

JP's letter to NRM (undated):-

You have not satisfied me. I did not say that the utility to the Socialist movement of me who believed in the new dynamic " was reduced to vanishing point. What I said was that one who went about preaching from every platform that Gandhiji's was the only way had a vanishing utility for the socialist movement. I cannot say if in your case, the two things are the same. It is likely that you have accepted the new dynamic in toto - along with the number of trusteeship and _____ and the rejection of the class struggle. You would perhaps be interested in the following statement of Gandhiji's: "God is is the force among all forces known and unknown. Non-violence without reliance upon that Force is poor stuff to be thrown in the dust. (Harijan, June 20, 1940,

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As for the new dynamic, I have respect for it, and believe that it has invented a useful form of mass action which should be (as it has been to some extent) adopted in socialist practice. But, as regards its theory, I reject it as utterly unscientific and built up of hocus-pocus. That the man who uses it exercises great influence need not surprise us when we turn to other great men in history who have done likewise. Indeed till the rise of Marxism, and outside of the practice inspired by it, men have been impelled not by scientific understanding but by the blind (in the sense of un-comprehended) laws of their existence.

Returning to the new dynamic, I cannot have much respect for its underlying theory - which to me is the only thing that matters - when I see that two and a half years of war and the Cripps episode were necessary to bring Gandhiji where he should have been from the beginning - I _____ to his attitude towards the war, the Communal problem, the question of anarchy, etc. There is a chorus of approval from every side today of Gandhiji's present policy. But what even our socialist friends have failed to tell the people that what Gandhiji is saying today ^{is} ~~what~~ what the socialists had been saying all along. When Mahadeo Desai expresses surprise that the authors of the Communal triangle should have hit upon

the same solution of the Communal problem and the Indo-British problem as Gandhiji before even the Crippa mission was mooted, he merely expresses surprise at the superiority of Marxism sociology to that of Gandhism. No one has a right to be disillusioned with socialism or communism because of disillusionment with the ~~stalin~~ Stalin regime. It would be the same thing as being disillusioned with Gandhism after the Congress ministries. I have no doubt that if the Gandhian State came into being, the status of Gandhism inspite of their best intentions, would make of it no better mess than Lenin's successor has done with the Soviet State. But no one on that account should have the right to be disillusioned with Gandhism itself. I am also not forgetting the fact the the very failure of the Stalinist regime is adequately explained only by Marxist theory.

However, it is not my intention to argue with you. It is clear to me that when a person of your propinquity and intellectual integrity has arrived at a conclusion, it would be beyond my capacity to influence this thought. I, therefore, accept your statement that there is no return for you to this old faith - whether of the orthodox or the protestant denomination. And it seems futile to dwell on the pang that that statement has caused some people.

But may I say that you have paid too careful a attention to my words rather than to the spirit which filled them. You will remember that I had said I did not want you to come back only in the interest of your party but also in the interest of the larger political movements. It is ~~time~~ true I had never conceived of you as ever leaving the socialist movement so completely. But even I am not so raw as to believe that outside of the Socialist movement, there is no political life whatever, and I had conceived of you when I sent you my fervent prayer, as playing a part and an effective part in the larger politics of the land. Your faith in the new dynamic should itself compel you to throw yourself into the boiling cauldron of satyagrah. I believe

the greatest moment of Gandhiji's life is approaching and the new dynamic is to rise to unprecedented heights. What little opportunity could there be for you to take the plunge ? I am not giving up hope about your socialism, but we shall see about that later. I shall no doubt earnestly pray that the new dynamic should solve the social problem. Perhaps its younger devotees may find the way out. Be that as it may it is what we do to the present that matters. For the rest, I do not think socialism is so unmindful of the question of means and ends as you seem to think. But the whole question of socialist action depends upon understanding of the dynamic of society, which is as different from Gandhian understanding as chalk is from cheese. But, as I have said, I do not wish to argue.

I shall conclude by saying that my prayer to you has lost none of its force - rather it has been strengthened by what you have said and by your confession of faith, . . .

(J.P.)