the hands of the few has led to the enslavement of the masses and the superimposition of creeds on them. To wage wars, fight depression and control inflation even the democratic countries have adopted measures similar to those which came into force in fascist states through revolution.

Nehru believes in the co-ordination of the means of social techniques. He maintains that it is possible to fit a sphere of free creative initiative into a planned institutional framework. He is also aware of the goose-step co-ordination of the Nazis and the pur-

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poseful co-ordination of the democrats. Then planning for freedom should replace planning for conformity.

The transition from a minority democracy to a mass democracy must also be planned. A pre-condition for the smooth functioning of the democratic system is that it should enshrine the principle of social justice. Through taxation, control of investment and public utilities and building up social services the desired transformation in the social order can be effected.

The age of liberalism with its firm faith in the self-equilibrating forces of economic life led to bitter disillusionment. The hour of crisis has revealed that the needs of the community should over-ride the privileges of the individual.

In the social environment of the world there is a sharp conflict between three opposed philosophies of life. One system of values lays its emphasis on freedom and personality. The second philosophy stands for basic security and a planned society. The third creed advocates power and blind obe-

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dience. The democrats forget that discipline is the pre-condition of freedom. The socialists ignore the truth that a transition is possible from the unplanned capitalist society to a democratically planned society. The fascists are blind to the lesson of history that the will-to-power might ultimately become the will-to-self-destruction.

The present crisis in valuation is brought about by a displacement of the social forces on which it depended. Those who are society-blind cannot visualise these changed social factors. To Nehru the struggles in history are due to the clash between ideologies and valuations. The deeper cause for the present discord is to be sought in the antagonisms inherent in the capitalist system. In truth, the vested interests are the executioners of democracy.

Values are set up by society to guide and regulate human conduct. If the structure of society is static then these values will be real and effective for a long time. Revaluations, as stated before, must necessarily follow the changed structure of society.

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Human values like truth, non-violence and tolerance are primary virtues. The application of these virtues to the conditions of a great society necessitates a redefinition of our value system.

It is a just complaint that our society has not yet assimilated the machine. Man instead of controlling the machine has become a part of the mechanical process. Valuations connected with the labour process, man-hours, a stable living standard and the machine-made leisure will witness a radical change in the future.

The creation of the machine and its projection as an instrument outside the personal will means a complete denial of the organic and the living. The non-use of mechanical means implies a throw-back to lower levels of thought and emotion which will finally lead to the destruction of the machine and the higher types of life. The problem is how to rebuild the personality and the collective group and also transform the nature and function of our mechanical environment. The technique of the mechanical civilization

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should be reoriented with a new culture-pattern. It is futile to seek a solution within the field of techniques to the myriad problems raised by techniques. The basic scientific concepts are also changing as machine-production is being replaced by power-production.

Therefore the present world chaos is the direct outcome of unreconciled valuations. The reluctance on the part of the democracies to formulate a set of common aims led to drifting and paved the way for the rise of fascism. If regimented culture destroys the essence and power of freedom it is equally true that a democratic system without a focus destroys itself and freedom. While rejecting both the conceptions of fascist regimentation and democratic non-interference we should adopt planning for freedom.

As Dr. Karl Mannheim observes, the spontaneous social controls must be freed from the deadening effects of the mass society. This implies the forging of a new technique which promotes democratic self-regulation on a higher plane of awareness.

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The system of controls established by the United Nations under the stress of war clearly shows that in a democracy agreement on values is possible. Consensus is common values and shared obligations. To prepare the ground for consensus on the cosmic plane means to prepare the ground for civilized and peaceful living. It means the removal of environmental obstacles in the social field and the ushering in of social justice. It ultimately means the resolution of individual and group conflicts. Only new kinds of institutions can transform collective mal-adjustments into group adjustments.

Biology has emphasised the primacy of appetites. Economics regards wants as the motor of human action. The psychiatrists tirelessly argue that desire is dictated by belief. Gandhi has not neglected the importance of emotions as the determinant of conduct. He is also aware that the one valid alternative to the power of ideas is the rule of habit.

It is proved that the power of propaganda is more effective in shaping ends than that of science. The desires are not innate and

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fixed but are the product of a certain culture. The decisive factor is whether the arts of war or of peace would in the future control culture.

The theologians and their philosophical allies hold that science has no intrinsic moral potentiality. The scientists deny the very existence of moral facts. It is wrong to permit science to destroy traditional values. But it is sheer thoughtlessness to distrust the power of science to create new values.

Gandhi is a humanist and the heart of his faith is expressed in his words:

“The economics that disregard moral and sentimental considerations are like wax-works that being life-like still lack the life of the living flesh. At every crucial moment these new-fangled economic laws have broken down in practice. And nations and individuals who accept them as guiding maxims must perish”.

Gandhi knows the variety but incompleteness of life. In the course of its upward move human life generates new ways of living. In

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this new way new heights of value are reached. The shifting of emphasis by Christ from fear to love led man to new levels of religious value. Julian Huxley says that one of the functions of humanity in its evolutionary experiment is the creating of new experiences of value, in any and every realm, from character to pure intellect, from religion to art.

The moral values can be realised only in a framework of universals and ideals. As Gandhi calls his life an experiment, the institutions must be naturally brought into accord with new discoveries and new truths. It is sheer perversion to hold that the Gandhian experiment bars the way to fresh achievements.

Gandhi's new humanism aspires to study the nature and functions of man in the light of new knowledge. It is a combination of altruism and tolerance and is opposed to individualism and indifferentism. It may lack the certitude of a dogma but it has a certitude of aim. By preaching the deliberate subordination of self to something greater it directs man along the upward evolutionary path.

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Humanism creates a scheme of life wherein the myriad values are balanced. Then the soul must be purged and nourished. Julian Huxley rightly points out "If there is one thing which is obvious, it surely is that economic aims are not a final end in themselves."

The humanist Gandhi knows that self-sacrifice and self-assertion are biological necessities and that without pain there is no surmounting of evil. He observes "It is a painful climb but the pain of it is a positive pleasure to me". Man through his new powers of mind, by devoting a small fraction of his energy to the biological needs of individual survival can prevent the subtler values from languishing. The one real task before humanism is to develop organisations which shall satisfy the need for collective action and shall provide an outlet for self-sacrifice and intellectual aspirations. It is only Gandhi that has attempted in his own way to evolve schemes to realise these values in their full implications and relative dosage.

III.

THE normal swing rhythm of "the grandfather clock of democracy" was disturbed by the appearance of two avowedly dynamic movements, Communism and Fascism. The disrupting effect of this new polar attraction became acute in France in 1934, stalked its head in America in 1935 and became perceptible in England in 1940. The fascist tendency in France, the bias toward collectivism in America and the revolt against the approved pattern of democracy in England were characteristic of the irregular pulsations of these democratic organisms.

The present war is a crisis in human affairs expanding both in time and in scope far beyond political events. It is total in the sense that there is nothing local or episodic in it. All the familiar political concepts are now invalid. The economic laws have become obsolete. The values on which western

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democracies lived, or forgot to live, are eroded.

On the world stage three forces—nationalism, collectivism and pacifism—are motivating the actions of individuals and nations. Self-interest, security and love are the three instincts released by these forces. They are combining to create peace and are opposed to all war.

The vacuum left by the failure of organised religions, the unmorality of the physical sciences and the barrenness of metaphysical speculations was filled in by crude nationalism. Allegiance to the national flag and not allegiance to moral values was made compulsory. Freak movements like Christian Science, Oxford Group and Bahaiism with their distorted emphasis on the destiny of the human race became nearly unbearable. According to these worshippers of progress nations set on the path of tragedy and disaster symbolised the preordained unfolding of their destiny. Totems and taboos, myths and the law of chance are as old as man himself.

Nationalism is a unifying force. A weaken-

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ing of the national sense entails a weakening of the cohesive influence. While the rational aspects of nationalism are genuine, the irrational aspects of nationalism are spurious. The myth of nationalism which exalts the geographical accident of birth over the communion of the spirit between the peoples is a sacred falsehood. Upheavals of 1830, 1848, 1917 and 1939 are mile-stones in the road of inflamed nationalism.

In the nineteenth century the class-struggles centred round the fundamental opposition of nationalism. Lenin was anti-nationalistic or international. But Stalin turned as nationalistic as Hitler and renounced the world mission of socialism to appease the sentiment of Big Business.

French nationalism is spatial and it only aspires to stabilise the frontiers of the country. This attitude is reflected in the remark of the average Frenchman "Democracy go hang! What matters is France". The new slogan of the Petain regime "Work, Family, Fatherland" is negative in its essence. It is symptomatic of the moral decadence of

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France and it is an attempt to turn despair toward moral aspirations.

To the British islander empire is not a mere political abstraction but a means of survival. Therefore the British nationalism is indissolubly linked up with the concept of empire.

Pearl Harbour falsified the comforting gospel of American isolationism. The fascist-nazi revolution has rocked the foundations of American political nationalism. The test of American nationalism will ultimately lie in the belief of the large sections of its populations in its political institutions.

Germany, the racial state, under the Fuehrer's spell, has restored the most regressive myths. Racial nationalism believes that violence is the **ultima ratio** of human endeavour. It is fed by the forces of primitivism.

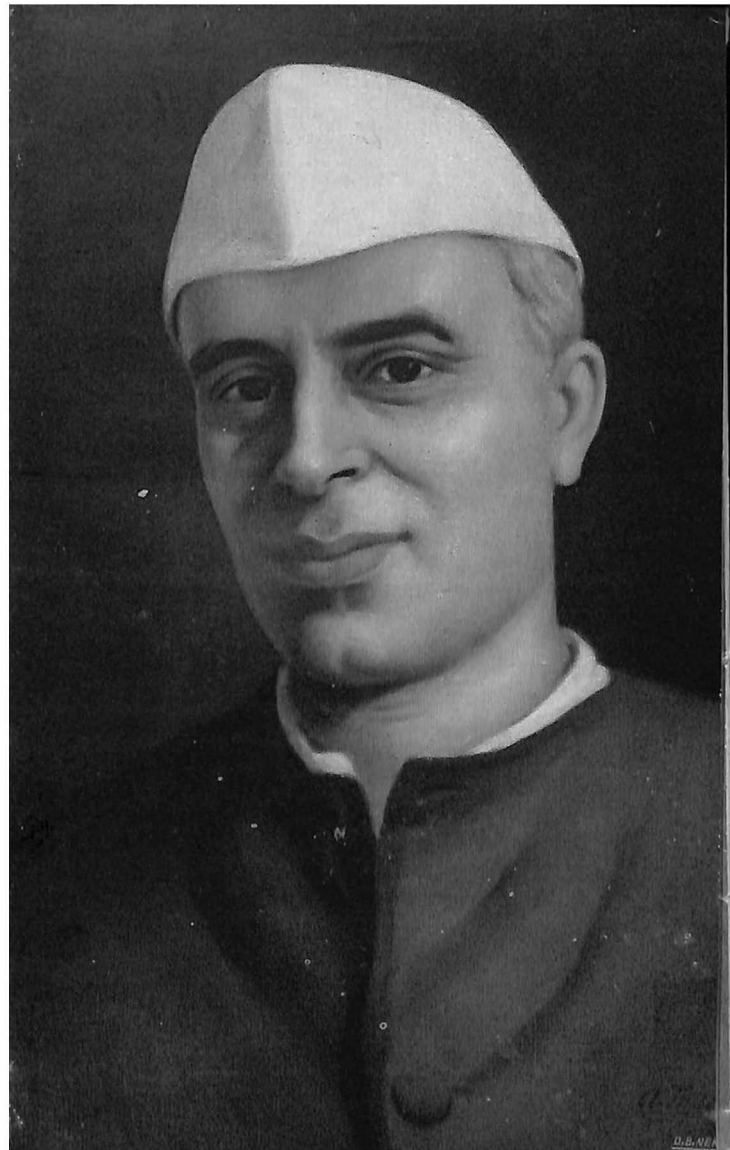
Nationalism is not a constructive force on the side of peace. So long as it is accepted as a transcendental absolute no transfiguration of a stable world order is possible.

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Collectivism means total economic mobilisation directed by a monolithic state. In such a system the state is a giant power plant and production is determined not by the profit-motive or return on capital investment but by the possibilities of technology, the capacity of plants and the conscription of labour. It eliminates all notions of "rugged individualism" and the "economic man".

Hitler starting from scratch has built up in seven years a very stable collectivist society. He has eliminated class-struggle, liquidated unemployment and guaranteed minimum security. But the efficiency of the German war collectivism is attained by enslaving men to the machines. The German economic system is built on the conception of work. It is mobilization order, to all citizens who can handle tools, without any time limit. However, it must be admitted that the democracies lag far behind the unitary economic dispensation of the Reich.

Capitalist democracy in its attempt to preserve free enterprise has perpetuated inequalities that flow from it. The socialist state while repudiating capitalism has assured "a



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more abundant life" for all. Both capitalism and socialism are the product of the machine. The machine has already shaken the faith in capitalism as a system. The fate of capitalism is tied to the evolution of circumstances which points to its modification or overthrow.

The American appeasement theory is that to fight dictators abroad they should not instal a dictator at home. Secondly, America should not help England to make the world safe for socialism. Thirdly, to integrate labour in the new order of business fascism is not a displeasing prospect. Finally, the leaders of Big Business are opposed to the subordination of economic imperatives to political principles. If the voice of the appeasers prevails in American politics then the world will be dominated by American feudalism.

The social gains resulting from the New Deal have created a real psychosis in the minds of the alarmed reactionaries. Any extension of the democratic process or the collectivist trend means insecurity for them. The fact that the United States is now voting a budget of 59 billion dollars shows that the

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economic will of the nation cannot be bent by those vested interests who fear that they would be divested.

Socialism is but an extension of the democratic process. It is true that "the living Buddha of internationalism" has acted as a Russian. Socialism as an international movement is buried without the benefit of the clergy. This has only revived and resuscitated the case for international pacifism.

Absolute pacifism spells peace. It is the surest guarantee of peace because it is based on the natural goodness of the individual and the group. Man is not by nature bellicose. But he can be roused to irrational fury. Whoever attempts to reconcile selfishness, hatred and force with humanity, oneness and love is only finding a way to reconcile Christ with Anti-Christ.

Luther proclaimed that suffering and the cross was the Christian law. Professor Cobbon says "European civilisation is by courtesy Christian". Dean Inge observes "Europe is becoming a co-operative suicide club". It is true that a state surrounded on all sides by predatory neighbours cannot bury

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its tools of violence. Pacifism does not mean acquiescence in wanton and rapacious attacks. For, the law of love is not the same as the law of non-resistance.

The plea that rational politics is dull and that a pacifically ruled state is a boredom betrays a perversity of human nature. The war-mongers cry that their nation is in peril and that it can be saved by taking the national life of its foe.

Professor Cobbon contends "might not even India find it difficult to cling to non-violence if, the British removed, new conquerors were to step in?" If ethical or political concepts were used with any exactness pacifism should not be labelled non-resistance. Nor should it be assumed that pacifism is necessarily weakness. If the word means what it says, pacifism means the code of death rather than surrender. It signifies unyielding resistance to evil and all the manifestations of evil. Even a small minority with the will to act can successfully operate this technique.

In Europe the pacific sentiment was stilled

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in a wild uprush of militarist hysteria. The decay of international hopes was due to the policy of appeasement and not, as suggested by some, due to pacifism.

According to Professor E. H. Carr to believe in the existence of a world interest is a utopian assumption. For, there is a fundamental divergence of interest between nations desiring to maintain their **status quo** and nations desirous of changing it. If we accept the coercive authority of the state as the supreme end of all existence then Professor Carr's argument remains unanswerable. Civilised living is possible only when the dominion of the state over all other human ends is rejected. Therefore, the state should confine itself to the realm of means and not of ends.

Today the public conscience has become a potent ally of fevered nationalism. Even the orgy of lies uttered by the dictators is wrapped in the tatters of moral principles. To establish international morality the state, a power organisation, must identify its own interests with those of humanity.

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If war is inevitable then at least it should be in the optimum conditions. Mere destruction of the balance of power will not remove the deeper causes of war. We all crave for peace, and peace will be ours if we earnestly seek it. The solution to which we are apparently forced is the creation of a Co-operative World Commonwealth based on non-violence. The trend of history points to federalism. Both Gandhi and Nehru subscribe to a parliamentary state, federal in character and distributive in technique, harmonising the extremes of unity and plurality.

The source of Gandhi's political thought is moral—not narrowly political nor materially utilitarian. It is moral because it aims at the construction of a stable social order built on cohesion instead of coercion. If the democratic ideal is under an eclipse in the west it is because the democracies do not know how to coordinate individual wills on the basis of a common purpose. The meaning of democratic individualism was distorted by its intimate association with Big Business. The moving energy once linked with it vanished.

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The democratic problem is how to devise a machinery of co-operation which expresses freedom and also enhances it. It is imperative to rediscover the significance of emotions in mass society. Emotions should be co-ordinated on a new level. The totalitarian technique exploits the low moods of the masses. The democratic technique must emphasise the basic issues and fundamental values which are the product of historical life of the community.

Gandhi has successfully employed the technique of reintegration. He has captured disorganised groups and individuals and organised them on a high emotional level. If the society is composed of warring atoms the social machinery cannot be adapted to the real needs of the community. Then again the class war can be transformed into a legitimate struggle for different schemes of reform by abolishing the blatant differences in wealth and opportunity. It is necessary to refer with some particularity to Gandhi's ideas on this point. He says "I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me".

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The future Co-operative World Commonwealth should aim at harmonious relationships between the different constituents. The relation of authority and liberty and of organisation and function should be based on pluralism. The federal idea is the spirit of the pragmatic interdependence of the pluralistic universe and its theory is grounded on the association of men. The new federative theory would be the theory of equilibrium. Therefore the new world organism would be a collective personality, territorially based on supra-national units and legally bound, the units whereof, with their own individual personalities are divided into rulers and ruled. In Gierke's terminology the federal idea is the formation of "unity in plurality".

If we consider federal technique, the point of paramount importance is, the renunciation of the absolute notion of legal sovereignty. Much of the polemic involved in the federal conception can be stripped if the states are content to have only independence and not sovereignty.

The continuous exercise of the freedom of

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individuals and groups within the collectivity of the state is assured if the world federation is based on the twin pillars of socialism and active pacifism. If security is regarded as a fundamental right sectarian interests and state rivalries will disappear. If the state interests do not clog the wheels of world planning the strengthening of democracy in the sense of a fundamental equality is assured. The maximum of tacit consent for the functioning of a system can be obtained if the forces creating tension in society are removed. In such a New World Order planning and democracy would be not merely compatible but complementary.

IV

THE wave of the future is Gandhism. Democracy to survive as a way of life must find a new momentum in India. In western democracies the cherished democratic rights have vanished in the process of fighting for them. In the historical times, after every crisis, India has reasserted her original convictions. The Indian ethical ideals antedate the foundation of western civilization. Their quality of absolute truths will be preserved till the shadow of man moves on this planet.

Indian idealism believes in the natural goodness of man. The state mechanism rests on a transcendental basis. The state has a spiritual content and the phenomenon of spiritualisation or despiritualisation of state-activity is not peculiar to our own times. Ancient Indian polity gives no indications that Kingship was absolute. Personal dictatorship was considered a sign of decadence.

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The political institutions existed to translate into practical acts the conscious will of the people. The course of our ancient history is illumined by the beams of light like brotherly love, justice, reverence to truth, conquest of fear and the era of universal happiness. The state was not above ethics and bereft of ethics the notion of progress was meaningless to the individual.

The beauty, wisdom and timelessness of these ethical concepts and their optimistic faith to elevate the status of mankind by human means are deeply rooted in the philosophy of Gandhi. He has accepted the law of non-violence as rigid and as certain as the law that governs the fall of Newton's apple. The uniqueness of the Mahatma is that he has created and kept alive the faith of the people in non-violence and truth. If President Roosevelt promises two cars in every garage Gandhi promises two virtues in every heart.

The old fires of religion have burned too murkily, the light of rationalism is too cold, but in the moral code of Gandhi there is a spirit, a healing power, which can both illumine and comfort a groaning world. Nehru

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has no instinct to preach but his unself-regarding life is based on a reasoned philosophy of conduct.

Gandhi is a moral experimenter. His technique is to project his own moral order on the universal screen. He has deliberately and masterfully applied an absolute ethic to a political end with more evident purpose and larger success than any person in recorded history. It requires a high ethical ideal to shape the crude material of human living into an endeavour for consciously spiritual life. The activity of this higher power is what has given Gandhi the spiritual insight of statecraft, a greatness of complete achievement.

The thought-life of Nehru is one long earnest search for a solution to the problem of freedom. His yearning passion for freedom is not the passion of a sentimental politician. It is linked with the ambition of his intellect. It is important to insist on what Nehru has done for politics, His delight in politics is purely of an esthetic nature. It is the satisfaction of an imaginative urge.

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His philosophic contribution is that he has given us beams of illumination, flashes of insight and indications of freedom.

There is a tendency to treat liberty as "something French, foolish and frivolous" and freedom as "something English, solid and sensible". Then the concept Swaraj is "something Indian, ethical and enduring". However, any material distinction between liberty, freedom and Swaraj is unwarranted.

Freedom is a scheme of values. As human life embodies a value in itself it should not be used for purposes opposed to humanity. This is not a mere ethical imperative but is rooted in the realism of experience.

Moral equality is implicit in the doctrine of freedom. It is the manifestation of the fundamental qualities common to all human beings. The flowering of individual talents is its corner-stone. Freedom means self-government as distinguished from government superimposed by an external political authority.

Freedom is an eternal force, burning fierce in the human breast, in cells and concentra-

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tion camps, against tyranny in its foulest form. The one lesson of history is that where absolutism did not yield, bend and make concessions it was in many times and places torpedoed by the forces of revolution driven underground. The tenacious struggle between brute force and humanity has always ended in despotisms sinking into the dust. It is comforting to know that the dictators and war-lords are but passing shadows in the pageant of history.

Man will be aware of his obligation only if he is free. The sense of necessity linked with the consciousness of possessing the power to evade it may be called an obligation. The desire for more stability will lead to an arrestment of freedom. If the advancing freedom is not anchored in the culture of the people it will end in futility. Proof is decisive that culture is the consequence of political freedom. The impulse to liberty is warped in a servile state. The state set on the totalitarian road attempts to a total control of the feelings, desires, emotions and opinions of its subjects.

What is the motive of human action? If

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we bunch the human tendencies together the ruling motive would be self-interest or sympathy or love of freedom or love of power. The culture of a period determines the importance of one of these native tendencies.

Only those people who have lost their freedom will have an awareness of it. The Marxian economic freedom has destroyed the cultural freedom. Freedom becomes self-blocked against progress without a cosmic education of mankind.

Excessive spiritual burdens are as bad as authoritarian influences. As Albert Einstein says the freedom of the spirit "an infrequent gift of Nature" can be preserved only if outward and inward freedoms are constantly and consciously pursued.

Nehru's conception of freedom aspires toward a better humanity and a higher civilization. Systems based on violence are neither moral nor enduring. They lack the vital force that enhances civilized human living. Nehru has indoctrinated the masses with the religion of freedom. By keeping the concept of freedom precise and pure and by

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broadening its esthetic bases he has created a flaming resolve among the masses to shield its demand against attacks frontal or treacherous.

In Nehru the thought of freedom is at the same time an act of willing. He feels the torment, the necessity to remove the weight which cramps the blossoming of a full and free life. He holds that the achievements in a fascist system are counterfeit because they are wrought under restraint. Periods of gang-rule are vacuums in the historical process. True historian as he is, he knows that the issue in the world struggle is not whether freedom would survive or perish but whether it would have a speedier rhythm or a slower rhythm. Freedom is the law of life and therefore of history. It has come out unscathed through harsh conflicts and grim revolutions. Its course is a tragedy and not an idyll.

The dictator who delivered an unflattering obituary for liberty is now busy writing a sad epitah on his waiting tomb. Freedom is deathless and it always dashes its oppressors

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to earth. To the Anglo-Saxons freedom is a national possession and not a universal human value. When they flock together in the east they tend to become of a feather. In their relationship with the Orientals they have never shown a certain tenderness or decency towards their convictions.

A people who hold in shackles another people will develop cynical selfishness which destroys their own freedom. Says Croce "No people will be truly free till all peoples are free".

The twentieth century is for Nehru a time solidly filled with civil factions, parties split, fueled rage, imperialist wars and over-sized Satraps growling at one another's tough throats. He is haunted by a feeling that Time has slipped its grooves, inoperative, dissolved. The capitalistic institutions have taken sinister roots in the dark soil. They can have no further growth but only rot, fester and die.

It is true that the present is the seed-bed of the future. The seeds of the New Order will not grow unless the bed is disentangled



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from the sickly weeds. Therefore, without a remaking of the social relationships the future will be a limitless desert of to-morrows. Nehru expressly says that an optimism of change must supersede an optimism of acceptance.

The doctrine of Nehru is more than an atmosphere. It offers at once a programme and an ideal. The delicate balance in his nature between intellect and instinct, understanding and observation, the dream-world and the practical, is a balance of powers no one of which can be denied its reality or effectiveness. Add the conflict in him between the past and the present, the remote and the local, the free and the fettered. And once again add the genius to extend and express himself in the whole atmosphere of the world and it will be seen he deserves his homage.

To Gandhi the ethic dominates the whole, a perfect congruence of seen things with an imagined rhythm of unseen reality. Events stretch out through space in their destined forms. The imponderable atoms of the universe are for ever in rhythmic dance, com-

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binning to produce forms and the very next moment separating to dissolve them.

The reduction of all existence to the principle of rhythm is a favourite idea among some German theorists also. Life and death themselves form a dual realm (**Doppelbereich**) just as do the shadowing wooded hill and its reflection in the lake. Dr. Mannheim remarks "when the social order goes wrong psychosis spreads, the diabolic forces are no longer integrated into the cosmos".

Nehru's triumph is that he has made the individual's desire for higher values a completely efficient expression. The ethical idea becomes easily tolerable to him when it encourages the coming universal wish to live creatively. He knows that politics cannot successfully depart from the living essence of religion. Says Professor Edward Thompson "No man ever lived more ethical than Jawaharlal Nehru, though he lives without religious creed. He sums up in himself, despite his want of religious faith, the streams of thought which have been pulsing strongly in India's noblest men for a hundred years past."

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The cry "Follow Nature" has been raised of old by the cynics, stoics and the humanists. Gandhi thinks it to be "natural" to be moral. If moral sense is good taste in the art of living Nehru is a moralist. Morality is a "rational affection" towards "right". Shaftsbury defines the moral sense as "a real affection or love towards Equality and Right, for its own sake, and on the account of its own natural Beauty and Worth". Man's usual deformity is caused by the predominance of self-love over social. Then to possess the social affection is to live according to the dictates of reason.

The range and power of Nehru's personality is increased by his rebellious consciousness. It is not mere aspiration but resistance. Thus the whole of his nature is turned into a single desire and his imagination lives in its fulfilment. Thus his desire, kindles his imagination, and that again still more inflames his desire.

In Nehru the ideology is fitted to experience; while in Gandhi experience is fitted to the ideology. The first kind is the work of the politician, who judges intellectually, the

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second, of the prophet, who judges instinctively.

Gandhi's ethic is a coherent and tenable speculation. He has made his way of life relate itself closely to his ethic. He has reduced the whole sense of living to some shapeliness of significance. His ethic has effected this and therefore it is justified. In other words, he has fixed the value of an ethic to something firmer than opinion.

In Gandhi and Nehru the ethic and the esthetic are happily blended, and they are moving forward dominated by a unity of purpose. In them the "will-to-freedom" has not become the dangerous "will-to-power". With Gandhi's continual ethic in our mind, we may say that, while Nehru only suffers his agony, Gandhi deliberately courts his. It must be admitted that there is a shade of paternal protection in Gandhi's attitude towards Nehru.

Gandhi's universalism is not merely the submergence of one self into another. It is an etherized penetration in which the human soul, acting as an ethereal chemical on man

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and the physical environment liberates the fine essence of spiritual being, to be later on condensed, into new elements of living truth. To his prophetic vision all veils are rent in glimpses of futurity.

The conscious intelligence of Nehru terminates in theory or a contemplation of all things in their worth and order. A politician who attains it is, for the moment, a theorist. But the intuitive insight of Gandhi is more to be trusted as the authentic guide to the hidden mysteries of the future than the imaginative reality of Nehru.

A deep interest in humanity and a capacity to martyr oneself to it is the median line of true political greatness. Then to lift the human spirit to a high moral plane would be the goal and the world of reality, of injustice and oppression the proper field for endeavour. The vision to see into the heart and nature of man can be attained through an evolutionary and experimental process. In this specific sense the true politician is the reflector of the spirit of the age. Therefore, both Gandhi and Nehru are the moulders of

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the highest life and thought of their day because they have the ability to understand the permanent facts of human life.

All his life-time Gandhi is passionately seeking truth, but not truth through reason alone. Reason can never carry a politician to the heart of man. Here Nehru expresses his allegiance to the freedom-loving, truth-revealing, world-view of Gandhi as the informing spirit of politics.

V

TO the fascist apologists man is a savage wolf who should surrender himself to the Leviathan. To Gandhi man is a moral agent and he becomes amoral when the basic integrating factors are destroyed. There is a deep correlation between the disorganisation of society and disorganisation of individual character.

The view that aggressiveness or acquisitiveness is a definitely shaped instinct is now disproved. If we could remake the society so as to present man with different situations we could recreate his fundamental attitudes. Admitting that the aggressive propensity is a primary drive still it can be sublimated into socially useful goals. By the control of education it is possible to break-up the war-like attitudes into their constituent elements and reintegrate them into new functions.

Sadistic urges are not war-like attitudes.

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A deep chasm separates spontaneous hatred from trained hatred. The shattered self-respect can be easily turned into self-mutilating orgies. In such a sociological condition ideologies are unmasked and the validity of traditional values is doubted. Man is lost if his usual objects of striving are withdrawn. In altered conditions his socially moulded instincts are valueless. Therefore it costs a social organism less to build up mechanisms of peaceful attitudes than that of pugnacity. The nations once aggressive have lived for centuries without war.

Those who still hope to restore intact the old social order are drugging themselves with false assumptions and distorting the meaning of events. The planless liberal order and the principle of *laissez-faire*, which once held the balance of the social process did violence to the forces of the new society. The realistic attitude of Nehru is shown in his plea to mould the social order and its technique of control to the maximum advantage of the community. In a planned society there is every likelihood of one section of people forcing its conception of "the good life" on the

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other. The dictatorial elements will be stripped from planning if the state confines itself to the realm of means and not of ends. The altered state-system must, therefore, seek to unite the principles of freedom and planning, individual liberties with the efficiency of the community. Says Sir James Jeans:

“The old physics showed us a universe which looked more like a prison than a dwelling place. The new physics shows us a universe which looks as though it might conceivably form a suitable dwelling-place for free men, and not a mere shelter for brutes—a home in which it may at least be possible for us to mould events to our desires and live lives of endeavour and achievement.”

Deep changes cannot be effected if emphasis is laid on **coup d'état** and not on the content of the changes. The pseudo-democracies wrapped up in an illusion of stability became semitotalitarian. The fascist states eliminated the capitalist influence in vital economic spheres. In this historical crisis the world needs a leader who can look beyond the interests of his own people, who

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can devise a new technique for settling inter-statal disputes, who can redefine our traditional values and who by remaking the man can reconstruct the society.

A leader who tries to interpret the inner life of man in the light of economic processes cannot visualise even the superficial causes of the present crisis of civilisation. The non-economic but social factors which can produce new patterns of thought and behaviour are decisive. The torment which the twentieth century man suffers is the dilemma of "a life of doubt diversified by faith; a life of faith diversified by doubt". The nerve-wracking air-raids have surprised him into uttering a prayer. If there is nothing beyond the grave life is an empty thing. Says Gandhi:

"We are not He alone is. And if we will be, we must eternally sing His Praise and do His will. Let us dance to the tune of His **bansi**—lute and all would be well".

"If I did not feel the presence of God within me I see so much of misery and disappointment every day that I would be

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a raving maniac and my destination would be the Hoogli”.

The organised religions represent the Fuehrer principle in religion. They have openly expressed sympathies with the crudities of jejune fascism. The obstinate hostility of the Church to fundamental social changes will lead ultimately to the survival of religion and not of churches. In the past the church resisted capitalism, today it fights socialism.

The churches have forfeited the moral leadership of the world and there is an intense feeling of bewilderment. In such a world of widespread loss of belief and widespread indifference Gandhism attempts to remove the harmful contradictions in social institutions and religious beliefs. Gandhi observes “I will not sacrifice truth and Ahimsa even for the deliverance of my country and my religion.” Out of the present revolutionary chaos a rational social order in which the individual can achieve harmony and the integration of his personality must be created.

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The western man having been brought up in a mental climate whose prevailing winds are those of chemistry and cynicism, refuses to believe that things can exist which cannot be seen, cannot be heard and cannot be touched. In Gandhi's language, God exists and He is related to the world. The world yearns after Him and the yearning is the cause of evolution. He is the cause of the world's massive illusions and He is aware of the process He sets going in this planet. He cares as much for the fall of a sparrow as for the exile of a duke. Here is the challenge of Gandhi to the inveterate subjectivists:

“He is the greatest democrat the world knows for He leaves us unfettered to make our own choice between evil and good. He is the greatest tyrant ever known, for He often dashes the cup from our lips and under the cover of freewill leaves us a margin so wholly inadequate as to provide only mirth for himself at our expense. Therefore, it is that Hinduism calls it all His sport—*Lila*, or calls it all His illusion—*Maya*.”

According to Julian Huxley the prophecy

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of science about the future of religion is that the religious impulse will become progressively more concerned with the organisation of society. The religious impulse of Gandhi expresses itself in a recognition of and aspiration after fundamental spiritual values. Values like truth, goodness and beauty do in fact exist and are ever active in the minds and souls of men. The progress of mankind is determined by the awareness of man in consciousness and his pursuit in conduct of these elements of value.

Gandhi's mysticism is realistic because it is the inner illumination of a personality. This light which burns inwards burns outwards too. Says Gandhi:

“I know the path. It is straight and narrow. It is like the edge of a sword. I rejoice to walk on it. I weep when I slip. God's word is ‘He who strives never perishes’. I have implicit faith in that promise. Therefore, I will not lose faith but hope that I shall see the light when the flesh has been brought under perfection as some day it must”.

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To transcend good and evil one must be laid asleep in body, and become a living soul. In such high hours of mystical ecstasy thought is not and in ecstasy it expires. Such a level is impossibly hard to attain and can never be long sustained by flesh and blood. Gandhi has translated such visions into terms of daily living.

There is no need to distil his ethical creed, for he states it in a famous passage.

“I have but shadowed forth my intense longing to lose myself in the Eternal, and become merely a lump of clay in the Potter’s Divine hands so that my service may become uninterrupted by the baser self in me.”

When Gandhi says that he “fasts unto death” it means that death is the consummation of life, not in the sense of dissolution, but of perfection. In this sense life is a preparation for the beyond and the aim of man should be to ripen, and then to fall, richly coloured, like the apple to the grass, with loveliness before putrition.

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Fasting means the ordering of impulses. Man freely becomes himself when he succeeds in controlling and disciplining the impulses and instincts. He achieves peace in himself and spreads that peace around himself. Then his powers are stretched to capacity in life's service. The basis and sanction of this high duty comes from God. As the soul of such a detached man is in harmony with the eternal laws God acts through his soul. Only those persons who can intensely live the life of the spirit can hear "the inner voice". This experience of God does not come naturally; experiment, self-discipline and humility are preconditions of its enjoyment.

In Gandhi's view God and Truth are one. The divine essence which permeates the world is the sap of truth. There are some absolute ends in this universe, permanent and perfect, which we may conceive as truth, goodness and beauty. Their complete realisation may lie in a remote future but their manifestations frequently occur in life.

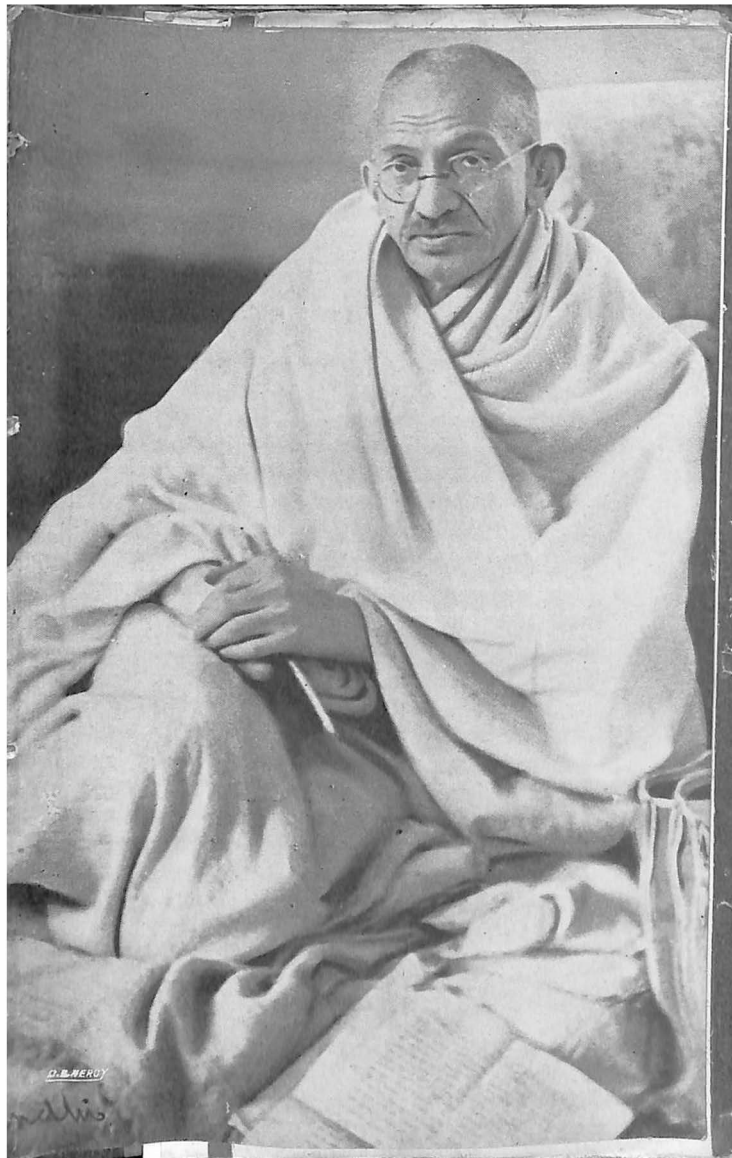
A picture might imperfectly manifest beauty, but the beauty which it manifests is

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absolute. The deed of a holy man may be the nearest approximation of good, but the goodness that shines through his deed is a perfect goodness. Man is an individualised expression of a universal life-force. He is an instrument to canalise the stream. The created life must therefore aspire for creative evolution for moral experience.

Rilke, the German Poet, in his definition of love says that to be loved is to be consumed. To love is to shine with oil that cannot be exhausted. To be loved is to perish. To love is to endure. Only by the power of this enduring love can the heart attain direct contact with God.

Gandhi's gospel is one of effort and endeavour; effort at material levels, endeavour in the moral plane. He modestly claims that he is a seeker after truth, one who is experimenting about the eternal verities of life. To him the doctrine of "labouring without attachment" means a relentless pursuit of truth and a renunciation of leadership after discovery of incompetence. The only tyrant he accepts is the "still small voice within". He has no secret weapon but suffering love.



D. B. WEROY

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His strategy is the strategy of truth. Defeat chastens and never disheartens him. He says that he wants growth, self-determination and freedom. But he wants all these for the soul. To claim all for the soul does not indicate the flabbiness of the idealist. It is absolutely convincing to the person who has a soul.

VI

The refraining from evil preached by Buddhism, the ethical perfection propounded in the Bhagavadgita, the social controls advocated in the Mimamsa and the spirit of non-difference put forward by Samkara are epitomized in the philosophy of Gandhi. He has revealed the imperfections of our passing lives and has shown us the way to make them purified and purposive.

The illustrious names of Vasistha, Yajna-
valkya, Gargi, Buddha, Patanjali and Sam-
kara shine on the scroll of our history. Their
contribution to the thought-history of our
land enabled Indian thinkers to be the spiri-
tual wardens of Asia. India taught the
human race to value the idea of spiritual
freedom. She inspired it to emulate the
doctrine of absolute love. The feeling of in-
security in the medieval period turned the
stream of Indian thought into conservative

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moulds. Later the creative spirit of the people decayed in political bondage.

Indian culture has once again lifted up its head and shaken off the accretion of ages which lay so heavy on it. The Indian spirit craves not for peace but liberty, not for security but self-respect. Mahatma Gandhi is the inheritor of the great tradition of devotion to truth and he is winning fresh fields for it. He does not cling fast to the shells and rags of outmoded ideals. The spirit of truth has given him the creative intuition to renew and redefine the old traditions and values. He has taken over some elements from the heritage of history and fused them with the new forces of his own times. The historic role of Gandhi at this time is to introduce toleration, concord and progress in the affairs of men, and, in the affairs of nations, interdependence, collaboration and security.

Mankind is now witnessing the end of an epoch, the end of a cosmical cycle. Since there is always a casual chain linking the cycles together this disturbance will not involve absolute discontinuity. As the re-

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ascent must come we need not helplessly wait till the descent has reached its nadir. While preserving the ark of tradition the framework of a new world must be evolved. All aspects of reconstruction must contribute towards the ultimate integration of the cycles.

Such a conception is in harmony with the conclusion of Indian speculative thought. Says Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

“India believes in progress, for, as we have already said, the cycles are bound together by an organic tie. The inner thread of continuity is never cut. Even the revolutions that threaten to engulf the past help to restore it. Backward eddies serve rather to strengthen than retard the current. Epochs of decadence, like the recent past of this country, are in truth periods of transition from an old life to a new”.

The true mystic never likes to live on his spiritual resources alone. He will bend his energies to the improvement of the social structure and the creation of opportunities for fellowship. His God-Vision or Cosmic

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Consciousness gives him an insight into man as he is and man as he ought to be. His unselfish love and disinterested activity enables him to free men from the dominion of passions and show them the real from the unreal.

Gandhi is a Messianic Prophet, a creator of a new vision, a vision of the race of man entering on the ascending path of realisation. He has given an inspiring lead to the peoples rising against the tyranny of governments and tyranny of things. His world leadership is inevitable if mankind wants neither to relapse into a sheer barbarism nor to progress into a despiritualized realm.

Power without ethical control is blind and ends by making society a vast prison. It must be linked up with the human understanding of the social issues. If anything creative emerges from the general disillusionment of our age which has witnessed the decay of ideals, it can only be a new pragmatic attitude in political affairs, a willingness to learn from the wisdom of ages.

The idea will be dynamic if it has a social

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backing and not if the elites have that in mind. But if the people learn ideas from their distress they will become the forerunners of a new society.

A true understanding between the warring nations and their stricken peoples can come only from above and within. It must spring from the domain of the spirit and extend itself to other spheres.

Any contrivance which does not raise man to the higher truths will only lead him into blind alleys. Error and darkness can apparently win the day but they cannot ultimately triumph over the power of truth.

Destructive action is sterile and anti-social. Progress means adding to the heritage of man, not its blind destruction in optimistic faith of a new start. Progress means to refuse to set one's course by lights which have vanished over the horizon.

The solidarity of the beehive or anthill is opposed to the trend of total differentiation among the constituents. The human problem is how to create the necessary cultural conditions in which the development of each constituent is assured and at the same time

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the individual character is subordinated to co-operativeness.

In this universe the conflict between good and evil is fundamental and continuous. Men and systems cannot carry on an unaided struggle against the disposition to do evil and the obligation to resist the disposition. Only by practising certain disciplines the individual can establish relations between himself and the fundamental reality of the universe. All men feel a craving for a moral order in the universe. This inborn craving can be rationalised into a principle of unity.

The contemporary man has realised that war is an expensive folly. The sense has dawned on him that war is a regression or denial of his progress and ideals. War, man-made war, leads to the brutalization of man. He is rather dimly conscious that his existence is truly co-ordinated with other existences. The aviators, the parachutists and the crews of motorized divisions are men of superb courage but it is the courage born of the intensity of despair. Can these moods be translated into any action in the measurable future?

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This moral crisis has produced a leader who is gifted with supernormal powers. He has discovered his real self and in so doing he has become one with reality. This mystic has seen a spiritual reality uniting all apparently separate existents. This detached man has done nothing to perpetuate or enhance his own fictitious self. By the virtue of the pure life he lives, he has the vision to discern the personality of God and the destiny of man. Men of all climes have felt his sterling worth. He has given civilization a soul and man an ideal to live by. This humanizing influence which our world desperately stands in need of is provided by Gandhi, the Creator of an Epoch, a **Saka Purusha**. In the words of a poet:

“When, after long and darkened days, the
breath of brighter morrows
Cleaves the ice at last,
We hail the unclosing of the grip of death:
And even as children build and burn a straw-
man on the heath,
Joy comes forth from sorrows,
And light from terrors past”.

