

HATRED is in the air and impatient lovers of India will gladly take advantage of it, if they can, through violence, to further the cause of independence. That is wrong at any time and everywhere, but it is more wrong in a country where fighters for freedom have declared to the world that their policy is truth and non-violence.

Those who believe in violence naturally will use it by saying: "Kill your enemy; injure him and his property wherever you can, whether openly or secretly as necessity requires." The result will be deeper hatred and counter-hatred, and vengeance let loose on both sides. The recent war, whose embers have yet hardly died, loudly proclaims the bankruptcy of this use of hatred. It remains to be seen whether the so-called victors really have won or whether they have not depressed themselves in trying to depress their enemies.

The use of non-violence

Some philosophers of action in India improve upon the model and say, "We shall never kill our enemy but we shall destroy his property." Perhaps I do them an injustice when I call it "his property," for the so-called enemy has brought no property of his own and what little he has brought he makes *us* pay for. Therefore what we destroy is really our own. Yet for the destruction too we have to pay, and it is the innocent who are made to pay. That is the implication of the punitive tax and all it carries with it.

Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me, therefore, to be any improvement on the technique of violence. It means slow torture, and when slowness becomes ineffective we shall immediately revert to killing and to the atom bomb, which is the last word in violence today.

FOR such reasons I suggested in 1920 the use of non-violence and its inevitable twin companion truth for canalizing hatred into the proper channel. The hater hates not for the sake of hatred, but because he wants to drive away from his country the hated being or beings. He will, therefore, achieve his end as readily by non-violence as by violent means.

For the past twenty-five years, willingly or unwillingly, the Congress has spoken to the masses in favour of non-violence as against violence for regaining our lost liberty. We have discovered through our progress that in the application of non-violence we have been able to reach the mass mind far more quickly and far more extensively than ever before. Yet, if truth is told as it must be, our non-violent action has been half-hearted. Many have preached non-violence through the lips while harbouring violence in the breast.

The unsophisticated mass mind has read the secret meaning hidden in our breasts and the unconscious reaction has not been altogether as it might have been. Hypocrisy has acted as an ode to virtue, but it could never

take its place. So I plead now for non-violence and yet more non-violence. I do so not without knowledge, but with sixty years' experience behind me. This is the critical moment, for the dumb masses are starving.

Present needs

THERE are many ways to apply the canons of non-violence to the present needs of the country. The hypnotism of the INA¹ has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's² name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. (I use the present tense intentionally.) His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well. It is not given to everyone to command success.

My praise and admiration can go no further. I knew that his action was doomed to failure, and I would have said so even if he had brought his INA victorious to India, because the masses would not have come into their own in this manner. The lesson that Netaji and his army bring to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be

¹ The Indian National Army, sponsored during the war by the Japanese for the avowed purpose of liberating India. Some 20,000 Indian volunteers joined it.

² Netaji is Hindese for "leader," but in the present context it is being used, as by millions of Indians, in reference to Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the Indian National Army and of the puppet Indian government set up by the Japanese. Bose was reported by the Japanese to have been killed in a plane crash while flying from Tokyo to Singapore, on August 19, 1945. However, he is widely believed to be still alive and to have gone underground. In this connection, Gandhi's deliberate reference to his use of the present tense in speaking of Bose is highly significant. Bose is highly regarded in India as a patriot, if misguided, and a demonstration on his fiftieth birthday touched off the riots in Bombay in January.—Ed., Fellowship.

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The popular acclaim among Indians for the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army has demonstrably added a new factor to the context in which "non-violence" in India now appears.

In this article, reprinted with acknowledgments from Fellowship, Mahatma Gandhi himself assesses the new situation.

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wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence.

I would not have the INA man think or say that he and his ever can deliver the masses of India from bondage by force of arms. But if he is true to Netaji and still more so to the country, he will spend himself in teaching the masses, men, women, and children to be brave, self-sacrificing and united. Then we will be able to stand erect before the world. But if he will merely act the armed soldier, he will only lord it over the masses and the fact that he will be a volunteer will not count for much.

For that reason I welcome the declaration made by Captain Shah Nawaz³ that to be worthy of Netaji, on having come to Indian soil, he will act as a humble soldier of non-violence in Congress ranks.

³ Captain Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the three INA officers court-martialled in Calcutta and Bombay last November, and sentenced to transportation for life, a sentence later remitted.

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