

RUPEE SERIES



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Gandhi

GOSPEL OF GANDHI

K. Santhanam

GENERAL EDITORS

K. M. MUNSHI

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY



What

Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

1. Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of character having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

2. Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge. Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape them as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya.

3. Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable.

4. Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanscritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature, ancient and modern.

5. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideoforms, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process.

6. Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres.

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

(a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student; inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies; entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles; and creating in him a spirit of consecration; and

(b) the adoption by the student of the *Shishya* attitude by the development of—

(i) respect for the teacher,

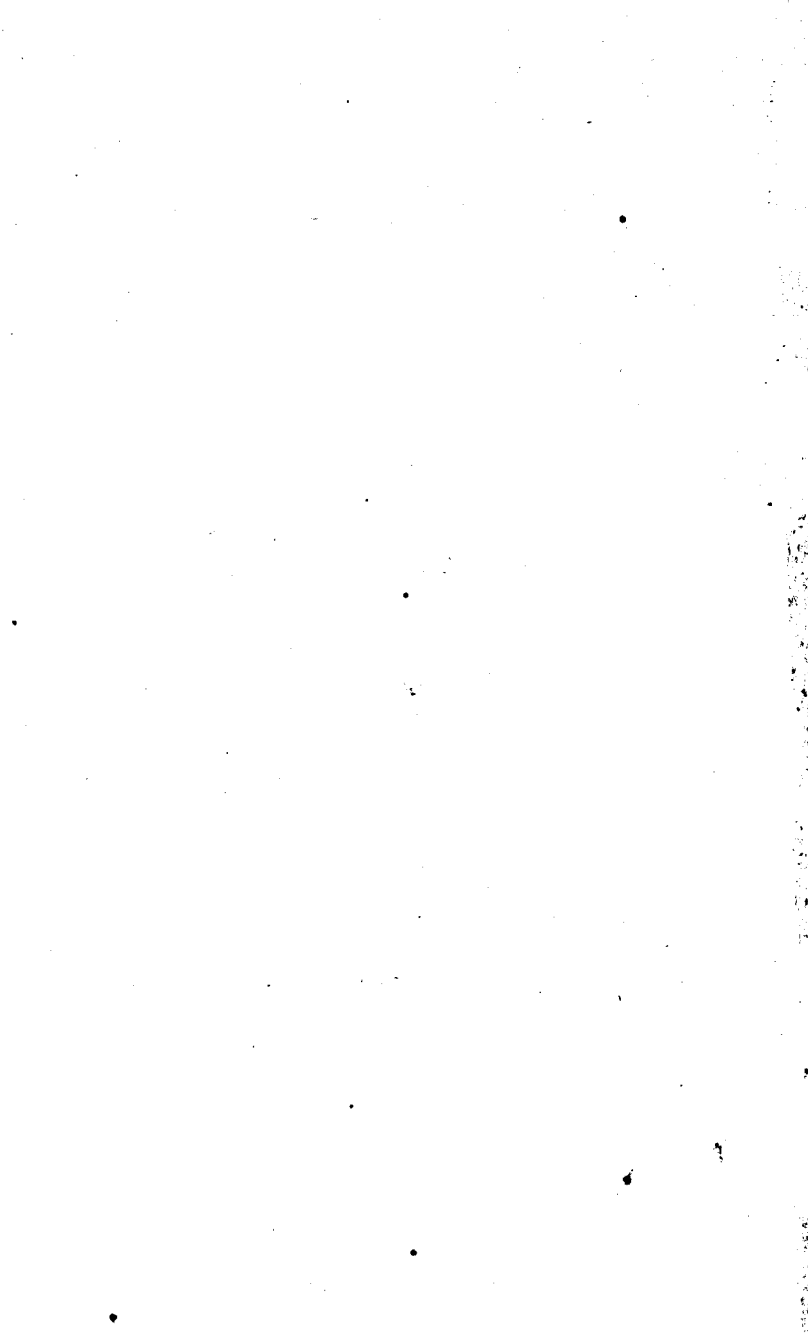
(ii) a spirit of inquiry,

(iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi.

9. Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form or attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world.





आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः ।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

—Rigveda, I-89-1

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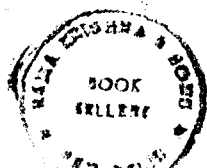
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GOSPEL OF GANDHI

By

K. SANTHANAM



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GOSPEL OF GANDHI

K. SANTHANAM



1967

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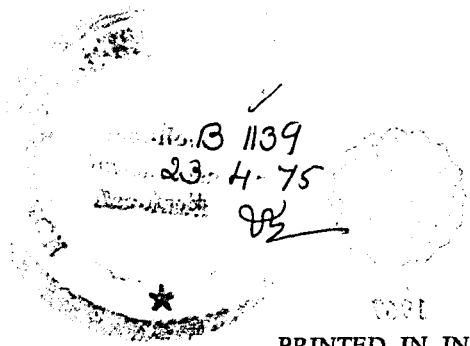
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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Bhavan's Book University volumes had rare success. About a million and a quarter volumes have been sold in about eleven years. However, there is an insistent demand for the stray volumes which the Bhavan has issued from time to time at a lower price. In order to meet this demand, it has been decided to issue the new One-Rupee Book University Series side by side with the Book University Series.

I hope this new One-Rupee Series will have the same good fortune which the other Series had, of being useful to those who are interested in the fundamental values of Indian Culture, and of reaching out to a wider audience.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Chowpatty Road, Bombay-7.
Vijaya Dashami
September 28, 1963

K. M. MUNSHI

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Sri K. Santhanam delivered a series of three lectures at the Annamalai University under the Ministry of Education's Scheme entitled 'Promotion of Gandhian Philosophy' on December 15, 16 and 17, 1965.

Our thanks are due to the Ministry of Education for permitting us to publish these lectures in book form.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

These lectures have been delivered under a scheme of the Union Ministry of Education entitled 'Promotion of Gandhian Philosophy' and are printed in this volume with their permission. The Ministry are however not responsible for the accuracy of the material nor do the views expressed therein necessarily represent the views of the Government of India.

THE HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENCE

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I

BASIC BELIEFS

Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest Indian of Modern India. I have no doubt he is one of the greatest men the world has produced. His life and teachings form an imperishable heritage of not only the Indian people but of all humanity. I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not believe in hero-worship. Gandhiji's greatness was not due to any extraordinary gift with which he was endowed at birth. He was not a genius in the manner of a Kalidasa or Kamban, Newton or Einstein or other famous poets, mathematicians, scientists, musicians or artists. In his boyhood and youth, he was just like millions of his own age. It is true he had a rather unusual spirit of moral earnestness which developed during his study in England. If a strange destiny had not sent him to South Africa at the outset of his career, it is not certain that his personality and his qualities of leadership would have unfolded themselves so fully and wonderfully. Of all the truly great men of history, Gandhiji was, perhaps, the most notable instance of a self-made man. His life and teachings are, therefore, all the more important for the youth of India. In all of them—at least in a large number of them—there is the potentiality of achieving similar greatness. It should not matter if they do not obtain similar fame or popularity.

The expression 'Gandhian philosophy' has to be understood in a broad sense. Mahatma Gandhi was not a philosopher in the sense Plato and Aris-

II

SATYAGRAHA:

PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES

Mahatma Gandhi's unique contribution to the world has been named by him 'Satyagraha'. In its widest interpretation, it includes the way to live the good life as well as the method to fight the good fight. In fact, the good life itself is a perpetual struggle in the mind of man. Gandhiji described human life as a Kurukshetra in which the forces of good and evil are engaged in a struggle for mastery. Anger, lust, fear, hatred and jealousy are perpetually trying to pull man down to the level of the beast, while reason, love, conscience and the mysterious presence of the infinite tend to pull him up towards self-mastery, non-attachment, freedom and peace. In the previous lecture, Gandhiji's views relating to the method of conducting the inner struggle and emerging victorious have been indicated in sufficient detail. I now turn to the individual's relations to the society of which he is a member and his duty to maintain his dignity, freedom and self-respect and his obligation to rid society of all cruelty, injustice and exploitation. It is in this sense that Satyagraha is understood by most people. Although, as I have pointed out, it does not cover the meaning of Satyagraha fully, it does constitute its core.

The word 'Satyagraha' was coined by Gandhiji at the time of his first campaign in South Africa against the humiliating treatment to which the Indians there were subjected. At first, the words

III

SCOPE, LIMITATIONS AND PROSPECTS

It was Gandhiji's conviction that the scope for application of Satyagraha and, more generally, practice of non-violence was almost unlimited. But, as it was usual for him to concentrate on immediate problems, he did not develop his ideas systematically. His views and observations appeared incidentally, when he was elaborating the logic behind particular applications. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the examination of the scope for applying the Gandhian Philosophy to a few important fields.

It has been argued by many of our leaders that there is no scope for political Satyagraha in a democratic country. Its application should be confined to dictatorships and those sections of the population in a democratic country who are denied the franchise and are not represented in the Legislatures. The argument is that the citizen has the peaceful method of getting his grievances redressed through propaganda among the electorate. If he can convince the majority of the voters that his grievance is real, he should be able either to convert the majority party to his view or get it converted into a minority so that a new majority party will be able to give redress. If he is unable to get the support of a large number of voters, it is sufficient proof that the grievance is imaginary and does not deserve to get redress.

So far as broad legislative, economic and financial policies are concerned, this argument is

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Publishes books, ancient and modern, at low price (Rs. 2.50 each) to make available the best literature and classics of India and the world to the common man in an easily understandable form. So far 115 titles have been published and over 10,00,000 copies have in all been sold. Some of the books have also been published in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and Tamil. A new one-rupee Series has also been started.

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Bharatiya Vidya Series: Critical editions of texts, translations and original works of research in Indology—in Sanskrit and English. Published volumes 22.

Singhi Jain Series: Critical editions of ancient works and manuscripts connected with Jain religion and literature. Published volumes 52.

The Glory that was Gurjaradesa: A comprehensive study of Gujarat in 7 volumes. Published volumes 2.

Munshi Sahitya: Social novels, historical plays, biographical works of Munshi and Smt. Lilavati Munshi in Gujarati and English, the copyright whereof has been kindly gifted by them to the Bhavan. Published volumes 80.

JOURNALS

Bharatiya Vidya: An Indological research quarterly in English started in 1943. Published volumes 22.

Bhavan's Journal: An English Fortnightly devoted to life, literature and culture started in August 1954. Present circulation 50,000 copies. Annual Subscription Rs. 6.50.

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Samarpan: A Gujarati Fortnightly started in November 1959. Annual Subscription Rs. 6.50.

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THE AUTHOR

Sri K. Santhanam (born 1895) had a distinguished academic career in the Madras University from where he obtained his Master of Arts and Bachelor of Law degrees. He joined the non-cooperation movement when he was 25 and was imprisoned five times between 1922 and 1940. He had a long and brilliant journalistic career, having been the editor of "The Indian Express" (1933-1940) and the joint-editor of "The Hindustan Times" (1943-1948). He was a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly (1937-1942), Constituent Assembly (1946-1950), Provisional Parliament (1947-1952) and Rajya Sabha (1960-1964). He was a Minister of State for Railways from 1948 to 1952 and was thereafter appointed as the Lieutenant-Governor of Vindhya Pradesh, which post he held with distinction till 1956.

Sri Santhanam's profound knowledge of Parliamentary procedure and his valuable experience as a member of the Legislature for nearly three decades were availed of by the Government when he was appointed as Chairman successively of the Second Finance Commission, the Economic Commission to Malaya and the Study Teams on Panchayat Raj Finance and Panchayat Raj Elections.

He has a number of books to his credit, chief amongst which are *Indian Constitution*, *Cry of Distress*, *Ambedkar's Attack*, *Planning and Plain Thinking*, *Transition in India* and *Satyagraha and The State*, in English. He has also written several books in Tamil.