

# The Mahatma beyond Gandhi

Text and Photographs

Compiled by:

**Kalpana Desai**

*Trustee, Sarvodaya International Trust*

*Maharashtra Chapter*

*Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai*

*Art Historian*

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Email: [sitmc@beyondgandhi.com](mailto:sitmc@beyondgandhi.com)

Dedicated to the Generations  
Born after 1947

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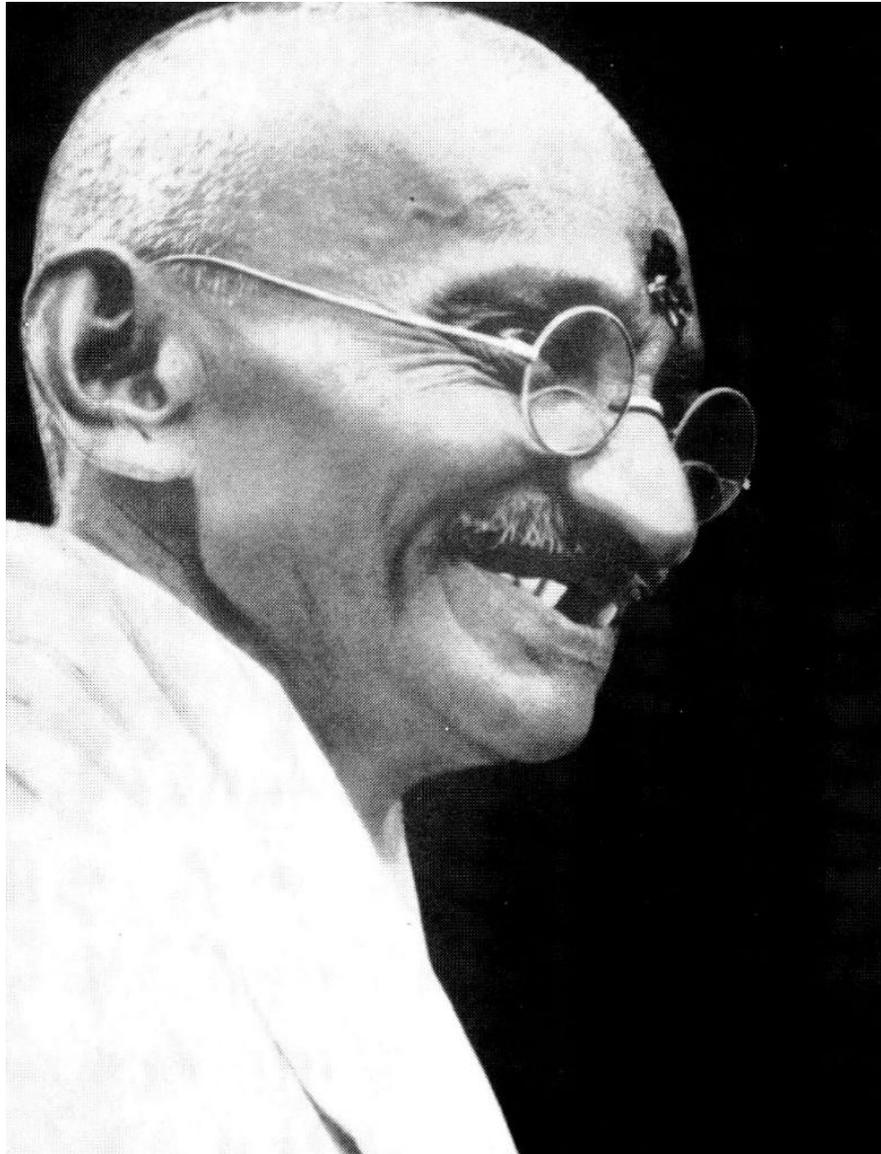
- The family of Shri Vitthalbhai Jhaveri which has preserved his collection of photographs of Gandhiji
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1931, At the age of Sixty-two

## Foreword

*"As great as the infinite space beyond,  
is the space within the lotus of the heart."*

Chhandogya Upanishad 8.1.3.

Gandhiji, the tiny frail apostle of Truth, Non-violence, Peace and Universal Brotherhood was many things to many people.

President Harry S. Truman said, "He was a great Indian nationalist, but at the same time was a leader of international stature. His teachings and actions have left a deep impression on millions of people." Over the five decades of his death, his teachings have been followed by leaders in several countries, by Lech Walesa in Poland, against the Shah in Iran, in Philippines against the Marcos regime. Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Martin Luther King have acknowledged their debt to Gandhiji. Communism disappeared from Eastern Europe through non-violent revolutions, apparently influenced by Gandhian thought. P.A. Nazareth, former Indian Ambassador to Mexico and Managing Trustee of Sarvodaya International Trust says, "... in a number of countries in western Europe, social or civilian defence, which is another word for non-violent resistance, has been built into national security plans." In Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi is even today walking the path shown by Gandhiji.

Clarence W. Meadows, Governor of the State of Virginia in U.S.A. had once said that Gandhiji could have rallied armies about him to batde to the death for his cause, but he knew that conviction born of principle would confound adversaries where arms could not. He could have bartered his personal strength and influence for fabulous wealth and position, but the miseries of his people swayed the Mahatma in a way that the opulence of empire could not touch. He was not for sale.

Gandhiji had very clear ideas on governance. One of the core values espoused by Gandhiji was a focus on responsibility not rights. The second was leadership by example. The third was truth, integrity and moral values guiding all aspects of decision-making in both personal and public life. The Gandhian concept of leadership, was heroic in its commitment to moral principles and service rather than driven by the acquisition of power. Gandhiji believed that the concept of trusteeship should evolve voluntarily among businessmen. Business ethics had to be the prime concern of management. An ethical work environment would encourage development of the best in employees and lead to a better quality of life.

In an age of decaying moral values, increasing cynicism, an erosion of trust in institutions like the family and government, Gandhiji's ideas are significant and relevant.

Way back in 1917, Gandhiji wrote, "Woman is the companion of man gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the minutest details in the activities of man, and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him." He followed a policy of inclusion of women in public life and gave Indian women the right to vote.

This little book is not a critique of Gandhiji. It is an humble attempt to put before the youth of the world, a few facets of his life in pictures. He addressed a whole gamut of social and political issues such as freedom and democracy, empowerment of women and untouchability, alleviation of poverty and education, trusteeship and leadership principles, all equally relevant today. His methods were different. The spirit of meekness which characterised the Mahatma, his humility, his passive but utterly fearless resistance to those whom he considered the oppressors of his people, evoke great admiration. He was a man of flesh and blood with faults and idiosyncrasies like all of us. Let us not deify or vilify him. He was a rare human being who made a rich contribution to the material and spiritual life of people everywhere.

Now, he belongs to the ages... Lord Mountbatten said about Gandhiji, "India, indeed the world, would not see the like of him again, perhaps for centuries."

**Tarjani Vakil**  
CHAIRPERSON  
Sarvodaya International Trust  
Maharashtra Chapter

## Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

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### His Life and the Freedom Movement of India

**1869** Born on October 2 at Porbandar, Gujarat.

**1875-1888** Spent early childhood in Porbandar and then at Rajkot.

Kind, playful and obstinate as a child.

Betrothed to Kasturbai at the age of seven.

Attended Alfred High School at Rajkot.

Married Kasturbai at the age of 13.

Lost father at 16.

**1888-1891** Left for England to study law on September 4, 1888. Called to the bar on June 10, 1891.

A formative period. Read Gita, Bible and even studied atheism.

**1891** Returned to India in July as Barrister-at-Law.

**1891-1893** Came in touch with Rayachandbhai (later known as Shrimad Rajchandra, a renowned Jain philosopher) whom he considered one of the three major influences in his life.

Tried to practise law for about two years without any success. In April 1893 he was offered an assignment to go to South Africa to instruct the counsel of Dada Abdulla & Co.

In May he reached Port Natal or Durban. From the very first week of his arrival, he faced racial discrimination. Observed the plight of Indians known as "coolies" by the British. The majority of them were either indentured or free labour.

Travelling in a first class compartment, he was pushed out by the railway official as he refused to shift to the lower class. He had the first class ticket. Passed that night in the cold and dark waiting room. After much thinking and pondering, he decided to stay in South Africa and face whatever was in store for him. As he said later, his active non-violence began from that date.

Within a week of reaching Johannesburg, organised a meeting of Indians in Pretoria with the help of Tyeb Haji Khan Muhammed. This was the beginning of his non-violent struggle for justice.

**1894-1914** A period of hectic activity and resistance against the passing of laws which curtailed whatever little freedom Indians had in South Africa. Returned to India but soon called back by the Indian community there. Protested against the bill asking Indians to register

themselves and carry identity cards which meant slavery. It took the shape of a Satyagraha, a non-violent movement. Gandhi imprisoned along with many others.

Founded the Tolstoy Farm for satyagrahis and their indigent families. On November 6, 1913, the Epic March started. The satyagraha ended in agreement between both the parties on June 30, 1914.

**1915-1917** Returned to India and travelled for sometime to learn more about the people and the country. On May 25, 1915, the Satyagraha Ashram on the lines of his ashram in South Africa was founded to train co-workers.

**1918** Successful protest for the fights of the workers of Indigo planters at Champaran Is Bihar. Invited by the textile mill workers of Ahmedabad to solve wage dispute between them and mill owners. After twenty-one days, Gandhi announced he would fast till a settlement was made. Within three days, settlement was arrived at.

Led a Satyagraha at Kheda against the payment of full revenue though the crops had failed. Ended with a settlement that only the rich would pay the revenue.

Throughout his tours, he would explain to the people the importance of Truth in all the dealings.

Conceded to the request of the British Government to suspend political agitation and support it till the war was over. The Government promised to take a sympathetic view of their demands later.

**1919** End of the war did not bring any right of self-determination to the Indians. People were disappointed and started agitating for various causes. The Government tried to impose the Rowlett Bills, which introduced change in criminal laws totally in favour of the British Government.

Gandhi started the Satyagraha Sabha to carry out satyagraha against these bills. He called on countrywide hartal (strike) on April 6, which was very successful.

Gandhi and other leaders were arrested. Satyagraha continued. On April 12, General Dyer opened fire on a quiet gathering of the people at Jallianwala Bag in Amritsar. Violence erupted in retaliation. Gandhi advised non-violence and withdrew satyagraha. He undertook fasting for three days as penance for the violence committed by the people.

Returned the Kaiser-e-Hind medal given to him by the government and wrote to the Viceroy about his intention to start non-cooperation campaign.

Indian National Congress passed non-cooperation resolution.

**1921** Started whirlwind propaganda of the satyagraha or non-violent non-cooperation and issues such as swaraj (self-rule), problems of Harijan (eradication of casteism), communal harmony and women uplift. Collected over a crore (ten million) of rupees for the purpose.

In September he discarded his usual dress and reduced his clothing to a loincloth.

Addressed millions of people and advocated the boycott of foreign cloth. Government repression increased a great deal. Many leaders were jailed.

**1922-23** In January it was decided to start non-cooperation against Government repression. The nationwide movement was to be launched from selected places, the first one of which was to be Bardoli in Gujarat.

Gandhi informed the Viceroy of his intention to launch Satyagraha soon. In the meantime, violence erupted in Chauri Chaura in Bihar.

It was humiliating as the pledge of non-violence was broken. Gandhi suspended the plan of Satyagraha and informed the Viceroy accordingly.

Imposed a fast on himself for five days.

Gandhi arrested on March 10 for Bardoli resolution of non-violent non-cooperation with the Government. Sentenced to six years imprisonment.

**1924** Released due to ill-health on February 5. Convalescing at Juhu. Resumed editorial charge of his two weeklies - Young India and Navajivan.

Hindu-Muslim tension mounted - clashes at Amethi, Sambhal, Gulbarga and Kohat.

Decided to fast for twenty-one days for communal unity. Government repression mounted.

Gandhi was invited to preside over the Congress to control the disturbed internal and external situation.

**1925** Gandhi toured the country to urge unity of the people.

**1926-28** Continued propagation of Khadi, unity between communities and constructive programmes.

**1929** Purna Swaraj (complete freedom) was declared as the aim of Congress at midnight of December 31, at Lahore.

**1930** The famous Salt March or Dandi March by Gandhi and his associates and mass civil disobedience against the Salt Tax. Government unleashed terror. Gandhi arrested on May 4.

**1931** Gandhi-Irwin talks and truce.

Attended the Round Table Conference in England. Visited mill workers at Lancashire. Met Charlie Chaplin, Romain Rolland and others.

Returned empty handed from England as the government did not accede to Congress demand. Government repression in India increased and ordinances were promulgated.

**1932** Gandhi arrested on January 4.

Government introduced communal electorates - Gandhi failing to convince the government and those who supported these, commenced fast unto death on September 20.

Hectic activities followed to arrive at an acceptable agreement to avoid communal division as also to protect the interests of the untouchables.

On September 27, Gandhi broke his fast. Government permitted Gandhi to do Harijan work (uplift of the untouchables) from jail.

Disappointed by the behaviour of the orthodox Hindus, announced continuance of the fast for twenty-one days. The fast was for self purification as well as the purification of the caste Hindus.

Gandhi released from jail.

Gandhi announced suspension of the programme of civil disobedience and concentrated on the work of Harijan uplift for six weeks. Since he was released early from jail because of his fast he did not commence any political work till his original sentence period was over.

**1933** His decision to suspend civil disobedience for six weeks was vehemently opposed by some of the prominent leaders. His adherence to non-violence started irking those who subscribed to fighting the British by violent means. Means were as important to him as the end.

**1934** Gandhi realised the situation and wanted the Congress to lay more emphasis on non-violence. He informally discussed the possibility of amending the main objectives of Congress from 'peaceful and legitimate means' to 'truthful and non-violent means', which was not acceptable to other leaders. On October 24, Gandhi resigned from the Congress on the issue of non-violence.

He preferred to walk all alone upholding 'ahimsa' or non-violence rather than walk with those who would compromise it for convenience.

**1934 to 1939** Out of active politics, he worked intensively towards creating a non-violent society by propagating Swadeshi (use of indigenous goods), rational use of machinery and the upliftment of the poor in villages. He also addressed himself to the Harijan problem. Though he was not a member of the Congress, he was available for help and consultation.

**1939** Congress had lost the confidence of the people. There was no other party of national stature to continue the movement. In March, after intense deliberations, Congress reaffirmed its adherence to the fundamental policy of non-violence. The Congress held at Tripuri attended by about two lakh people passed a resolution with overwhelming majority: 'The Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of Mahatma Gandhi'. They requested him to lead the Congress again.

**1939-1941** Prepared the ground for fresh Satyagraha. Once during an interview with a foreign reporter, Gandhi declared that the Britishers should 'leave India in the hands of God'. Soon Congress decided to demand the British to leave India.

**1942** On August 8, the proclamation of 'Quit India' movement was made from the August Kranti Maidan in Mumbai.

On August 9, Gandhi arrested with many other leaders. Satyagraha continued unabated.

**1942-1946** Gandhi lost his devoted secretary Mahadev Desai and also his wife Kasturba who was his lifelong partner in his 'Experiments with Truth'.

**1946** Gandhi released from jail.

**1947** August 15, India won independence.

**1946-48** The society again witnessed an upsurge of negative and violent forces. Gandhi walked from village to village comforting people and uniting the two communities. He performed his penance by fasting for peace and unity of the country. Situation in the east normalised.

**1948** Gandhi, the father of the nation, assassinated on January 30 in Delhi.

On December 4, 1922  
when Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore  
visited Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati,  
he addressed Gandhiji as  
**Mahatma** 'The Great Soul'.

"I am not a visionary, I claim to be  
a practical idealist. Religion of non-  
violence is not meant

merely for the rishis and saints. it is  
meant for the common people as  
well. non-violence is the law of our  
species as violence is the law of the  
brute. the spirit lies dormant in the  
brute, and he knows no law but  
that of physical might.

The dignity of man requires  
obedience

to a higher law, to the strength of  
the spirit."

## Introduction

WHILE addressing mammoth crowds in August 1942 at the time of launching the Quit India movement, Gandhiji said, "Assaults have been made on my life in the past, but God has spared me till now, and the assailants have repented for their action. But if some one were to shoot me in the belief that he was getting rid of a rascal, he would kill not the real Gandhi but the one that appeared to him a rascal."

Truly Gandhiji was assassinated, but the Mahatma lives on through his words and deeds.

For Gandhiji, every aspect of his life and everything that he said, thought or did was a part of what he called an 'Experiment with Truth'. Politics was but one part of it.

Two things are clearly revealed through all his activities and utterances: search for Truth and a deep-rooted belief in non-violence. In any situation, be it in public or in private life, be it with the top-ranking politicians or with a humble villager, Gandhiji was direct and simple, untouched by the artificialities of life.

A non-violent heart is beyond bitterness. Love and inner happiness, are its natural qualities. Gandhiji exemplified these qualities clearly, even while dealing with the most complex political situations. If, while going through these pages, one becomes aware of the absolute truthfulness, profound joy of living and infinite human warmth radiated by Gandhiji, the purpose of the book is served.

This book is mainly a compilation of Gandhiji's own speeches and writings on different issues and occasions, along with some relevant photographs.

A few blank pages have been interspersed for the reader to write his or her observations on the subject and make it a personalised book.

*The main source material is derived from:*

*The Mahatma by Shri D.G. Tendulkar (eight volumes)*

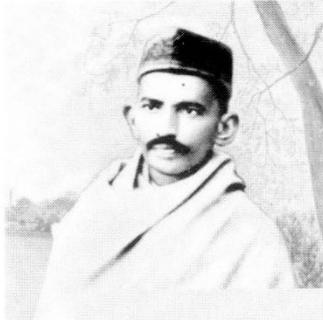
*The Life of Mahatma Gandhi by Louis Fischer and*

*Mahadevbhai ni Diary in Gujarati.*



Even skeptics were captivated by his courage, indestructible vitality, good humour, near toothless smile, selflessness, self-confidence and unlimited faith in people.

TRYING KASHMIRI CAP. 1915



## THE ATTIRE SPEAKS FOR HIM

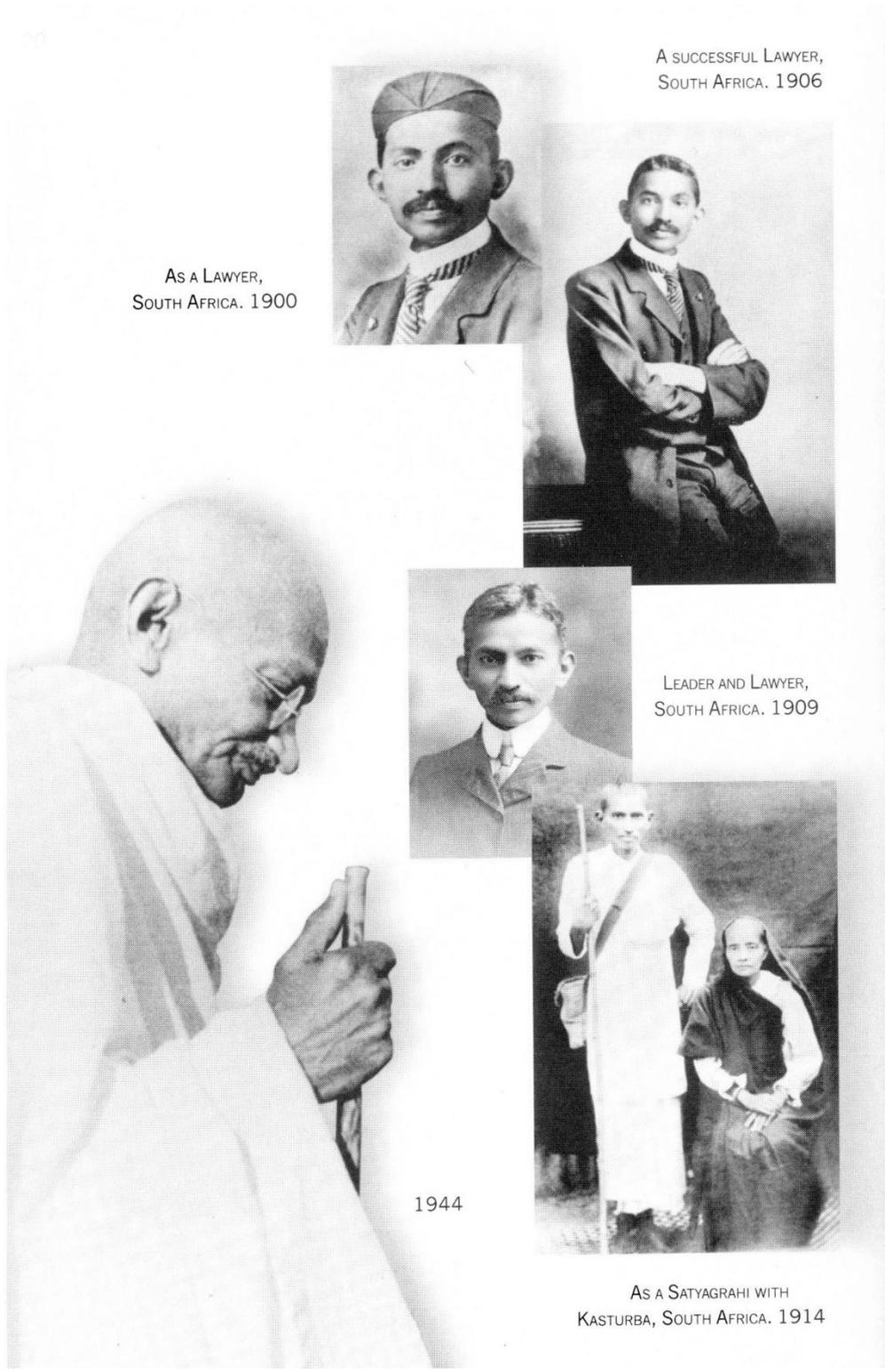
IN TRADITIONAL  
KATHIAWARI DRESS. 1916



IN GANDHI *TOPI* (CAP)  
DESIGNED BY HIM. 1921



SEPTEMBER 30, 1921 ONWARDS



AS A LAWYER,  
SOUTH AFRICA. 1900

A SUCCESSFUL LAWYER,  
SOUTH AFRICA. 1906

LEADER AND LAWYER,  
SOUTH AFRICA. 1909

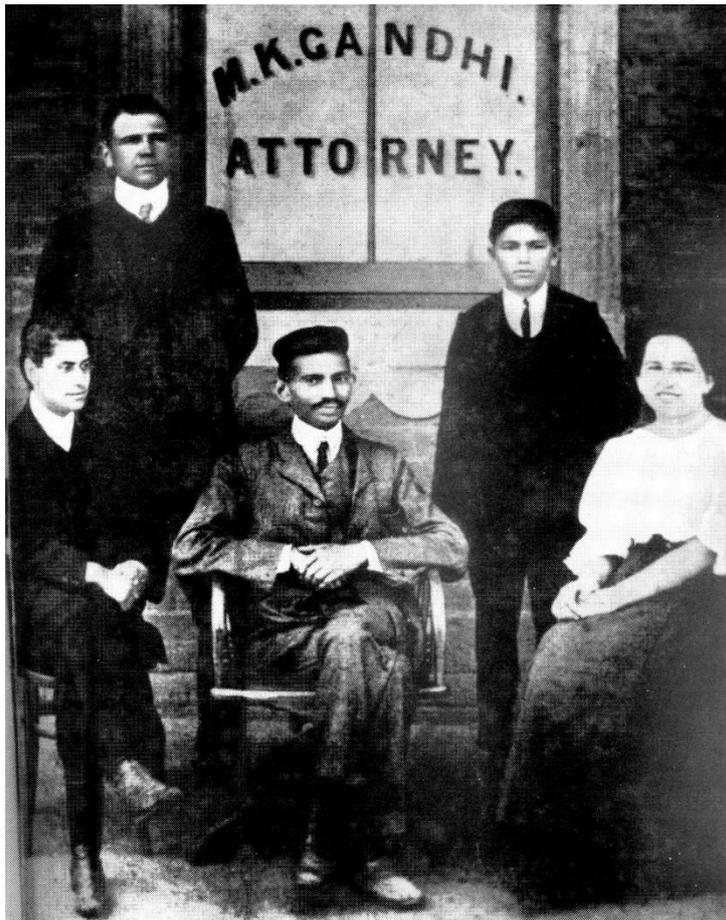
AS A SATYAGRAHI WITH  
KASTURBA, SOUTH AFRICA. 1914

1944

## The Lawyer in Africa

Gandhi insisted that his clients speak the whole truth; he dropped many cases when he discovered that he had been deceived. The lawyer's duty, he held, was not to prove the guilty innocent but to help the court to arrive at the truth.

If a person, wishing to retain him, made a confession of wrong-doing, Gandhi would say, "Why don't you plead guilty and take the penalty?" He thought there was too much litigation for community health and individual morality.



In front of his office in Johannesburg, 1905.  
Seated with him are Miss Schlesin and Mr. Polak

## Pioneers of the Great Experiment

Gandhi led the struggle for justice of the Indians in South Africa, for nearly fifteen years. It was the first experiment of Satyagraha\*, non-violent non-cooperation movement which ended in victory in 1914.

General Smuts later referred to the memories of those eventful years on Gandhi's seventieth birthday; "It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect. His activities at that time were very trying to me. For him everything went according to plan. For me, the defender of law and order, there was the usual trying situation, the odium of carrying out a law which had not strong public support, and finally the discomfiture when the law had to be repealed. For him it was a successful coup. Nor was the personal touch wanting. In jail he had prepared for me a pair of sandals which he presented to me when he was set free. I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man."

\* He coined the word at the end of 1906 for this kind of movement.



GANDHI ALONG WITH KASTURBA, RUSTOMJI AND OTHER SATYAGRAHIS  
IN NATAL. 1914

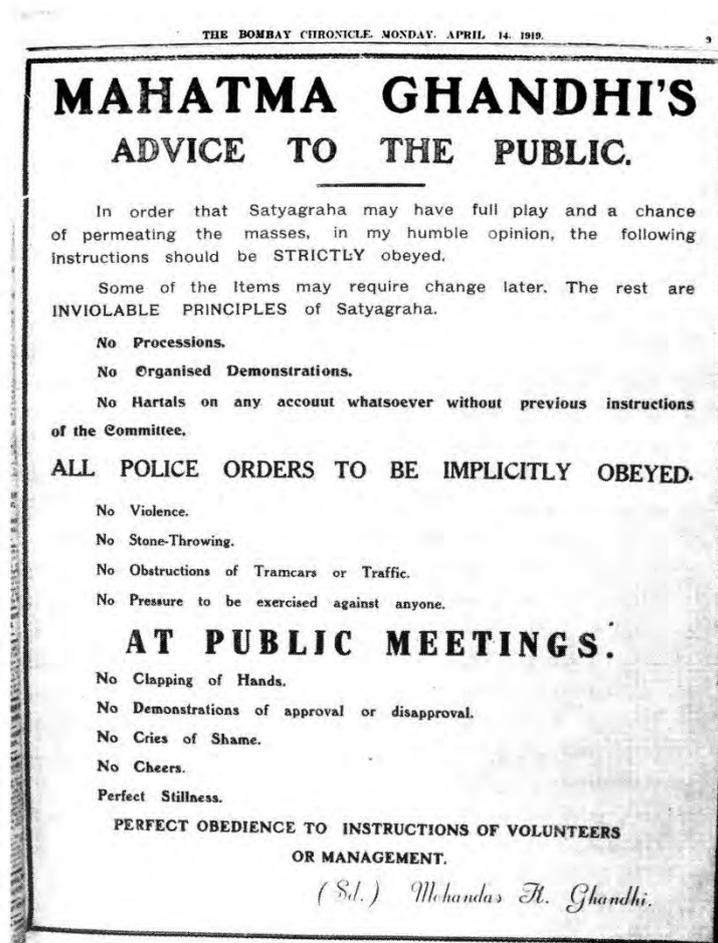


GANDHI AND KASTURBA LEAVING SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE END OF THE  
VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE, DURBAN. 1914

## Gandhi introduces Satyagraha in India

In 1919, Gandhi announced Satyagraha and many people signed Satyagraha pledge. He declared in Bombay, "Even such a mighty government as the Government of India will have to yield if we are true to our pledge... It is an attempt to introduce a religious spirit into politics... we may not meet hatred with hatred, violence with violence; but we have to make a continuous and persistent effort to return good for evil... Nothing is impossible."

He declared a countrywide *hartal* (strike) on April 6, 1919 which was a phenomenal success. There were scenes of violence on the arrest of Gandhi. On release he addressed a mammoth meeting on April 11, 1919 at Chowpatty in Mumbai: "...I have just heard that some English gentlemen have been injured... For me Englishmen too are our brethren. We can have nothing against them..." Again at Ahmedabad he said on April 13: "A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more." As penance he decided to fast for seventy-two hours and asked the people to fast for a day.

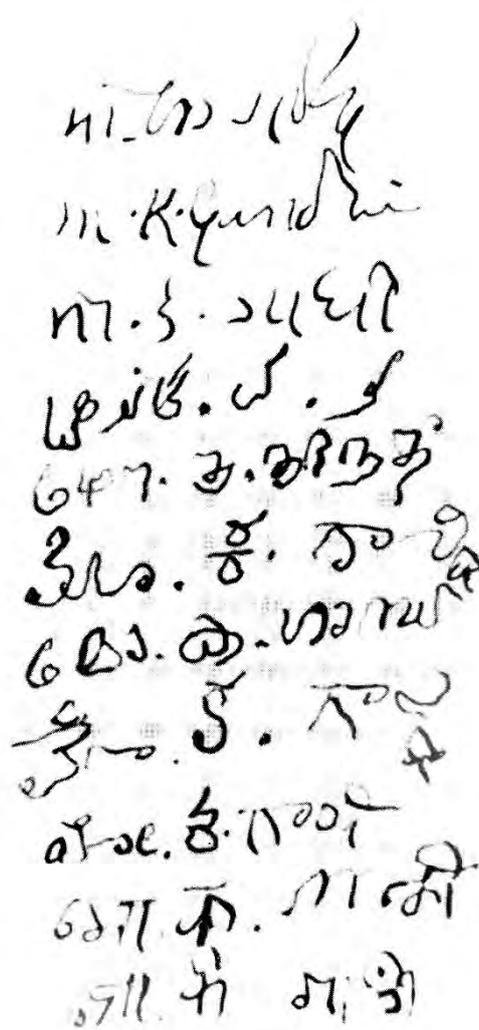


Satyagraha notice in the press, Young India. 1919

### Movement extends beyond Politics

In November 1920 Gandhi founded the National University of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. Its ideal was that of a united India. Its object was to preserve the languages of India, and to use them as sources of national regeneration.

GaNDHI said on this occasion, "A systematic study of Asiatic culture is no less essential than the study of western sciences. The vast treasures of Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian and Pali and Magadhi have to be ransacked to discover wherein lies the source of strength for the nation. The ideal is not to feed on or repeat the ancient cultures, but to build a new culture based on the traditions of the past and enriched by the experiences of later times."



Handwritten text in various Indian scripts, including Devanagari, Gujarati, and others, arranged in a vertical list. The text appears to be a collection of names or titles, possibly related to the National University of Gujarat mentioned in the text above.

## Wiping the Shame of Untouchability

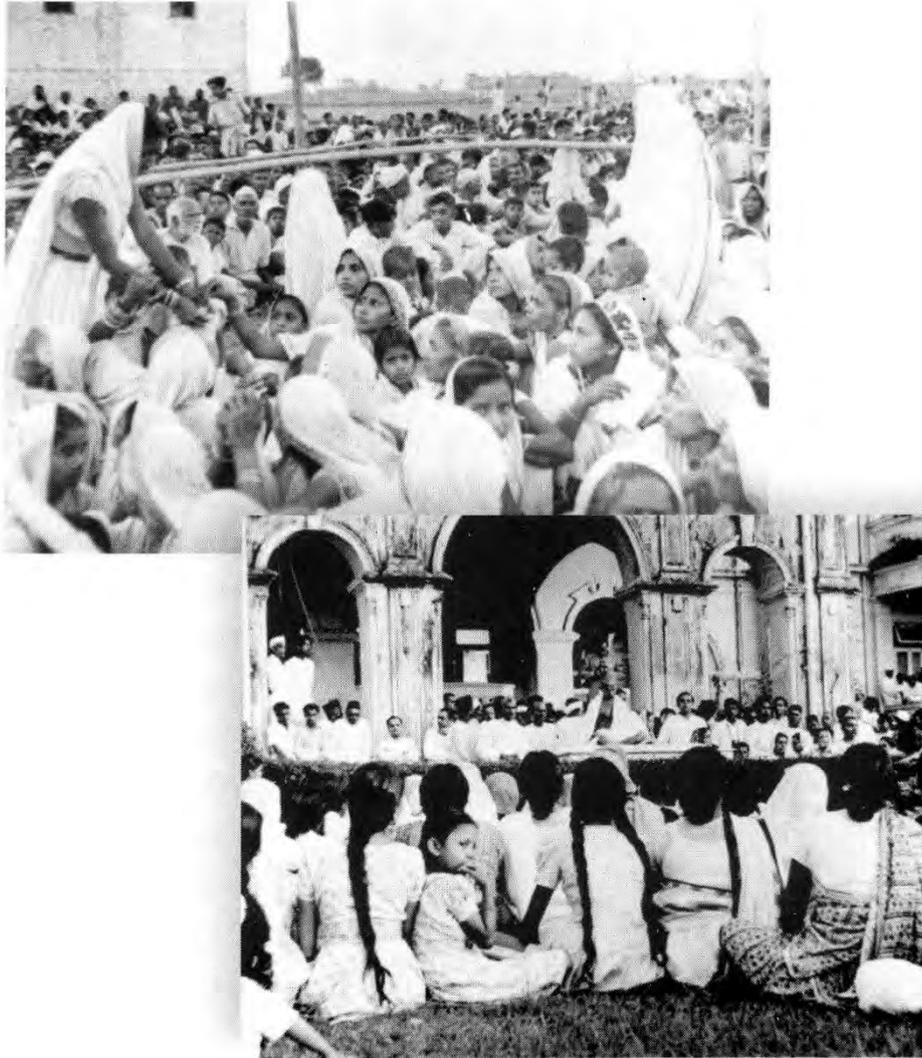
If Gandhi condemned the unjust rule of the British, he did not spare the Hindus for their inhuman treatment of the untouchables. "I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism," he said, at the Depressed Classes Conference held at Ahmedabad on April 13, 1920.

-So far as I am concerned with the untouchability question, it is one of life and death for Hinduism. I have said repeatedly, if untouchability lives Hinduism perishes, and even India perishes... My motive in launching the anti-untouchability campaign is clear. What I am aiming at is not every Hindu touching an 'untouchable' but every touchable Hindu driving untouchability from his heart, going through a complete change of heart." In conversation with C.F. Andrews, November 1936.

EVEN during the most trying times of the Independence Movement, he worked incessantly for Harijan uplift.



WOMEN COLLECTING FUNDS FOR THE MOVEMENT AT A GATHERING



CONVOCATION ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF  
VANITA VISHRAM (WOMENS' SCHOOL), AHMEDABAD. 1920

## Tear down the Purdah\*

Gandhi espoused the cause of women also with great alacrity.

"If you want to play your part in the world's affairs you must refuse to deck yourselves for pleasing man... Refuse to be slaves of your own whims and fancies, and slaves of men... It is your birthright. Man is born of woman; he is flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone. Come to your own and deliver your message again."

Young India. February 20, 1920

-Of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity, the female sex, not the weaker sex."

Address at Barisar, Andhra Pradesh, 1921

The women's meetings were crowded and their response generous. Gandhi's message to them was to tear down the purdah... "By seeking to interfere with the free growth of the womanhood of India, we are interfering with the growth of free and independent-spirited men. What we are doing to our women and what we are doing to the untouchables recoils upon our heads with a force thousand times multiplied. It partly accounts for our weakness, indecision, narrowness and helplessness. Let us then tear down the purdah with one mighty effort."

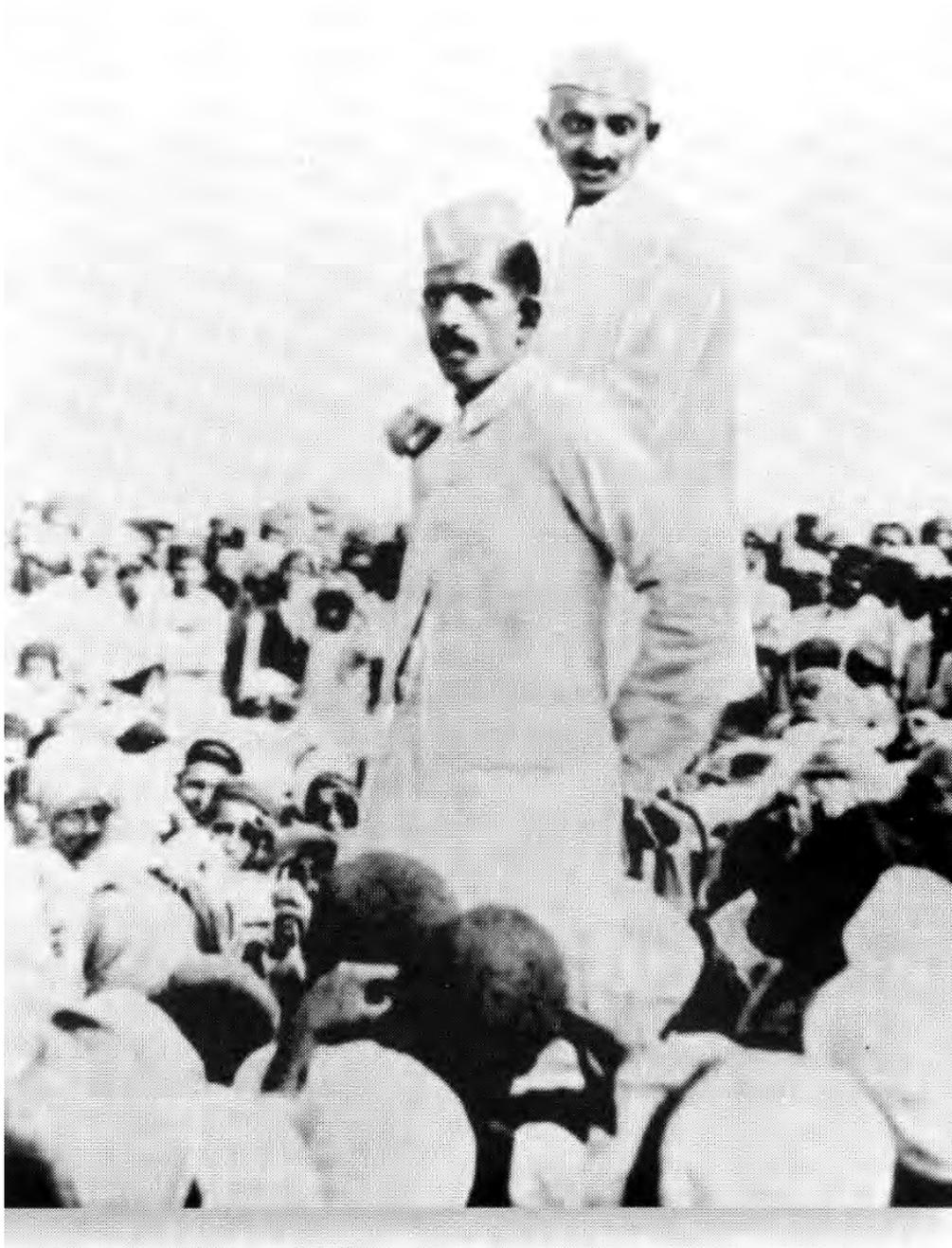
Address on January 18, 1927.

Tagore, who loved Gandhi, wrote of the Mahatma, "He condemns sexual life as inconsistent with the moral progress of man and has a horror of sex as great as that of the author of The Kreutzer Sonata, but, unlike Tolstoy, he betrays no abhorrence of the sex that tempts his kind. In fact, his tenderness for woman is one of the noblest and most consistent trait of his character and he counts among the women of his country some of his best and truest comrades in the great movement he is leading."

\*The veil covering the face of a woman.



At the convocation of the Thackersey University for Women, Mumbai. July 1, 1939



ADDRESSING A CROWD IN KALKA, SIMLA DURING HIS WHIRLWIND  
PROPAGANDA TOUR FOR UNITY AND SATYAGRAHA. MAY 1921

SOON AFTER HIS ARRIVAL FROM AFRICA, GANDHI TOLD  
THE POLITICIANS TO SHED THEIR WESTERN GARB AND OUTLOOK.  
VILLAGE UPLIFT WAS GANDHI'S FIRST FREEDOM.

## Gandhi awakens the Masses

A special committee meeting of the Congress was convened to discuss Gandhi's proposal of introducing non-violent non-cooperation in the principle objectives of the Congress.

On its recommendation, the Congress at Nagpur passed the resolution: "The object of the Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." It became the creed of the Congress.

HECTIC tours to explain to the people the programme and the meaning of civil disobedience followed: "Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion - a refusal to obey every single state made law... It is my firm conviction that if we bring a successful boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have produced an atmosphere that would enable us to inaugurate civil disobedience on a scale that no government can resist. I would therefore, urge patience and determined concentration on *swadeshi* upon those who are impatient to embark on civil disobedience."

In May 1921, 12,000 labourers struck work in Assam tea gardens. There were 400 strikes affecting half a million workers. The political situation was so intense that Lord Reading, the Viceroy, called Gandhi for an interview at Simla in the middle of May, 1921.

LATER, the Viceroy wrote to his son... "There is nothing striking about his appearance... When he talks, the impression is different. He is direct, and expresses himself well in excellent English with a fine appreciation of the value of the words he uses. There is no hesitation about him, there is a ring of sincerity in all that he utters... His religious and moral views are admirable and indeed are on a remarkably high altitude, though I must confess that I find it difficult to understand his practice of them in politics... he was supremely courteous, with manners of distinction... He held in every way to his word in the various discussions we had."

## The Half-naked Fakir\*

GOVERNMENT'S repressive policy accelerated the Satyagraha campaign. Boycott of foreign cloth was an important part of this campaign. He said, "I know that many will find it difficult to replace their foreign cloth all at once. Millions are too poor to buy enough khadi to replace their discarded cloth. Let them be satisfied with a mere loin-cloth. In our climate, we hardly need to protect our bodies during the warm months of the year... In order, therefore, to set the example, I propose to discard, at least, up to October 31, my *topi* and vest and to content myself with only a loin-cloth and a *chaddar*, whenever found necessary for the protection of the body. I adopt the change because I always hesitated to advise anything I may not myself be prepared to follow... If only we can go through the course of organising manufacture and collecting foreign cloth during the month of October, abstaining from meetings and excitements, we shall produce an atmosphere calm and peaceful enough to embark upon civil disobedience if it is then found necessary."

\*So called by Sir Winston Churchill, in utter contempt.

It did not take long for Gandhi to become a half-naked fakir. On September 21, 1921, at ten in the morning, a barber was called in to shave his head... Then he wore a piece of *khaddar* of a cubit width around his loins.

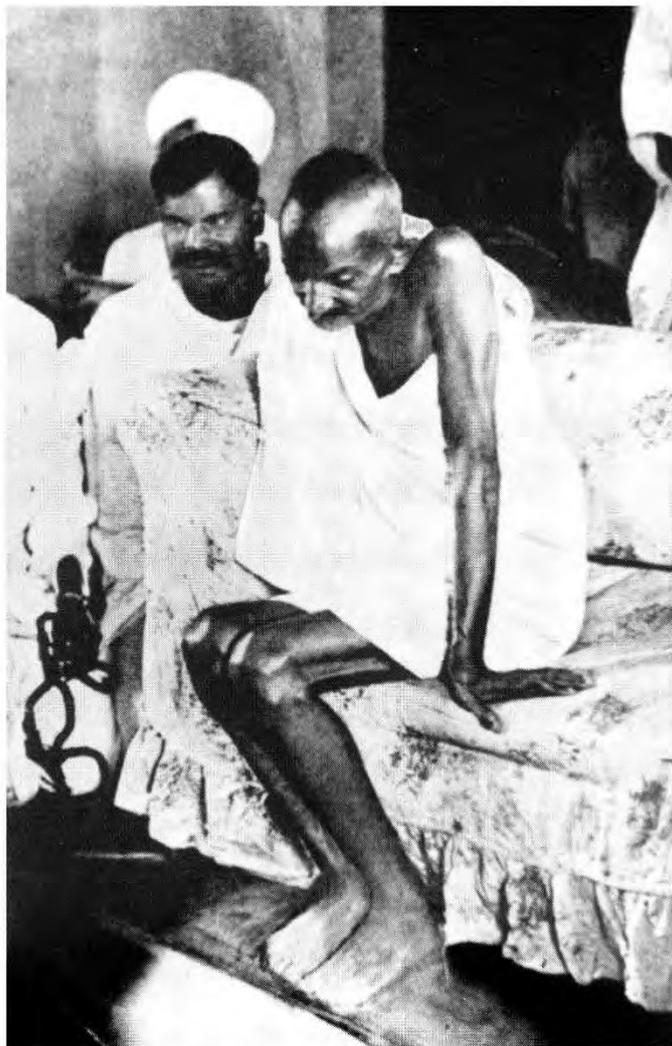


In Trichinopoly. September 19, 1921.

## Penance for Unity

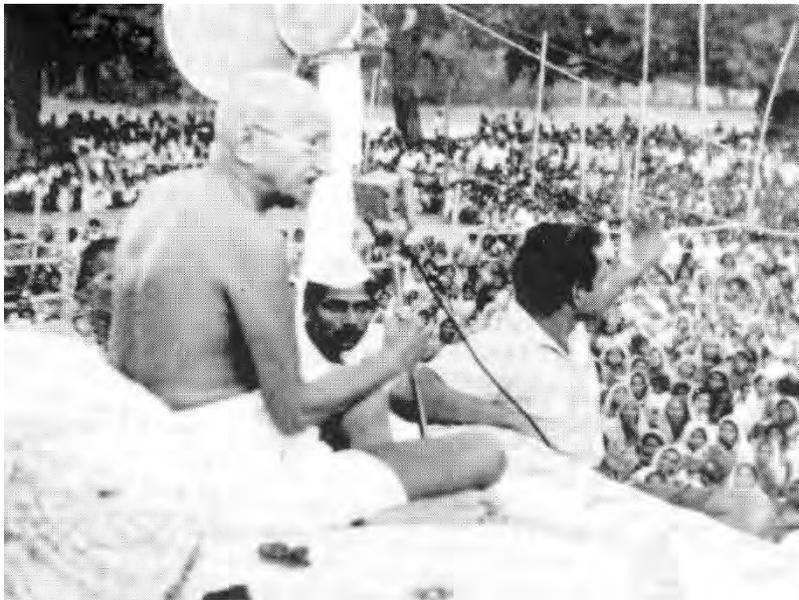
In 1924, Hindu-Muslim tension grew. Riots took place in Kohat. Gandhi issued a statement on September 18: "The recent events have proved unbearable for me. My helplessness is still more unbearable. My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress, which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray. I have done so in connection with my own dearest ones. Nothing evidently that I say or write can bring the two communities together. I am therefore, imposing on myself a fast of twenty-one days commencing from to-day and ending on October 6."

He told the Unity Conference: "Hitherto it has been a struggle and a yearning for a change of heart among the Englishmen who compose the Government of India. That change has still to come. The struggle must for the moment be transferred to a change of heart among Hindus and Musalmans. Before they dare think of freedom they must be brave enough to love one another, to tolerate one another's religion, even prejudices and superstitions, and to trust one another."



JUST AFTER BREAKING THE FAST FOR UNITY. OCTOBER 1924

Year after year Gandhi continued more and more intensively his campaign for the unity of India. He tried to unite all religions, races, castes and parties, to form a solid block. His supreme efforts were given to the regeneration of the suppressed classes.



## Gandhi leads the Congress

CONGRESS was ridden with internal squabbles and communal tensions whereas the Government repression increased. Gandhi was invited to preside over the Congress in 1924.

"Friends,... The developments, both internal and external, have necessitated my acceptance of the burden... I regard this repression as a chronic symptom of a chronic disease. The European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula. Sometimes it is stated still more cryptically as white versus black." He referred to the terrorism unleashed on the people of most colonial countries. "The repression in Bengal is, therefore, not an extraordinary thing... As a congressman wishing to keep the congress intact, I advise suspension of non-cooperation, for I see that the nation is not ready for it... This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Khed or Champaran and in other cases. It excludes all violence or hate. ...Let us all strive to be perfect satyagrahis..."

Presidential Address, Congress. 1924



Belgaum Congress presided over by Gandhi. December 26, 1924

## The March that shook the empire

The moment for launching civil disobedience could not be postponed any longer. On March 2, 1930, Gandhi addressed a historic letter to the Viceroy:

"Dear Friend - Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out".

"My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India."

He enumerated all the evils and injustice meted out to Indian people and added, "If you cannot see your way to deal with these evils, and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the Salt Law. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from poor man's standpoint... This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty, peremptory on a civil resister..."

The Viceroy was adamant. Gandhi wrote, "...The reply says I contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace. In spite of the forest of books containing rules and regulations, the only law that the nation knows is the will of the British administrators, the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of a public prison. India is one vast prison-house. I repudiate this law, and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of the compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent."



PEOPLE BREAKING THE SALT LAW. 1931

GANDHI'S APPEAL  
TO THE WORLD

I want world  
sympathy in  
this battle of  
Right against  
Wrong.  
Sardar MK Gandhi  
5.4.30



GANDHI BREAKS THE SALT LAW, AS MITHUBEN PETIT LOOKS ON. APRIL 6, 1930

## An attempt at Peaceful Settlement

Following the mass Satyagraha after Dandi March, the British Government invited Gandhi and other leaders for a Round Table Conference for some settlement.

On September 15, 1931 Gandhi spoke at the conference. He read out the Karachi Congress resolution which demanded Purna Swaraj or complete independence as the goal of the Congress. And he concluded, "I would love to go away from the shores of the British Isles with the conviction that there was to be an honourable and equal partnership between Great Britain and India..."

The conference ended in disappointment.



AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, LONDON. SEPTEMBER 1931



## An Endearing Opponent

While in England for the Round Table Conference, Gandhi visited Lancashire mill workers who were hit hard by the boycott of foreign goods in India. He stayed there for two days and spoke to them: "I am pained at the unemployment here. But there is no starvation or semi starvation. In India we have both... Even in your misery you are comparatively happy. I do not grudge that happiness. I wish you well, but do not think of prospering on the tombs of poor millions of India. I do not want for India an isolated life at all, but I do not want to depend on any country for my food and my clothing... Do you wish to prosper by stealing their morsel of bread from the mouth of the Indian spinner and weaver, and their hungry children?"

"We understand each other now," they said. Gandhi was deeply moved by their warmth and affection. "I shall treasure the memory of these days to the end of my earthly existence," he said.



## Science for the Benefit of All

IF we could have electricity in every village home, I should not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with the help of electricity. But then the village communities or the State would own powerhouses, just as they have their grazing pastures. But where there is no electricity and no machinery, what are idle hands to do? Will you give them work, or would you have their owners cut them down for want of work?... I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all."



## Resolve Poverty without Violence

It is my conviction that if the state suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The state represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship ...the state may use too much violence against those who differ from it. I would be very happy indeed, if the people concerned behaved as trustees; ... What I would personally prefer would be not a centralisation of power in the hands of the state, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the state. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of state ownership."

In conversation with Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, December 1934

Gandhi's ashram at Seagon, originally an hamiet, was renamed Sevagram by him in 1939. This turned into a centre for the Movement in service (*seva*) of the people.



Gandhi outside his house at Sevagram, 1940

IF you want capital to be extinct or you want to abolish moneyed men or the capitalists, you will never succeed. What you must do is to demonstrate to the capitalists the power of labour and they will consent to be the trustee of those who toil for them... I want the rich to hold their riches in trust for the poor, or to give them up for them. Do you know that I gave up all my property when I founded Tolstoy Farm? Ruskin's *Unto this Last* inspired me, and I built my farm on those lines. You will now recognise that I am a foundation member of your Peasants' and Workers' Republic."

Talking to representatives of 'Navajawan Sabha'. Year 1931



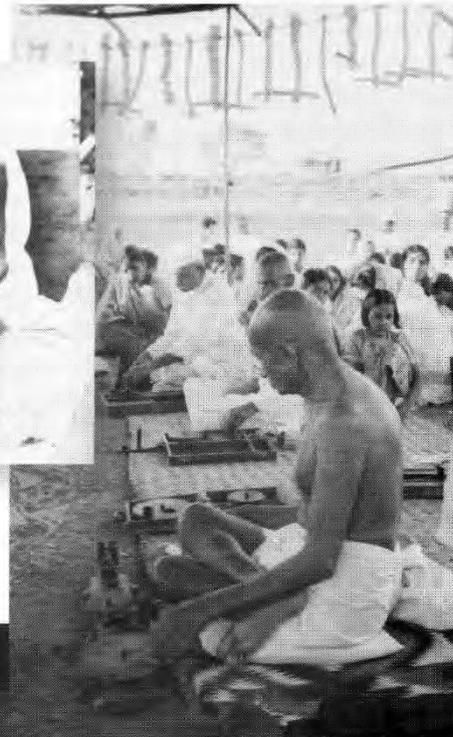
WITH A MUD PACK DURING A HOT SUMMER AT SEVAGRAM. 1940

## Swaraj (self-rule)

"Once I said in spinning wheel lies Swaraj, next I said in prohibition lies Swaraj. In the same way I would say in cent percent swadeshi lies Swaraj... If we tap all our resources, I am quite sure we can be again the richest country in the world, which we were, I suppose, at one time. We can repeat the phenomena, if we cease to be idle and profitably occupy the idle hours of the millions. All that we need is to be industrious, not like a machine, but like the busy bee."

In conversation. August 1934

AT SABARMATI ASHRAM,  
APRIL 1925

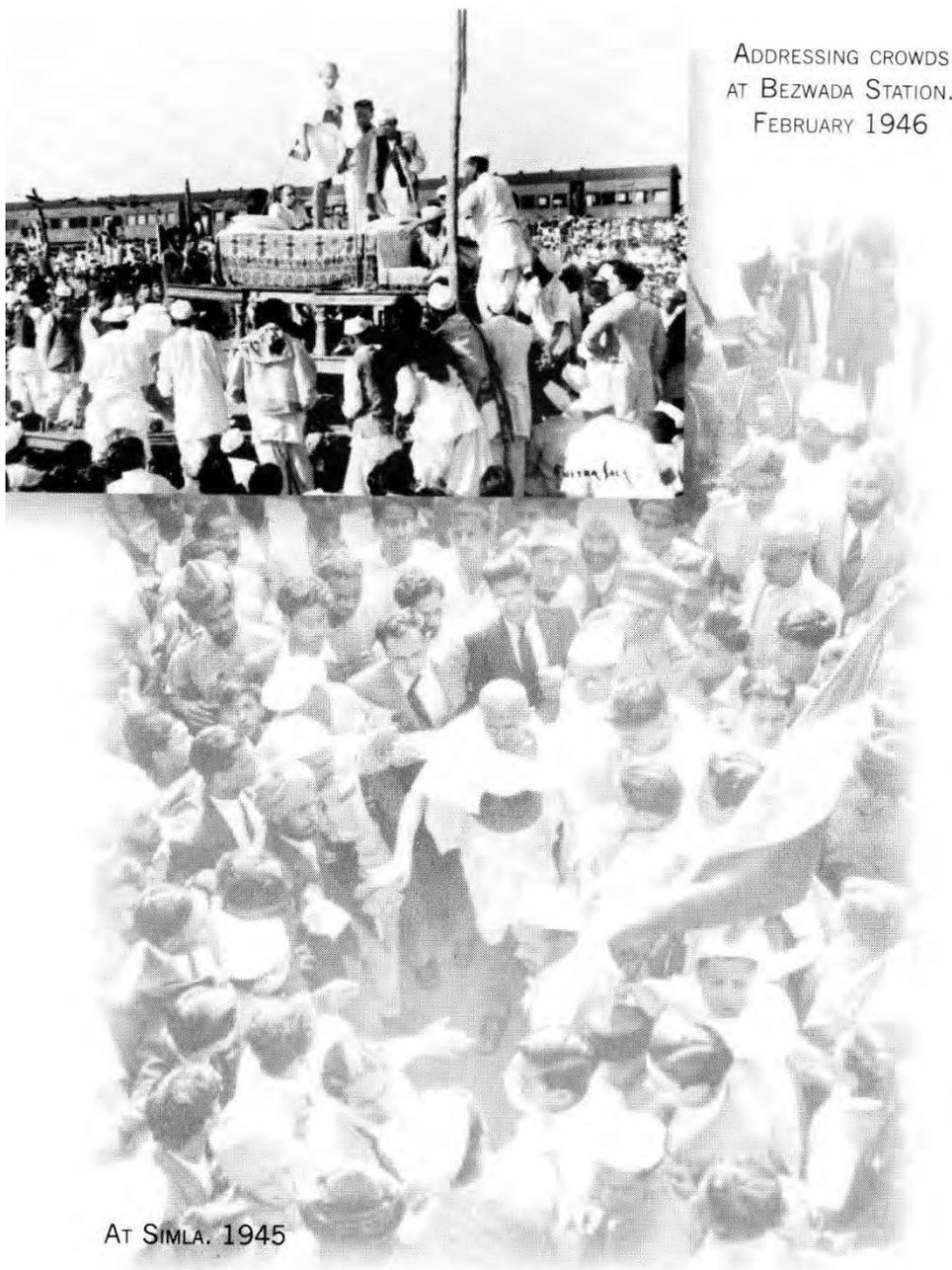


MASS SPINNING



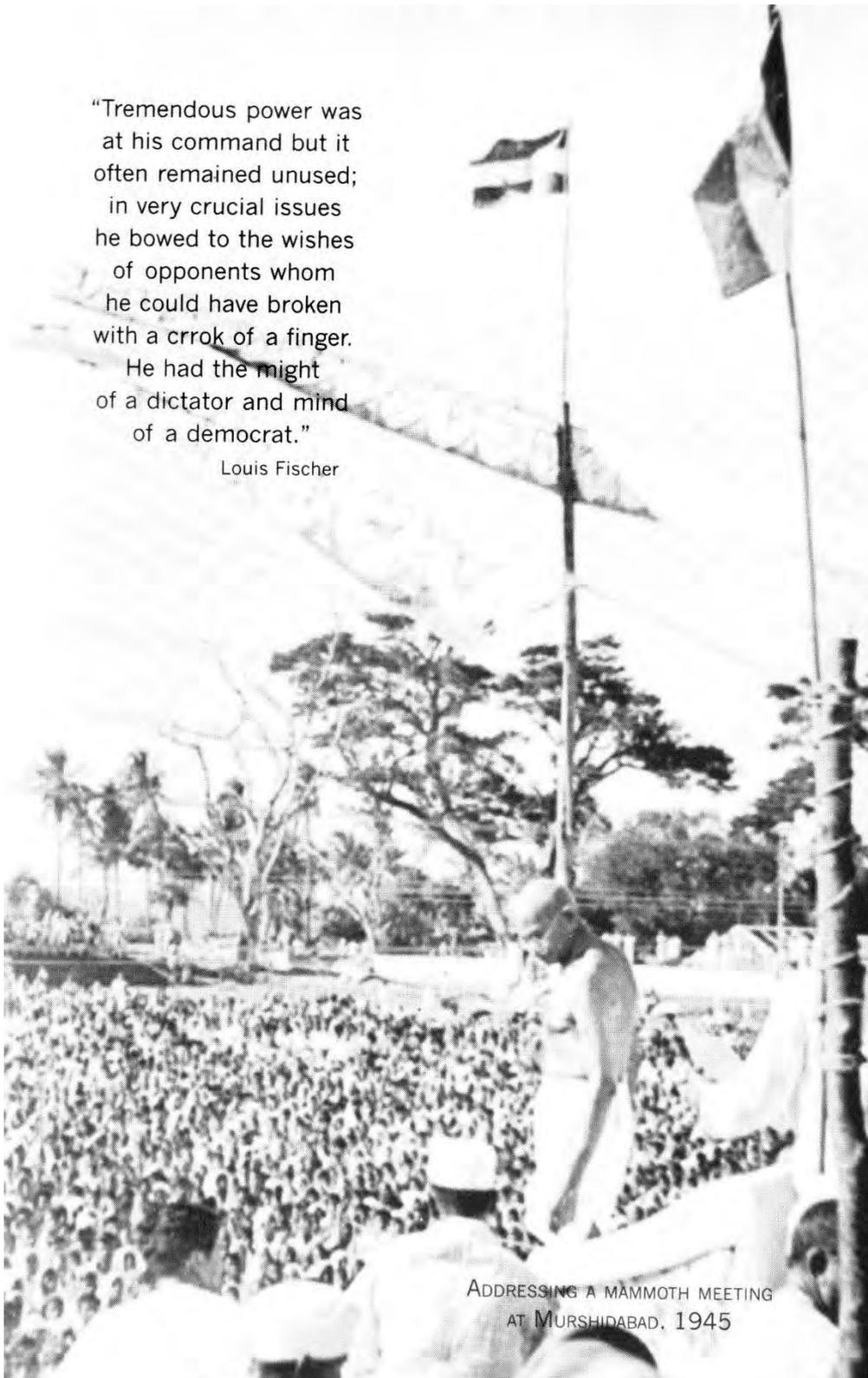
SEVAGRAM. 1940

HE HAD THE MIGHT OF A DICTATOR  
AND MIND OF A DEMOCRAT



“Tremendous power was at his command but it often remained unused; in very crucial issues he bowed to the wishes of opponents whom he could have broken with a crook of a finger. He had the might of a dictator and mind of a democrat.”

Louis Fischer



ADDRESSING A MAMMOTH MEETING  
AT MURSHIDABAD, 1945

## Leave India to God

Quit India Resolution was passed by a mammoth Congress meeting on April 8, 1942 in Mumbai.

The peril of today therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of the British dominion. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A.I.C.C.\*, therefore, repeats with all emphasis and demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India..."

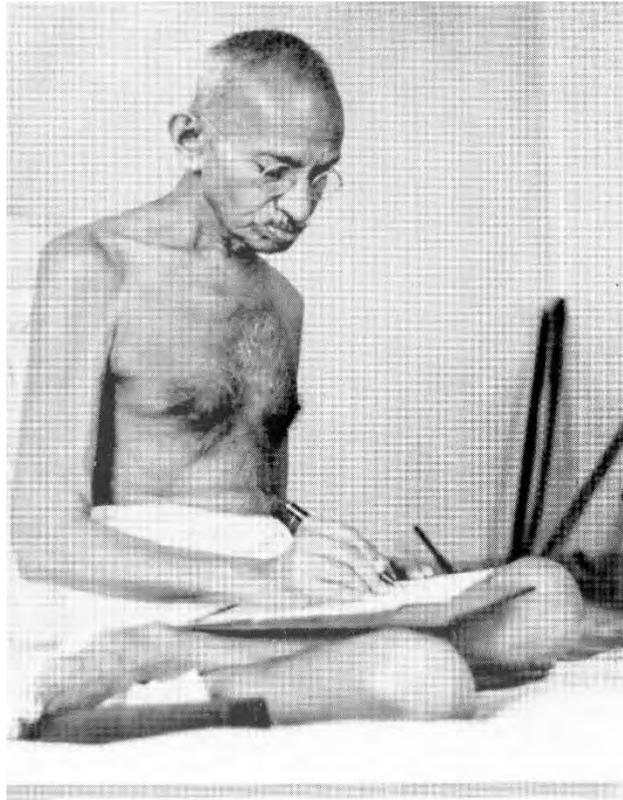
Quit India Resolution

addressing the mammoth crowds, foreign press people and others, after the Quit India resolution: "For the last fifty years; ...I have been a humble servant of humanity and have rendered on more than one occasion such service as I could to the empire; and here let me say without fear of challenge that throughout my career never have I asked for any personal favour.

We have to deal with an empire whose ways are crooked. Ours is a straight path which we can tread even with our eyes closed. That is the beauty of Satyagraha.

In Satyagraha there is no place for fraud or falsehood, or any kind of untruth. Fraud and untruth today are stalking the world... However gigantic the preparation the empire has made, we must get out of its clutches... You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for ministries and the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. May be he (Viceroy) will propose the abolition of Salt Tax, the drink evil, etc. But I will say 'nothing less than freedom'. Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: 'Do or Die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see perpetration of our slavery. Every true Congressman or woman will join the struggle with an inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country in bondage and slavery. Let that be your pledge."

\* All India Congress Committee



PROBABLY PREPARING THE DRAFT OF THE RESOLUTION OF QUIT INDIA. AUGUST 1942

गांधीजीका संदेश  
मरी ३ मई १९४२  
पुस्तकें सब जलाने की  
धुआँ देना है।  
माताजी  
१-२-४२  
गान्धीजयन्तकवचन  
कुं यद्भवति तन्न कर्तव्यं कर्तुं  
कुं भ्रान्तमिदं कर्तुं ननु  
भवति ननु  
श्री. क. गान्धी  
१.१.४२  
करेंगे या मरेंगे - कर्तव्यं कर्तुं  
- गान्धी

'DO OR DIE', GANDHI'S MESSAGE IN HINDI AND KANARESE

## His Faith in Humanity

INDIA won freedom on August 15, 1947, but Gandhi was perplexed and perturbed; his Gita detachment was impaired because of the communal disturbance. "I am far away from the condition of equipoise," he declared. But faith never left him, nor did he contemplate retiring to a cave or a wood. "No cause that is intrinsically just can ever be described as forlorn," he asserted. "You must not lose faith in humanity," he wrote to Amrit Kaur on August 29. "Humanity is an ocean. If a few drops of the ocean are dirty, the ocean does not become dirty." He had kept his faith in man. He had kept his faith in God. He had kept therefore his faith in himself. "I am a born fighter who does not know failure," he assured a prayer-meeting audience.

Partition was a fact, but "it is always possible by correct conduct to lessen an evil and eventually even to bring good out of evil," Gandhi said.

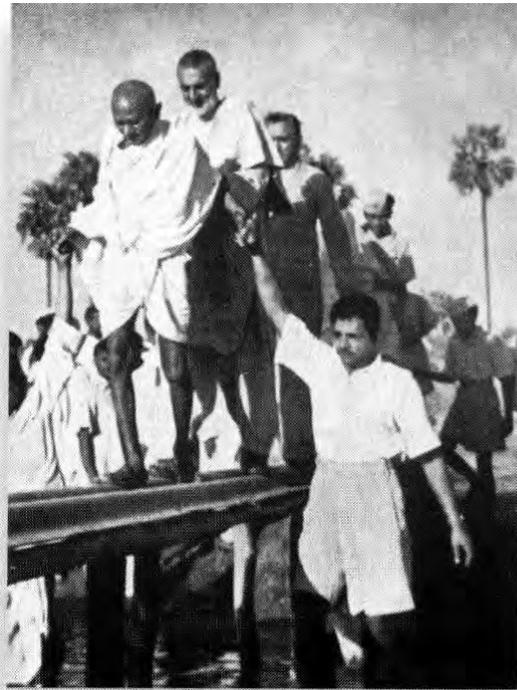
As the possibility of Independence drew closer, the tension between Hindus and Muslims mounted. Riots broke out everywhere. At the age of seventy-seven, he started his march at Noakhali in Bengal, visiting one village a day spreading his message of love and non-violence. He made immense efforts to bring about communal harmony at the time of the Partition of India.

Ultimately the situation in the east came under control. Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India paid a glorious tribute to his efforts to bring peace. He sent a telegram to Gandhiji on August 26, 1947:

"My dear Gandhiji,

In Punjab we have 55000 soldiers and large- scale rioting on our hands. In Bengal our forces consist of one man and there is no rioting. As a serving officer, as well as an administrator, may I be allowed to pay my tribute to the One Man Boundary Force."

|| "Personally I have never known what it is to be communal. To unite all sections of all the communities that people this vast land of ours had been my dream, ever since my early childhood; and till that dream is realised my spirit can know no rest." ||



TOUR FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY, JAHANABAD, BIHAR. MARCH 1947



## Glimpses

His was a supreme manifestation of life without a wall. He wanted the world to know him, all of him; less than that would not have been truth. And he told the truth about his inner struggles and outer contacts so that others might learn from them... His mind and emotions were even more exposed than his body.

Louis Fischer



AT RAMGARH CONGRESS. MARCH 17, 1940

### A DAY IN THE LIFE OF GANDHI



WITH KASTURBA,  
SEVAGRAM. 1940

PATting A NEW-BORN CALF



AT WORK



A PRAYER MEETING



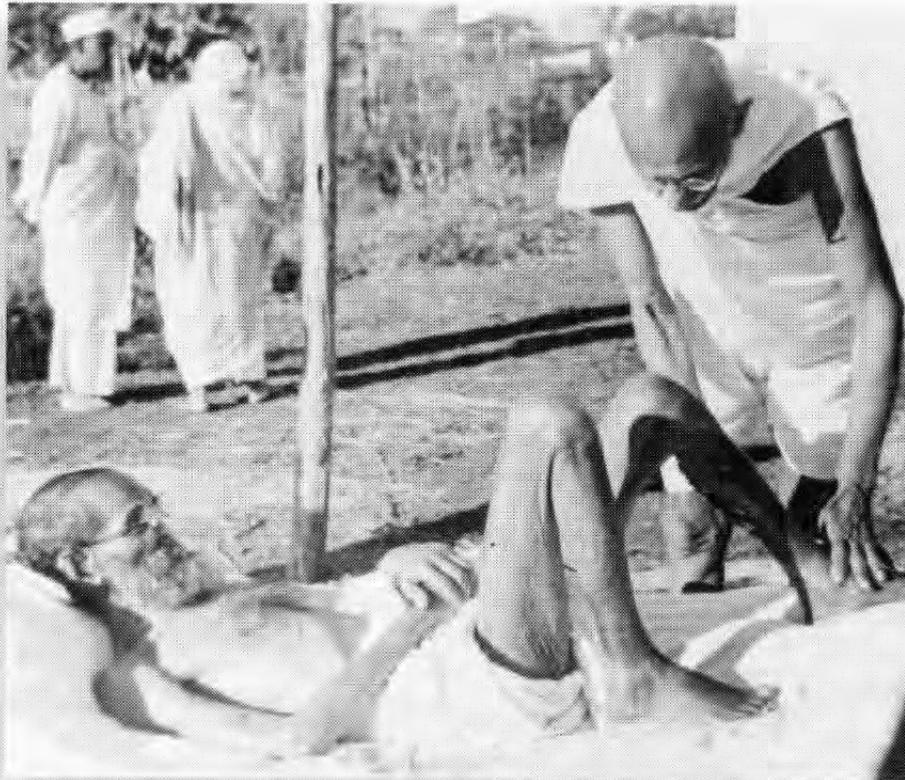
GETTING READY FOR THE CLEANING  
CAMPAIGN, WARDHA. 1936



AT THE CHARKHA. 1929

“All the twenty-four hours of the day, I am with the dumb millions. They are my first care and last, because I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions... And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.”

*Harijan*, March 11, 1939



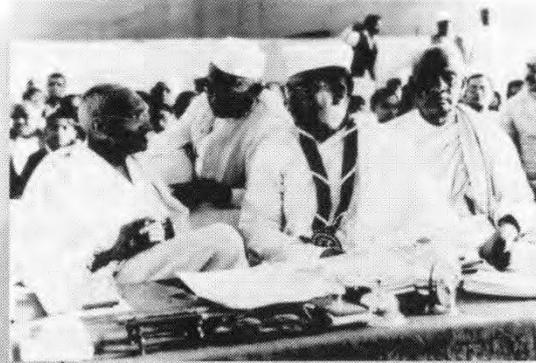
NURSING THE LEPER PATIENT, SEGAON. 1939

## IN THE MIDST OF LEADERS



WITH SAROJINI NAIDU,  
MUMBAI. 1931

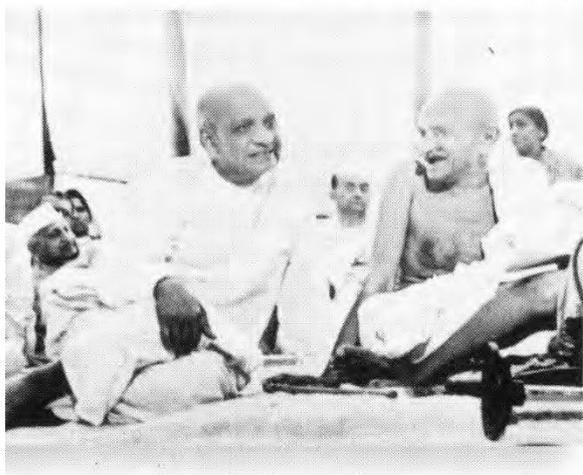
SEATED WITH SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE,  
HARIPURA CONGRESS. 1938



WITH RABINDRANATH TAGORE,  
SHANTINIKETAN. FEBRUARY 1940

WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN DURING  
THE FRONTIER TOUR. OCTOBER 1938

WITH SARDAR PATEL, RAMGARH CONGRESS. 1940





WALKING WITH JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND MAULANA AZAD, WARDHA. AUGUST 1935

WITH CHARLIE CHAPLIN AT CANNING TOWN.  
SEPTEMBER 22, 1931



WITH LORD AND LADY  
MOUNTBATTEN,  
DELHI. MARCH 1947



GREETING SIR STAFFORD CRIPS  
IN DELHI. 1946

IN CONVERSATION WITH ROMAIN ROLLAND,  
SWITZERLAND. 1931



IN A HILARIOUS MOOD



AT A PARTY, MADRAS. SEPTEMBER 1921

“His smile is delightful, his laughter infectious, and he radiates light-heartedness. There is something child-like about him which is full of charm. When he enters a room he brings a breath of fresh air with him which lightens the atmosphere.”

– Jawaharlal Nehru

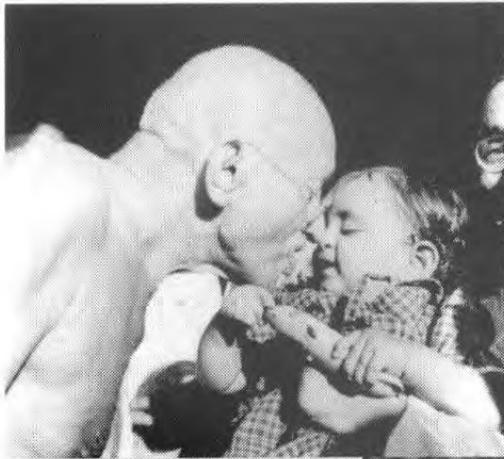
BOMBAY. 1942



## IN LIGHTER MOMENTS



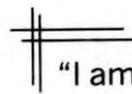
POONA. SEPTEMBER 1945



SEVAGRAM. 1944

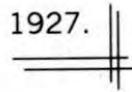


IN THE COMPANY OF CHILDREN

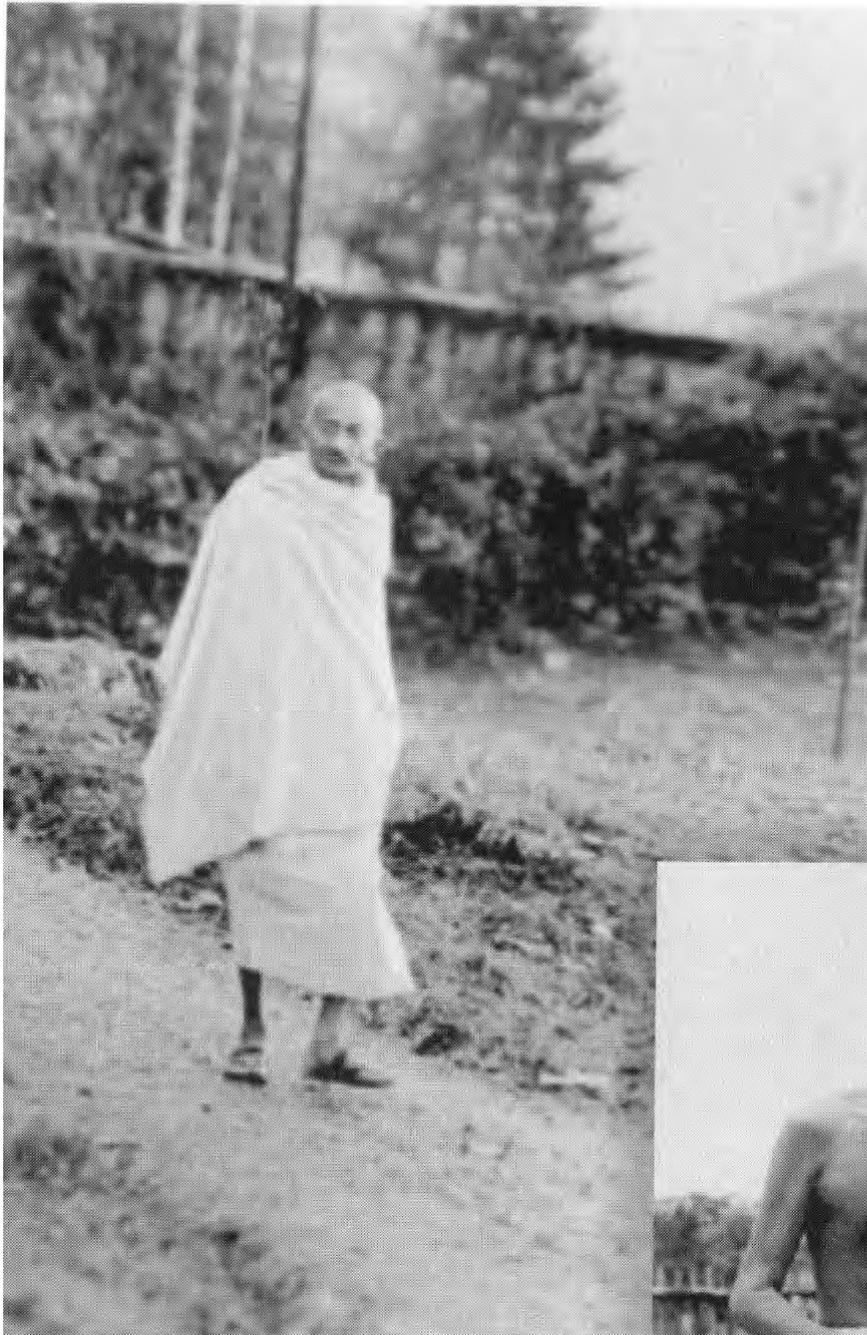


"I am a lover of my own liberty  
and so would I do  
nothing to restrict yours."

*Young India*, January 6, 1927.



TAKING A STROLL, SWITZERLAND. 1931



ON THE WAY TO  
A WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING,  
SEVAGRAM. 1940





ON HIS WALKING ROUND,  
SEVAGRAM. 1939

AT CAPE COMORIN. JANUARY 1934



“Oscar Wilde saw the highest art simply in outward forms and, therefore, succeeded in beautifying immortality.

All true art must help the soul to realise its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul’s realisation.

And, I can claim, that there is truly sufficient art in my life, though you might not see what you call works of art about me.”



AT MARBLE ROCKS, JABALPUR. FEBRUARY 1941

## Vaishnava Janato Tene Kahiye

Vaishnava janato tene kahiye  
Je peedaparaayijaane re  
Paradukkhe upakaara kare toye  
mana abhimaana na aane re

He is God's truest saint  
Who holds other's woes to be  
his own but takes no pride.

Sakala loka man sahu ne vande  
nindaa na kare keni re  
Vaacha kacha mana nischala raakhe  
dhana dhanajanani teni re

He... speaks ill of none and  
holds all alike in honour  
He is in full control of his speech,  
thought and passion

Smadrishi ne trushnaa tyaagi  
para strijene maata re  
Jihva thaki asatya na bole  
paradhana nava jhale haatha re

He speaks truth, does not  
covet other's wealth.  
He is pure and chaste

Moha maayaa vyaape nahin jene  
dradha vairaagya jena mana man re  
Raama naama shun taali re laagi  
sakala tiratha tenaa tana man re

His mind is drawn away from  
earthly things,  
He harbours no illusions  
Neither lusts nor ill desires / sear his soul:  
He loves the name of God,  
He knows well that God's most sacred  
shrine is man's own body

Bhane narasainyo enun darashana  
karatan kula ekotera tarya re

He is generous, and free from  
cunning, and does not yield to anger:  
One such man brings by his presence  
purity all around.

Narsinh Mehtra



IN MEDITATION, JUHU, MUMBAI. 1944



“ My desire is to close this life searching for truth, acting truth and thinking truth and that alone and I request the blessings of the nation that that desire of mine may be fulfilled. ”

## The Legacy of the Mahatma

"China followed Sun Yat Sen, took up the sword and fell into the arms of Japan. India, weaponless, accepted as her leader one of the strangest figures in history, and gave to the world the unprecedented phenomenon of a revolution led by a saint, and waged without a gun... Not since St. Francis of Assisi has any life known to history been so marked by gentleness, disinterestedness, simplicity and forgiveness of enemies."

- Will Durrani in his 'Story of Civilization'

A LEADER of his people, unsupported by any outward authority, a victorious fighter who always scorned the use of force, a man of wisdom and humility who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being and has at all times risen superior.... Generations to come will scarce believe that such a man as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

- Albert Einstein

"MAHATMA GANDHI was the first person in human history to lift the ethic of Love, of Jesus Christ, above mere interaction between individuals and make it into a powerful and effective social force on a large scale."

- Martin Luther King

"The fragility of modern civilization is exposed by the frighteningly ineffective way in which our world approaches conflict resolution. In international relationships, neither conventional diplomacy nor various uses of military deference have improved the thin margin on which the world exists. This somewhat pessimistic reading of history is challenged by one major exception, Mahatma Gandhi's application of policies and techniques of non-violence in India. Gandhi's success both redeems human nature from the inevitability of its historical experience and also suggests the viability of non-violence in modern situations."

- Professor Ralph Bultjens, Toymbee History Prize Laureate  
in his book, 'Gandhi in the Post Modern Age.'