

TEACHINGS
OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

EDITED BY
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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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THE UNSEEN POWER
GITA THE MOTHER
THE GOOD LIFE
THE CONGRESS CASE

THE PENSIVE MOOD (A Collection of Poems)

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Foreword

CURING the last forty years or more of his most?

' busy and eventful life, Mahatma Gandhi has spoken much, and written a great deal, on a large variety of subjects of great interest and importance to India and to the world at large. His writings and the reports of his speeches are enshrined in the columns of newspapers and particularly of the weeklies which he has conducted. It is difficult to find out his views on a particular subject without reference to old files which are not easily available. Only some of his writings have been published in book form, e. g., My Experiments with Truth and Satyagraha in South Africa. His articles in Young India were published in 3 volumes by Mr. S. Ganesan. His speeches have also been collected and published by Mr, G. Natcsan But all these publications are out of date as they were published several years ago. Since then a great deal more has been written

Gandhiji is a growing personality and he has never allowed himself to be a slave of consistency. His latest views on any subject are therefore of great importance to the public. They are not easily

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available in a handy form. Sjt. Jag Parvesh Chander has attempted to collect together his writings under appropriate headings in a chronological order in this

book. One can at a glance get at Gandhiji's views on a particular subject and see the development of his thoughts on that subject as disclosed in his own words in his writings.

The book will prove of immense help to any serious student of Gandhian literature as a book of reference. That Gandhiji covers a vast variety of subjects is apparent from the fact that the book contains more than 340 headings under which his writings and speeches are divided.

The compiler has devoted much time and labour and I hope his labours will be appreciated by the public.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

. . * Introduction

>HEN man forsakes the sacred and ancient path of Truth, and in the insolence of his evanescent power desecrates all that is holy and of a permanent value in the land, God the Merciful and Jealous Custodian of Right sends His personal messengers to reinstate in the human breast the eternal and fundamental things that constitute the greatness of Man. And these are the things that differentiate him from the beast who only obeys the law of the jungle. The Creator, through His inscrutable ways, sees that man must remain a man and fulfil his destined mission. The purpose that lies behind this division between man and beast must be realized.

* ~

; ^ These prophets, who are the pride of the age in which they are born, hold communion with their Master. The divine message they interpret through their intellect and translate it in the customary human language for the benefit of the world. They practise in their own lives what they preach to others. They keep aloft and burning the flame of Righteousness amidst the "encircling gloom" of Greed, Selfishness and

Expediency.

The twentieth century in a way has been the blackest chapter in the history of mankind. Violence has been the guiding star of modern times. Exploitation is "the theft of the faith of the ruling powers,

and this is the freedom, a major portion of the population is held in abject slavery.

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God wanted man to be free and live on the basis of perfect equality. But that was not to be. The powers that were given to man for nobler purposes were misused. Intelligence with which man was blessed was wholly used in a way that negated the ambition of God. Realising the hideous sins that man was committing, God sent Gandhiji to warn the misguided ; reform the wrong-doer and lead the miscreants to the right path.

To-day the world may not admit but Gandhiji is indisputably the latest in the glorious and glittering line of the prophets. His life is a heritage of all the good that his predecessors said and did. The earlier prophets were maligned as impostors ; their teachings were reviled as the odd fancies of an obsessed mind. They were persecuted, stoned and even crucified. Such is the tragedy of life ! Such is the reward that mankind offers to its guides, friends and well-wishers !

Gandhiji too has suffered much at the hands of his cruel foes."

But undaunted by physical tortures the prophets preach the divine gospel ; unmindful of calumny they work for the uplift of those who besmear the dew-like purity of their lives ; unconcerned with the seeming failure of their mission, they pursue their work with a zeal that baffles the critic.

Posterity repents for the sins committed against them and spontaneously enshrines their sublime teachings in the imperishable Book of Life.

Look at the sufferings of Christ and look at the

popularity of the Bible ! When he was crucified, the cross became a symbol of the fulfilment of the spirit of

INTRODUCTION 9

retribution. To-day the Cross is worn next to the heart. It serves as a reminder of his gospel. The Cross to the Christians is as dear as the heart itself. Not a trumpet was beaten and not a bugle was blown to honour his selfless service. But to-day millions of bells toll from the belfry storeys in the praise of the Great Teacher. No dirge was sung at his funeral procession but to-day every Sunday the jubilant air re-echoes melodiously the soft and soothing music of the hymns sung to invoke the mercy of Christ.

To me at least, Gandhiji is as big a prophet as Christ was, or for that matter any other prophet. It has been my cherished wish to condense his inspired thoughts in a handy book. No other prophet has written or spoken so much as Gandhiji has done. The circumstances in which he is living have forced him to do so. The complexity of modern life demanded his tackling the intricate problems that face mankind.

For an ordinary busy man engrossed in his daily routine work, it is physically impossible to acquaint himself with Gandhiji's views on a particular subject. First, even the Young India and the Harijan files are not available in the market, let alone the expense involved in buying them. Secondly, even if one could borrow from a friend, the difficulty of collecting his ideas on any subject is overwhelming. So much so that one's enthusiasm and energy needed for the research work will vanish by the time.

Taking these facts under consideration I took upon myself the task of classifying Gandhiji's writings and speeches under different heads and arrange them alphabetically. In this book the reader has just to

look at the Contents and then turn over to the particular pages and he has before him the choicest wisdom of Gandhiji.

I have taken utmost care to avoid repetition of his views. The best and the most necessary quotations and articles are given. Selection has been done with devotion and pruning with diligence.

The book has a unique reference value and is indispensable both to his admirers and critics.

I thank Mr. K. L. Chopra, B. A., one of the Managers of the Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd., Lahore for helping me in editing some of the portions of this book. Though he is an insurance man primarily, he has an acute sense of discrimination in choosing and placing the right passage in its right place.

JAG PARVESH GRANDER

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TEACHINGS

OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

Abuse

WE should meet abuse by forbearance. Human

nature is so constituted that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or abuse, the person indulging in it will soon weary of it and stop. *Toung India* : Nov. 26, 1928.

<S> <\$> <3>

SUPPOSING some one showers abuse on us, what shall we do ? We will not ask him to be quiet, but will shut our own ears. Supposing someone calls me names, shall I go to his house and receive more abuse ? I wonder if you know the statute of the three monkeys in Kobe. It represents three monkeys with closed ears, closed mouth, and closed eyes, eloquently teaching the world to hear no evil, to speak no evil, and to see no evil. *Hanjan* : March 2, 1940.

Action

ALL action in this world has some drawback about it. It is man's duty and privilege to reduce it, and while living in the midst of it, to remain untouched by it as much as it is possible for him to do so. To take an extreme instance, there can perhaps be no greater contradiction in terms than a compassionate butcher. And yet it is possible

17

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even for a butcher if he has any pity in him. In fact I have actually known butchers with gentleness that one would hardly expect from them. The celebrated episode of Kaushik the butcher in the Mahabharata is an instance in point. *Toung India* : Aug. 1, 1929.

Adaptability

ADAPTABILITY is not imitation. It

means power of resistance and assimilation.

Toung India : Oct. 7, 1926.

Adoration

BLIND adoration, in the age of action is perfectly valueless, is often embarrassing and equally often painful. Toung India : June 12, 1924.

Adultery

WHERE there is a non-violent atmosphere, where there is the constant teaching of ahimsa, woman will not regard herself as dependent, weak or helpless. She is not really helpless when she is really pure. Her purity makes her conscious of her strength. I have always held that it is physically impossible to violate a woman against her will. The outrage takes place only when she gives way to fear or does not realise her moral strength. If she cannot meet the assailant's physical might, her purity will give her the strength to die before he succeeds in violating her. Take the case of Sita. Physically she was a weakling before Ravana, but her purity was more than a match even for his giant might. He tried to win her with all kinds of allurements but could not carnally touch her without her consent. On the other hand, if a woman depends on her own physical strength or upon a weapon she possesses, she is sure to be discomfited whenever her strength is exhausted.

Harijan : Jan. 14, 1940.

<^ <^ ^

IT is my firm conviction that a fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dis-

ADULTERY 19

honoured. However beastly the man, he will bow In shame
before the flame of her dazzling purity,

Harijan: March 1, 1942.

<\$><\$> <\$>

A WOMAN is worthy of condemnation only when
she is a willing party to her dishonour. In no case are
adultery and criminal assault synonymous terms.

Harijan : March 1, 1942.

<\$><\$><\$>

GOD will protect their honour. When, as if to mock
man, her natural protectors became helpless to prevent
Draupadi from being denuded of her last piece of cloth,
the

power of her own virtue preserved her honour. And so
will it be to the end of time. Even the weakest
physically
have been given the ability to protect their Ovvn
honour.

Let it be man's privilege to protect woman, but let no
woman of India feel helpless in the absence of mm or in
the event of his failing to perform the sacred duty of
pro*
tecting her. One who knows how to die need never fear
any harm to her or his honour.

Young India : Dec. 15, 192 1.

<\$> <\$> <S>

A GII^L who rather than give her living body to a
would-be ravisher presents him with her corpse,
confounds
him and dies a heroine's death. Hers is a stout heart
in a
frail body. Harijan : July 13, 1940

Advertisements-Immoral

I DO from the botom

of my heart detest these advertisements. I do hold that it is wrong to conduct newspapers by the aid of these immoral advertisements. I do believe that if advertisements should be taken at all there should be a rigid censorship instituted by newspaper proprietors and editors themselves and that only healthy advertisements should be taken. The evil of ioanaQral advertisements is overtaking even what are known

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as the iftost respectable newspapers and magazines. That evil has to be combated by refining the conscience of the newspaper proprietors and editors. That refinement can come not through the influence of an amateur editor like myself but it will come when their own conscience is roused to recognition of the growing evil or when it is super-imposed upon them by a government represent- ing the people and caring for the people's morals.

Toung India : March 25, 1926.

Agitation

AGITATION means no more than movement towards something. But just as all movement does not mean progress, so does an agitation not mean success. Undisciplined agitation which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution such as the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth. Young India : Dec. 31, 1919.

<3> <\$> <3>

WELL-ORDERED, persistent agitation is the soul
of healthy progress. Young India: Oct. 20, 1927.

Anger

ANGER is sort of madness and the noblest
causes have been -damaged by advocates affected with
temporary lunacy. Young India : Sept. 27, 1919.

<s> <\$> <s>

'CONQUER anger,' says Lord Buddha, 'by non-anger J
But what is that 'non-anger 7 ? It is a positive
quality and
means the supreme virtue of charity or love. You must
be
roused of this supreme virtue which must express itself
in
your going to the angry man, ascertaining from him the
cause of his anger^, Baking amends if you have given
any
cause for offence and then bringing home to him the
error of
his way and convincing him that it is wrong to be
provoked.

ANGER 21

This consciousness of the quality of the soul, and
deliberate
exercise of it elevate not only the man but the
surrounding
atmosphere. Of course only he who has that love will
exercise it. This love can certainly be cultivated by
inces-
sant striving. Young India : June 12, 1928.

<\$><\$> <\$>

I DO sometimes become extremely angry with myself
but I also pray to be delivered from that devil and ,
G3d has
given me power to suppress my anger.

Young India : Nov. 12, 1931.

<\$> <S> <3>

(. You have the reputation of never being angry. Is that true ?

A. It is not that I do not get angry. I do not give vent to anger. I cultivate the quality of patience as anger-
lessness, and generally speaking succeed. But I only control
my anger when it comes. How I find it possible to control
it would be a useless question, for it is a habit that everyone
must cultivate and must succeed in forming by constant practice. Harijan: May 1, 1935.

<> <S> <\$>

I KNOW to banish anger altogether from one's breast is a difficult task. It cannot be achieved through pure,
personal effort. It can be done only by God's grace.

Harijan : Nov. 19, 1938.

<\$> <\$> <\$>

HE who trifles with truth cuts at the root of ahirnsa. He who is angry is guilty of ahimsa.

Young India : Oct. 21, 1926.

<s> <\$> <\$>

ANGER and intolerance are the twin enemies of correct understanding, Harijan : June 7, 1942.

Anarchy

THOUGH anarchy is every time better than slavery it is a state which I would not only have

2 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

no hand in consciously bringing into being but which I

am
by nature unfitted to bring about.

Young India : Aug. 27, 1925.
3> <\$> <\$>

Anglo-Indians

THOUGH you have got Indian.

blood of which you need be proud you need not be
ashamed of that I know when you receive a reminder
of it you are pained.

Toting India : April 6, 1925.

IF you cast in your lot with the masses of India from
which you have sprung there is nothing but hope for
you,
me and even for Government to whom you think you are
bound to be loyal.

You can become a bridge so that all Indians and all
Englishmen may cross to and fro without either feeling
injured or hurt or feeling any degree of inconvenience.
But if you want to aspire after the heights of Simla,
wel
those heights are unattainable and therefore poverty
must
be your lot, and also the lot of India. An important
community like the"* Anglo-Indians, brave, resourceful,
you are going to perdition simply because you would
not see the plain truth, but persist in an impossible
attempt.
In this process you are cutting yourselves away from
the
masses. Thus you have been ostracised by Indians and
Europeans both. I would therefore ask you to shed this
aping habit, to think for the masses, merge yourselves
into
the masses so that they can be lifted and we can show
to the
world a beautiful specimen of Indian humanity in which
all
races can blend and mingle, each retaining its special
admirable characteristic, each keeping every bit of
what

is best in it. That is your privilege, if you will exercise it.

Young India : April 13, 1925.

ANIMALS 23

Animals

IF our sense of right and wrong had not become blunt, we would recognise that animals had rights, no less than men. This education of the heart is the proper function of humanitarian leagues. I know that the lower creation groans under the arrogant lordship of man. He counts no cruelty too repulsive when he wants to satisfy his appetite, whether lawful or unlawful.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi: April 13, 1915.

IF the beasts had intelligent speech at their command, they would state a case against man that would stagger humanity. I can understand the shooting of wild beasts which come to annoy us. But I have found no cogent reasons advanced for wasting treasures upon organising parties for satisfying man's thirst for blood.

Young India : Jan. 13, 1920.
<\$><\$> <\$>

I DO believe that all God's creatures have the right to live as much as we have. Instead of prescribing the killing of the so-called injurious fellow-creatures of ours as a duty, if men of knowledge had devoted their gift to discovering ways of dealing with them otherwise than by killing them, we would be living in a world befitting our status as men animals endowed with reason and the power of choosing between good and evil, right and wrong, violence

and non-violence, truth and untruth. I prefer to be called a coward or a fool or wrose, to denying for the sake of being considered a wise man what I believe to be a fundamental truth of life. Marvellous as the progress of physical sciences undoubtedly is, it only humbles us and enables us to know that we know hardly anything of the mysteries of Nature. In the spiritual realm, we make little or no progress. The physical has over-whelmed the spiritual in us. We hardly like to own the latter's existence. And yet the question of killing and non-killing, of man's relation to his human fellow-

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creatures, belongs to the spiritual realm. Its proper solution will surely revolutionize our thought, speech and action. Both my intellect and heart refuse to believe that the so-called noxious life has been created for destruction by man. God is good and wise. A good and wise God cannot be so bad and so unwise as to create to no purpose. It is more conducive to reason to own our ignorance and assume fhat every form of life has a useful purpose which we must patiently strive to discover. I verily believe that man's habit of killing man on the slightest pretext has darkened his reason and he gives himself liberties with other life which he would shudder to take if he really believed that God was a God of Love and Mercy. Anyway though for fear of death I may kill tigers, snakes, fleas, mosquitoes and

the
like, I ever pray for illumination that will shed all
fear of
death and thus refusing to take life know the better
way for

" Taught by the Power that pities me
I learn to pity them."

Harijan : Jan. 9, 1937.

I AM not opposed to the progress of science as such
On the contrary the scientific spirit of the West
commands
my admiration and if that admiration is qualified, it
is
because the scientist of - the West takes no note of
God's
lower creation. I abhor vivisection with my whole soul.
I
detest the unpardonable slaughter of innocent life in
the
name of science and humanity so-called, and all the
scientific discoveries stained with innocent blood I
count as
of no consequence. If the circulation of blood theory
could
not have been discovered without vivisection, the human
kind could well have done without it. And I see the day
clearly drawing when the honest scientist of the West,
will
put limitations upon the present methods of pursuing
know-
ledge. Future measurements will take note not merely of
the human family but of all that lives and even as we
are
slowly but surely discovering that it is an error to
suppose

ANIMALS 25

that Hindus can thrive upon the degradation of a fifth
of
themselves or that people of the West can rise or live
upon

the exploitation and degradation of the eastern and African nations, so shall we realise in the fullness of time,
that our dominion over the lower order of creation is not
for their slaughter, but for their benefit equally with ours.
For I am as certain that they are endowed with a soul as
that I am. Young India : Dec. 17, 1925.

<\$> <s> <s>

IT is an arrogant assumption to say that human beings are lords and masters of the lower creation. On the contrary, being endowed with greater things in life, they are trustees of the lower animal kingdom.

Young India : March 13, 1926.

Animal Sacrifices

I HAVE heard it argued that since

the stopping of animal sacrifices people have lost the warlike spirit. There were animal sacrifices enough in Europe before Christianity. Europe does not seem to have lost its warlike spirit because of the stopping of degrading and debasing animal sacrifices. I am no worshipper of warlike spirit, but I know that warlike spirit is not to be cultivated by the slaughter, in a terribly cruel manner, of helpless > innocent, unresisting dumb fellow creatures.

Young India : Nov. 21, 1929.

<\$><\$><\$>

IT is defaming God to offer animal sacrifices in temples. What God wants, if He can be said to want any* thing, is the sacrifice made by a humble and contrite heart.

Harijan : April 5, 1942*

Art

WHO can deny that much that passes for science and art to-day destroys the soul instead of uplifting it and instead of evoking the best in us panders to our basest passions ?

Young India : Aug. 11, 1927.

26 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

FEW people who have devoted themselves to art are known to have achieved unique blending of devotion to art and pure and blameless life. We have somehow accustomed ourselves to the belief that art is independent of the purity of private life. I can say with all the experience at my command that nothing could be more untrue. As I am nearing the end of my earthly life, I can say that purity of life is the highest and truest art. The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely.

Harijan : Feb. 19, 1938.

<\$> <\$> <

' HOW is it, 9 asked Ramchandran, 'that many intelligent and eminent men, who love and admire you, hold that you consciously or unconsciously have ruled out of the scheme of national regeneration all considerations of Art ?'

* I am sorry/ replied Gandhiji, < that in this matter I have been generally misunderstood. There are two aspects of things, the outward and the inward. It is purely a matter of emphasis with me. The outward has no meaning* except in so far as it helps the inward. All true Art

is thus
the expression of the soul. The outward forms have value
only in so far as they are the expression of the inner
spirit
of man.'

Ramachandran hesitatingly suggested : c The great
artists themselves have declared, that Art is the
translation
of the urge and unrest in the soul of the artist into
words,
colours, shapes, etc. * Yes ', said Gandhiji, < Art of
that
nature has the greatest possible appeal for me. But I
know
that many call themselves as artists, and are
recognised as
such, and yet in their works there is absolutely no
trace of
soul's upward urge and unrest'

* Have you any instance in mind ?' ' Yes,' said
Gandhiji, c take Oscar Wilde. I can speak of him, as I
was in England at the time he was being much discussed
and talked about. 9

ART 27

< I have been told,' put in Ramachandran, * that
Oscar Wilde was one of the greatest literary artists of
modern times.'

c Yes, that is just my trouble. Wilde saw the highest
Art simply in outward forms and therefore succeeded in
beautifying immorality. 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.
I can claim, therefore, that there is truly sufficient
Art in
my life, though you might not see what you call works
of
Art about me. My room may have blank walls ; and I
may even dispense with the roof, so that I may gaze
out upon the starry heavens overhead that stretch in an
unending expanse of beauty. What conscious Art of man

can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me,
when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars ?
This, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the
value of productions of Art, generally accepted as such,
but only that I personally feel how inadequate these are
compared with the eternal symbols of beauty in Nature.
These productions of man's Art have their value only so far as they help the soul onward towards self-realisation.'

' But the artists claim to see and to find Truth through
outward beauty, ' said Ramchandran. ' Is it possible to see
and find Truth in that way ? '

* I would reverse the order,' Gandhiji immediately answered, ' I see and find beauty in Truth or through Truth. All Truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs, are highly beautiful
People generally fail to see Beauty in Truth, the ordinary
man runs away from and becomes blind to the beauty in it. Whenever men begin to see Beauty in Truth, then true Art will arise. 9

Ramachandran then asked, ' But cannot Beauty be separated from Truth, and Truth from Beauty ?'

28 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

' I should want to know exactly what is Beauty ', Gandhiji replied. ' If it is what people generally understand by that word, then they are wide apart. Is a woman with fair features necessarily beautiful ? ' ' Yes ',
replied Ramachandran without thinking.

' Even ' asked Bapu, continuing his question, ' if she may be of an ugly character ? *'

Ramachandran hesitated. Then he said, c But her face in that case cannot be beautiful. It will always be the index of the soul within. The true artist with the genius of perception will produce the right expression.'

' But here you are begging the whole question,' Gandhiji replied, ' You now admit that mere outward form may not make a thing beautiful. To a true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the Truth within the soul. There is then, as I have said, no Beauty apart from Truth. On the other hand, Truth may manifest itself in forms which may not be outwardly beautiful at all. Socrates, we are told, was the most truthful man of his ^time and yet his features are said to have been the ugliest in Greece.

To my mind he was beautiful, because all his life was a striving after Truth, and you may remember that his outward form did not prevent Phidias from appreciating the beauty of Truth in him, though as an artist he was accustomed to see Beauty in outward forms also !'

4 But Bapuji, 5 said Ramachandran eagerly, ' the most beautiful things have often been created by men whose own lives were not beautiful.'

' That ', said Gandhin, ' only means that Truth and Untruth often co-exist ; good and evil are often iound together. In an artist also not seldom the right perception of things, and the wrong co-exist. Truly beautiful creations come when right preception is at work. If these moments are rare in life they are also rare in Art/

ART 29

All this set Ramachandran thinking hard. If only truthful or good things can be beautiful, how can things without a moral quality be beautiful ? ', he said, half to himself and half aloud. Then he asked the question, ' Is

there truth, Bapuji, in things that are neither moral nor immoral in themselves ? For instance, is there truth in a sunset or a crescent moon that shines amid the stars at night ? '

' Indeed ', replied Gandhiji, * these beauties are truthful, inasmuch as they make me think of the Creator at the back of them. How also could these be beautiful, but for the Truth that is in the centre of creation ?

When

I admire the wonder of a sunset or the beauty of the moon

my soul expands in worship of the Creator. I try to see Him and His mercies in all these creations. But even

the

sunsets and sunrises would be mere hindrances, if they did

not help me to think of Him. Anything which is a hindrance to the flight of the soul, is a delusion and a snare ;

even, like the body, which often does hinder you in the path

of salvation.'

6 I am grateful,' exclaimed Ramachandran, < to hear your views on Art, and I understand and accept them. Would it not be well for you to set them down for the benefit of the younger generation in order to guide them aright ? '

1 That ', replied Gandhiji with a smile, c I could never dream of doing, for the simple reason that it would

be an impertinence on my part to hold forth on Art. I am not an art student, though these are my fundamental convictions. I do not speak or write about it, because

I

am conscious of my own limitations. That consciousness is my only strength. Whatever I might have been able to do in my life has proceeded more than anything else out of

the realisation of my own limitations. My functions are different from the artist's, and I should not go out of my

way to assume his position.'

30 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

So, Bapuji, Truth is the main thing/ said Ramachandran, resuming the previous day's conversation, 'Beauty and Truth are not separate aspects of the same thing.'

' Truth ', repeated Gandhiji with greater emphasis, is the first thing to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added unto you. Jesus was, to my mind, a supreme artist, because he saw and expressed Truth ; and so was Muhammad, the Koran being the most perfect composition in all Arabic literature, at any rate, that is what scholars say. It is because both of them strove first for Truth, that the grace of expression naturally came in ; and yet neither Jesus nor Muhammad wrote on Art. That is the Truth and Beauty I crave for, live for and would die for.' Young India : Nov. 13, 1924.

<S> <*> <3>

TRUE art takes note not merely of form but also of what lies behind. There is an art that kills and an art that gives life. True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.

Young India : Aug. 11, 1921.

B

Beauty

TRUE beauty consists in purity of heart.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 38,

Beggary

MY friendship for them must be a sorry affair if I could be satisfied with a large part of humanity being reduced to beggary. Little do my friends know that

my friendship for the paupers of India has made me hard
hearted enough to contemplate their utter starvation
with
equanimity in preference to their utter reduction to
beggary.
My Ahimsa would not tolerate the id^a of giving a free
meal
to a healthy person who had not worked for it in some

BEGGARY 31

honest way, and if I had the power I would stop every
Sadavrat where free meals are given. It has degraded
the
nation and it has encouraged laziness, idleness,
hypocrisy
and even crime. Such misplaced charity adds nothing to
the wealth of the country, whether material or
spiritual, and
gives a false sense of meritoriousness to the donor.
How
nice and wise it would be if the donor were to open
institu-
tions where they would give meals under healthy, clean
surroundings to men and women who would work for them,
I personally think that the spinning wheel or any of
the
processes that cotton has to go through will be an
ideal
occupation. But if they will not have that, they may
choose any other work, only the rule should be, 'No
labour,
no meal.' *Toung India* : Aug. 13, 1925,

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THE grinding poverty and starvation with which our
country is afflicted is such that it drives more and
more men
very year into the ranks of the beggars, whose
desperate
struggle for bread renders them insensible to all
feelings of
decency and self-respect. And our philanthropists,
instead
of providing work for them and insisting on their
working for

Bhangi

THE ideal bhangi of my conception would be a Brahmin par-excellence, possibly even excel him. It is possible to envisage-the existence of a bhangi without a Brahmin. But without the former the latter could not be,
It is the bhangi who enables society to live. A bhangi does
ior society what a mother does for her baby. A mother washes her baby of the dirt and insures his health. Even
so the bhangi protects and safeguards the health of that
entire community by maintaining sanitation for it. The Brahmin's duty is to look after the sanitation of the soul,
the bhangi's that of the body of society. But there is a
difference in practice ; the Brahmin generally does not live
up to his duty, the bhangi does willy-nilly no doubt.
Socict)

32 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

is sustained by several services. The bhangi constitutes the foundation of all services.

And yet our woe begone Indian society has branded the bhangi as a social pariah, set him down at the bottom
of the scale, held him fit only to receive kicks and abuse, a
creature who must subsist on the leavings of the caste-people
and dwell on the dung-heap. He is without a friend, his very name has become a term of reproach. This is shocking.
It is perhaps useless to seek the why and wherefore of it*
I certainly am unaware of the origin of the inhuman

con-
duct, but I know this much that by looking down upon
the
bhangi we Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and all have
deserved the contempt of the whole world. Our villages
have to-day become seats of dirt and insanitation and
the
villagers come to an early and untimely death. If only
we
had given due recognition to the status of the bhangi
as
equal to that of a Brahmin as in fact and justice he
deserves,
our villages to-day no less than their inhabitants
would have
looked a picture of cleanliness and order. We would
have
to large extent been free from the ravages of a host of
diseases which directly spring from our uncleanliness
and
lack of sanitary habits.

I, therefore, make hold to state without any manner
of hesitation of doubt that not till the invidious
distinction
between the Brahmin and the bhangi is removed, will our
society enjoy health, prosperity and peace, and be
happy.

What qualities should such an honoured servant of
society exemplify in his person ? In my opinion an
ideal
bhangi should have a thorough knowledge of the
principles on
sanitation. He should know how a right kind of latrine
is constructed, and the correct way of cleaning it. He
should know how to overcome and destroy the odour of
excreta and the various disinfectants to render them
innocuous. He should likewise know the process of con-
verting night-soil and urine into manure.

BHANGI 33

But that is not all. My ideal bhangi would know the
quality of night-soil and urine. He would keep a close
watch on these and give a timely warning to the
individual

concerned. Thus, he will give a timely notice of the results of his examination of the excreta. That presupposes a scientific knowledge of the requirements of his profession. He would likewise be an authority on the subject of disposal of night-soil in small villages as well as big cities and his advice and guidance in the matter would be sought for and freely given to society. It goes without saying that he would have the usual learning necessary for reaching the standard here laid down for his profession. Such ideal bhangis while deriving his livelihood from his occupation, would approach it only as a sacred duty. In other words he would not dream of amassing wealth out of it. He would consider himself responsible for the proper removal and disposal of all the dirt and night-soil within the area which he serves and regard the maintenance of healthy and sanitary condition within the same as the summum bonum of his existence. Hanjan : Nov. 28, 1936.

THE bhangi has been the most despised of the Harijans because his work has been regarded as the most degrading. But we forget that our mothers did that very work whilst we were babies innocent of all cleanliness. If that work was ignoble the bhangis would be ignoble but if it was noble the bhangi's work is also noble. But our mothers cleaned our filth because we were their babies, because they could not do otherwise, because they were wrapped up in us and adored their own selves in us. Their work was thus selfish. The volunteer bhangis work is unselfish and so nobler than that of mothers. And if I revere my mother and therefore the whole of womankind, is it not clear that

I should adore the volunteer bhangi even more ?

^Harijan : Feb. 19, 1933-

34 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Birth and Death

BIRTH and death are not two different states, but they are different aspects of the same state. There is as little reason to deplore the one as there is to be pleased over the other.

Young India : Nov. 20, 1924.

Births and Rebirths

I AM a believer in previous births and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the sanskars we carry from our previous births. God's laws are inscrutable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them.

Harijan : Aug. 18, 1940.

Birth Control

THERE can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control. But the only method handed down from ages past is self-control or Brahmacharya. It is an infallible sovereign remedy doing good to those who practise it. And medical men will earn the gratitude of mankind, if instead of devising artificial means of birth control they will find out the means of self-control. The union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny. And union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent.

Artificial methods are like putting a premium upon vice. They make man and woman reckless. And respectability that is being given to the methods must

hasten
the dissolution of the restraints that public opinion
puts
upon one. Adoption of artificial methods must result in
imbecility and nervous prostration. The remedy will be
found to be worse than the disease. It is wrong and
immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's
acts. It is good for a person who over-eats to have an
ache and a fast. It is bad for him to indulge his
appetite
and then escape the consequence by taking tonics or
other medicine. It is still worse for a person to
indulge

BIRTH CONTROL 35

in his animal passions and escape the consequences of
his
acts. Nature is relentless and will have full revenge
for
any such violation of her laws. Moral results can only
be produced by moral restraints. All other restraints
defeat the very purpose for which they are intended.
The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods
is
that indulgence is a necessity of life. Nothing can be
more
fallacious. Let those who are eager to see the births
regulated
explore the lawful means devised by the ancients and
try to find out how they can be revived. An enormous
amount of spade-work lies in front of them. Early
marri-
ages are a fruitful source of adding to the population-
The present mode of life has also a great deal to do
with the evil of unchecked procreation. If these causes
are investigated and dealt with, society will be
morally
elevated. If they are ignored by impatient zealots and
if artificial methods become the order of the day,
nothing
but moral degradation can be the result. A society that
has already become enervated through a variety of
causes
will become still further enervated by the adoption of
artificial methods. Those men, therefore, who are
light-

heartedly advocating artificial methods cannot do better than study the subject afresh, stay their injurious activity and popularise Brahmacharya both for the married and the unmarried. That is the only noble and straight method* of birth control.

Young India : March 12. 1924

<\$> <\$> <\$>

I AM afraid that advocates of birth control take it for granted that indulgence in animal passion is a necessity of life and in itself a desirable thing. The solicitude shown for the fair sex is most pathetic. In my opinion it is an insult to the fair sex to put up her case in support of birth control by artificial methods. As it is, man has degraded her for his lust, and artificial methods

36 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

no matter how well-meaning the advocates may be, will still further degrade her. I know that there are modern women who advocate these methods. But I have little doubt that the vast majority of women will reject them as inconsistent with their dignity. If man means well by her, let him exercise control over himself. It is not she who tempts. In reality man being the aggressor is the real culprit and the tempter.

Young India : April 2, 1925*

> <\$> <^

'YOU seem to regard a beautiful function as something objectionable. Two animals are nearest to the divine when they are going to create new life. There is something very beautiful in the act,' said the Swami.

'Here again you are labouring under a confusion/
said Gandhiji. 'The creation of a new life is nearest
the
divine, I agree. All I want is that one should approach
that act in a divine way. That is to say, man and woman
must come together with no other desire than that of
creating a new life. But if they come together merely
ta
have a fond embrace, they are nearest the devil Man
unfortunately forgets that he is nearest the divine,
han-
kers after the brute instinct in himself and becomes
less&
than the brute/

'But why must you cast aspersion on the brute?'

*I do not. The brute fulfills the law of his own
nature.
The lion in his majesty is a noble creature and he has
a
perfect right to eat me up, but I have none to develop
paws
and pounce upon you. Then I lower myself and become
worse than the brute. 7

Harijan : Sept. 7, 1935.
< > <\$>

BIRTH CONTROL to me is a dismal abyss. It amounts
to playing with unknown forces. Assuming that birth
control
by artificial aids is justifiable under certain
conditions, it

BIRTH CONTROL 37

seems to be utterly impracticable of application among
the
millions. It seems to me to be easier to induce them
to practise seh-control than control by contraceptives.
This
little globe of ours is not a toy of yesterday. It has
not suffered from the weight of over-population through
its age of countless millions. How can it be that the
truth has suddenly dawned up on some people that it is
in

danger of perishing of shortage of food unless birth-rate
is checked through the use of contraceptives.

Harijan : Sept. 14, 1935.

<s> <\$> <\$>

Once the idea that the only and grand function of the sexual organ is generation, possesses man and woman, union for any other purpose they will hold as criminal waste of the vital fluid and consequent excitement caused to man and woman as an equally criminal waste of precious energy. It is now easy to understand why the scientists of old have put such great value upon the vital fluid and why they have insisted upon its strong transmutation into the highest form of energy for the benefit of society. They boldly declare that one who has acquired a perfect control over his or her sexual energy strengthens the whole being, physical, mental and spiritual and attains powers unattainable by any other means.

Harijan : Dec. 12, 1935.

THE greatest harm, however, done by the propaganda lies in its rejection of the old ideal and substitution in its place of one which, if carried out, must spell the moral and physical extinction of the race. The horror with which ancient literature has regarded the fruitless use of the vital fluid was not a superstition born of ignorance. What shall we say of a husbandman who will sow the finest seed in his possession on stony ground or of that owner of a field who will receive in his field rich with fine soil good seed under

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conditions that will make it impossible for it to grow
? God
has blessed man with seed that has the highest potency
and
woman with a field richer than the richest earth to be
found anywhere on this globe. Surely it is criminal
folly
for man to allow his most precious possession to run to
waste. He must guard it with a care greater than he
will
bestow upon the richest pearls in his possession. And
so is
a woman guilty of criminal folly who will receive the
seed
in her life-producing field with the deliberate
intention of
letting it run to waste. Both he and she will be judged
guilty of misuse of the talents given to them and they
will
be dispossessed of what they have been given. Sex urge
is
a fine and noble thing. There is nothing to be ashamed
of
in it. But it is meant only for the act of creation.
Any
other use of it is a sin against God and humanity.
Contra-
ceptives of a kind there were before and there will be
here-
after, but the use of them was formerly regarded as
sinful.
It was reserved for our generation to glorify vice by
calling
it virtue. The greatest disservice protagonists of
contracep-
tives are rendering to the youth of India is to fill
their
minds with what appears to me to be wrong ideology.
Let
the young men and women of India who hold her destiny
in their hands beware of this false god and guard the
treasure with which God has blessed them and use it, if
they
wish, for the only purpose for which it is intended.

Harijan: March 28, 1936.

THE protagonists of contraceptives have almost set up self-indulgence as their ideal. Self-indulgence obviously can never be an ideal. There can be no limit to the practice of an ideal. But unlimited self-indulgence, as everybody would admit, can only result in certain destruction of the individual or the race concerned. Hence self-control alone can be our ideal, and it has been so regarded from the earliest times.

Harijan : Nov. 12, 1936.

BRAHMACHARYA 41

reaching that state in this very body. I have gained control over the body. I can be master of myself during my waking hours. I have fairly succeeded in learning to control my tongue. But I have yet to cover many stages in the control of my thoughts. They do not come and go at my bidding. My mind is thus constantly in a state of insurrection against itself.

In my waking moments, however, I can stop my thoughts, from colliding with one another. I may say that in the waking state the mind is secure against the approach of evil thoughts. But in the hours of sleep, control over the thoughts is much less. When asleep, the mind would be swayed by all sorts of thoughts, by unexpected dreams, and by desire for things done and enjoyed by the flesh before. Such thoughts or dreams when unclean are followed by the usual consequences. Whilst such experiences are

possible a person cannot be said to be free from all passion. The deviation is, however, diminishing, but has not yet ceased.

If I had complete mastery over my thoughts I should not have suffered from the diseases of pleurisy, dysentery and appendicitis that I did during the last ten years. I believe that a healthy soul should inhabit a healthy body. To the extent, therefore, that the soul grows into health and freedom from passion, to that extent the body also grows into that state. This does not mean that a healthy body should be necessarily strong in flesh. A brave soul often inhabits a lean body. After a certain stage the flesh diminishes in a proportion to the growth of the soul. A perfectly healthy body may be very fleshless. A muscular body is often heir to many an ill. Even if it is apparently free from disease, it is not immune from infections, contagions and the like. A perfectly healthy body, on the contrary, is proof against all these.

Incorruptible blood has the inherent virtue of resisting all infections.

Such an equipoise is indeed difficult of attainment*

40 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LET me not be misunderstood. The Congress has a perfect right to boycott British goods, if it so wishes. But as the most representative assembly in India, it has no right to expose itself to ridicule by using threats which it cannot carry into effect.

Young India : Jan. 5, 1928.

Brahmacharya

[The following is Mahadev Desai's translation of an article I wrote on this delicate subject in Nayajivan of 25th May 1924. I gladly publish it in Young India as I have before me many letters from the other parts of India on the same subject. The stray thoughts collected together in the article might be of some help to those who are earnestly striving for a pure life. My inquirers have been all Hindus and naturally the article is addressed to them. The last paragraph is the most important and operative part. The names Allah or God carry with them the same potency. The idea is to realise the presence of God in us. All sins are committed in secrecy. The moment we realise that God witnesses even our thoughts we shall be free. M.K.G.]

A FRIEND asks: 'What is Brahmacharya? Is it possible to practise it to perfection? If possible, do you do so.'

The full and proper meaning of Brahmacharya is search of Brahman. Brahman pervades every being and can therefore be searched by diving into and realising the inner self-
The realisation is impossible without complete control of the senses. Brahmacharya thus means control in thought word and action, of all the senses at all times and in all places.

A man or a woman completely practising Brahmacharya is absolutely free from passion. Such a one therefore lives high unto God, is Godlike.

I have no doubt that it is possible to practise such Brahmacharya in thought, word and action to the

fullest
extent. I am sorry to say that I have not yet reached
that
perfect state of Brahmacharaya, though I am every
moment of
my life striving to reach it. I have not given up hope
of

BRAHMACHARYA 41

reaching that state in this very body. I have gained
control
over the body. I can be master of myself during my wak-
ing hours. I have fairly succeeded in learning to
control
my tongue. But I have yet to cover many stages in the
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by desire for things done and enjoyed by the flesh
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ceased.
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and
appendicitis that I did during the last ten years. I
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that a healthy soul should inhabit a healthy body. To
the

extent, therefore, that the soul grows into health and freedom from passion, to that extent the body also grows into that state. This does not mean that a healthy body should be necessarily strong in flesh. A brave soul often inhabits a lean body. After a certain stage the flesh diminishes in a proportion to the growth of the soul. A perfectly healthy body may be very fleshless. A muscular body is often heir to many an ill. Even if it is apparently free from disease, it is not immune from infections, contagions and the like. A perfectly healthy body, on the contrary, is proof against all these. Incorruptible blood has the inherent virtue of resisting all infections.

Such an equipoise is indeed difficult of attainment.

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Otherwise I should have reached it, because my soul is witness to the fact that I would spare no pains to attain to this perfect state. No outward obstacle can stand between me and that state. But it is not easy for all, at least for me, to efface past sanskaras. But the delay has not in the least dismayed me. For I have a mental picture of that perfect state. I have even dim glimpses of it. The progress achieved; fills me with hope, rather than despair. But even if I depart from this body before the hope is fulfilled, I would not think that I had failed. For I believe in rebirth as much as I

believe in the existence of my present body. I therefore know that even a little effort is not wasted.

I have said so much about myself for the simple reason that my correspondents and others like them may have patience and self-confidence. The soul is one in all.

Its-possibilities are therefore the same for every one.

With some, it has manifested itself, with others it has yet to do so.

Patient striving would carry everyone through and to the same experience.

I have therefore discussed Brahmacharya in its wider meaning. The ordinary accepted sense of Brahmacharya is the control in thought, word and action of animal passion.

And it is quite proper thus to restrict its meaning. It has

been thought to be^very difficult to practise this Brahma-charya. This control of the carnal desire has been so very

difficult, has become nearly impossible, because equal stress

has not been laid on the control of the palate. It is also the

experience of our physicians that a body enfeebled by disease

is always a favourite abode of carnal desire, and Brahma-

charya by an enfeebled race is difficult to practise naturally.

I have talked above of a lean but healthy body. Let no one understand me to have deprecated physical culture*

I have talked of Brahmacharya in its perfect aspect in my

very crude language. It is likely therefore to be misunderstood-

stood. But one who would practise complete control of all the senses must need welcome the waning of the flesh. With the extinction of attachment to the flesh, comes the extinction of the desire to have muscular strength.

But the body of the true Brahmachari is bound to be exceptionally fresh and wiry. This Brahmacharya is something unearthly. He who is not swayed by carnal desire even in his sleep is worthy of all adoration. The control of every other sense shall be 'added unto' him.

Young India : June 5, 1924 r

<3> <S> <3>

I PLACE before the readers a few simple rules which are based on the experience not only of myself, but of many of my associates :

- (1) Boys and girls should be brought up simply and naturally in the full belief that they are and can remain innocent.
- (2) All should abstain from heating and stimulating foods, condiments such as chillies, fatty, and concentrated food such as fritters, sweets and fried substances.
- (3) Husband and wife should occupy separate rooms and avoid privacy.
- (4) Both body and mind should be constantly and healthily occupied.
- (5) Early to bed and early to rise should be strictly observed.
- (6) All unclean literature should be avoided. The antidote for unclean thoughts is clean thoughts.
- (7) Theatres, cinemas, etc., which tend to stimulate passion should be shunned.

(8) Nocturnal dreams need not cause any anxiety. A cold bath every time for a fairly strong person is the

** TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

finest preventive in such cases. It is wrong to say that an occasional indulgence is a safeguard against involuntary dreams.

(9) Above all, one must not consider continence even as between husband and wife to be so difficult as to be practically impossible. On the contrary, self-restraint must be considered to be the ordinary and natural practice of life.

(10) A heartfelt prayer every day for purity makes one progressively pure.

Young India: Oct. 13, 1920.

I AM being inundated with letters on Brahmacharya and rtieans to its attainment. Let me repeat in different language what I have already said or written on previous occasions. Brahmacharya is not mere mechanical celibacy, it means complete control over all the senses and freedom >rom lust in thought, word and deed. As such it is the royal road to self-realisation or attainment of Brahman.

The ideal Brahmachari has not to struggle with sensual desire or desire for procreation ; .. never troubles him at all. The whole world will be to him one vast family, he will centre all his ambition in relieving the misery of mankind and the desire for procreation will be to him

as
gall and wormwood. He who has realised the misery of
mankind in all its magnitude will never be stirred by
passion.
He will instinctively know the fountain of strength in
him,
and he will ever persevere to keep it undefined. His
humble strength will command respect of the world, and
he
will wield an influence greater than that of the
sceptred
monarch.

But I am told that this is an impossible ideal, that
I do not take count of the natural attraction between
man
and woman. I refuse to believe that the sensual
affinity

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referred to here can be at all regarded as natural; in
that case
the deluge would soon be over us. The natural affinity
between man and woman is the attraction between brother
and sister, mother and son or father and daughter. It
is that
natural attraction that sustains the world. I should
find
it impossible to live, much less carry on my work, if I
did
not regard the whole of womankind as sisters, daughters
or
mothers. If I looked at them with lustful eyes, it
would be
the surest way to perdition.

Procreation is a natural phenomenon indeed, but
within specific limits. A transgression of those limits
imperils womankind, emasculates the race, induces
disease, puts a premium on vice, and makes the world
ungodly. A man in the grip of the sensual desire is a
man without moorings. If such a one were to guide
society, to flood it with his writings and men were to*
be swayed by them, where would society be ? And yet
we have the very thing happening to-day. Supposing
a moth whirling round a light were to record the

moments of its fleeting joy and we were to imitate it regarding it as an exemplar, where would we be ? No, I must declare with all the power I can command that sensual attraction even between husband and wife is unnatural. Marriage is meant to cleanse the hearts of the couple of sordid passions and take them nearer to God. Lustless love between husband and wife is not impossible. Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher state after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fours or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood as matter from spirit.

In conclusion I shall summarise the means to its attainment.

The first step is the realisation of its necessity. The next is gradual control of the senses. A Brahmachari

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must needs control his palate. He must eat to live, and not for enjoyment. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean. It is thus a sign of polite breeding to walk with one's eyes towards the ground and not wandering about from object to object. A Brahmachari will likewise hear to nothing obscene or unclean, smell no strong, stimulating things. The smell of clean earth is far sweeter than the fragrance of artificial scents and essences. Let the aspirant to Brahmacharya also keep his hands and feet engaged in all the waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally.

The third step is to have clean companions clean friends and clean books.

The last and not the least is prayer. Let him repeat Ramanama with all his heart regularly every day, and ask for divine grace.

None of these things are difficult for an average man or woman. They are simplicity itself. But their very simplicity is embarrassing. Where there is a will, the way is simple enough ; men have not the will for it and hence vainly grope. The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, ^Brahmacharya or restraint means that it is necessary and practicable,

Young India : April 29, 1926.
<\$><\$><\$>

WHEN your passions threaten to get the better of you go down on your knees and cry out to God for help, Ramanama is an infallible help.

Young India : Jan. 23, 1927.

<s> <s> <\$>

^ LET every aspirant after a pure life take from me that an impure thought is often as powerful in undermining the body as an impure act. Control over thought is a long

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painful and laborious process. But I am convinced that no time, no labour and no pain is too much for the glorious result to be reached. The purity of thought is possible only with a faith in God bordering on definite experience.

Young India : Aug. 25, 1927.

<\$><\$><\$>

THE third among our observations is Brahmacharya. As a matter of fact all observances arise from Truth, and are there to subserve Truth. The man, who is wedded to

Truth
and worships Truth alone, proves unfaithful to her, if
he
applies his talents to anything else. How then can he
minister to the senses ? A man, whose activities are
wholly
consecrated to the realisation of Truth, which requires
utter
selflessness, can have no time for the selfish purpose
of
rearing children and running of a household. We have
not
had a single example of any one realising Truth though
self-
indulgence.

Again, if we look at it from the standpoint of Ahimsa
(Non-violence) we find that the fulfilment of Ahimsa is
impossible without purity. Ahimsa means Universal Love,
If a man gives his love to one woman, or a woman to one
man, what is there left for all the world besides ? It
simply
means : ' We two first, and the devil take all the rest
of
them.' As a faithful wife must be prepared to sacrifice
her
all for the sake of her husband, and a faithful husband
for
the sake of his wife, it is clear that such persons
cannot rise
to the height of Universal Love, or look upon all
mankind
as kith and kin. For they have created a boundary wall
round their love. The larger their family, the farther
are
they from Universal Love. Hence one who would obey the
law of Ahimsa cannot marry, not to speak of
gratification
outside the martial bond.

Then what about people who are already married ?
Would they never be able to realise Truth? Can they
never
offer up their all at the altar of humanity ? There is
a way

out for them. They can behave as if they were not married*
Those who have enjoyed this happy condition will be able to bear me out. Many have to my knowledge successfully tried the experiment. If the married couple can think of each other as brother or sister, they are freed for universal service. The very thought that all the women in the world are one's sisters, mothers or daughters would at once ennoble a man and snap all his chains. The husband and wife do not lose anything here, but only add to their resources and even to their family. Their love becomes free from the impurity of lust and so grows stronger. With the disappearance of this impurity, they can serve each other better, and the occasions for quarrel between them become fewer. There is more room for quarrels, where the love is selfish and bounded.

When once we have grasped these fundamental ideas, a consideration of the physical benefits of chastity becomes a matter of secondary importance. How foolish it is intentionally to dissipate vital energy in sensual enjoyment? It is a grave misuse to fritter away for physical gratification that which is given to man and woman for the full development of their bodily and mental powers. Such misuse is the root cause of many a disease.

Brahmicharya is to be observed in thought, word and deed. This applies to all observances. We are told in the Gita and our experience corroborates the remark, that the foolish man, who appears to control his body, but is nursing

evil thoughts in his mind, makes a vain effort. It is harmful to suppress the body if the mind is at the same time allowed to go astray. Where the mind wanders, the body must follow sooner or later. It is necessary at this stage to appreciate one distinction. It is one thing to allow the mind to harbour impure thoughts. It is a different thing altogether if it strays among them in spite of ourselves. Victory' will be ours in the end, if we non-co-operate with the mind

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in this evil process. We experience every moment of our life that while the body is subject to our control, the mind is not. Hence the body must be immediately taken in hand, and then we must put forth a constant endeavour to bring the mind under control. We can do nothing more, nothing less. If we give way to the mind, the body and the mind will pull different ways, and we shall be false to ourselves. Body and mind may be said to go together, so long; as we continue to resist the approach of every evil thought.

The observance of Brahmacharyu has been believed to be very difficult, almost impossible. Trying to find a reason for this belief, we see that the term Brahmacharya has been understood in a narrow sense. Mere control of animal passion has been thought to be tantamount to observing tirahmacharya. I feel that this conception is incomplete and wrong. Brahmacharyi is the control of all the organs of sense. He who attempts to control only one organ, and allows all the others free play, is bound to find his effort

futile. To hear suggestive stories with the ears, to see suggestive sights with the eyes, to taste stimulating food with the tongue, to touch exciting things with the hands, and then at the same time to try to control the only remaining organ is like putting one's hands in a fire, and then trying to escape burns. He, therefore, who is resolved to control the one must be likewise determined to control the rest. I have always felt that harm has been done by the narrow definition of Brahmacharya. If we practise simultaneous self-control in all directions, the attempt is scientific and easy of success. Perhaps the palate is the chief sinner. Hence we have assigned to its control a separate place among the observances.

Let us remember the root meaning of Brahmacharya. Brahmacharya means charya or course of conduct adapted to the search of Brahman or Truth. From this etymological meaning arises the special meaning, viz. control of all the senses. We

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must forget the incomplete definition which restricts itself to the sexual aspect only.

Toung India : Sept, 3, 1931.

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AN innocent youth is a priceless possession not to be squandered away for the sake of a momentary excitement, miscalled pleasure.

Harijan : Sept. 21, 1935.

<\$><\$><\$>

IF the mind hankered after satisfaction of the flesh and the body resisted, there must be tremendous waste of vital energy leaving the body thoroughly exhausted.

But self-restraint never accrues to the faint-hearted. It is the beautiful fruit of watchfulness and ceaseless effort in the form of prayer and fasting. The prayer is not vain repetition nor fasting mere starvation of the body. Prayer has to come from the heart which knows God by faith, and fasting is abstinence from evil or injurious thought, activity or food. Starvation of the body when the mind thinks of a multiplicity of dishes is worse than useless.

Harijan : April 10, 1937.

<3> <\$> <S>

CONTROL over the organ of generation is impossible without proper control-over all the senses. They are all inter-dependent. Mind on the lower plane is included in the senses. Without control over the mind mere physical control, even if it can be attained for a time, is of little or no use.

Harijan : June 13, 1936.

<*><\$><\$>

MY darkest hour was when I was in Bombay, a few months ago. It was the hour of my temptation. Whilst I was asleep I suddenly felt as though I wanted to see a woman* Well a man who had tried to rise superior to

BRAHMACHARYA 51

the sex-instinct for nearly 40 years was bound to be intensely pained when he had this frightful experience. I ultimately conquered the feeling, but I was face to face with the blackest moment of my life and if I had succumbed to it, it would have meant my absolute undoing. I was stirred to the depths because strength and peace come from a life of continence. Many Christian friends are zealous of the peace I possess. It comes from God who has blessed with the strength to battle against temptation.

Harijan : Dec, 26, 1936-

<> <S> <\$>

RESTRAINT never ruins one's health. What ruins one's health is not restraint but outward suppression. A really self-restrained person grows every day from strength to strength and from peace to more peace. The very first step in self-restraint is the restraint of thoughts.

Harijan : Oct. 28, 1937.

THERE should be a clear line between the life of a Brahmachari and one who is not. The resemblance that there is between the two is only apparent. The distinction ought to be clear as daylight. Both use their eyesight, but whereas the Brahmachari uses it to see the glories of God, the other uses it to see the frivolity around him. Both use their ears, but whereas the one hears nothing but praises of God, the other feasts his ears upon ribaldry. Both often keep late hours, but whereas one devotes them to prayer,

the other fritters them away in wild and wasteful mirth. Both feed the inner man, but the one only to keep the temple of God in good repair, while the other gorges himself and makes the sacred vessel a stinking gutter. Thus both live as the poles apart, and the distance between them will grow and not diminish with the passage of time.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 259.

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Bravery

THE brave meet death with a smile on their lips, but they are circumspect all the same.

Toung India : Oct. 13, 1921.

Bravery is not a quality of the body, it is of the soul.. I have seen cowards encased in tough muscle, and rare courage in the frailest body. I have seen big bulky and muscular Zulus bowing before an English lad and turning tail if they saw a loaded revolver pointed at them. I have seen Emily Hobhouse with a paralytic body exhibiting courage of the highest order. She was the one noble woman who kept up the drooping spirits of brave Boer generals and equally brave Boer women. The weakest of us physically must be taught the art of facing dangers and giving a good account of ourselves.

Toung India : Oct. 17, 1925.

STRENGTH of numbers is the delight of the timid. The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone.

And the valour* of the spirit cannot be achieved

without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith and Humility.

Toung India : June 17, 1926.

<S> <\$> <3>

A WARRIOR loves to die, not on a sick-bed, but on the battle-field.

Young India : Dec. 30, 1926.

I DO not want any cowardice in our midst. The heroism of ahimsa cannot be developed from cowardice.

BREAD-LABOUR 53

Bravery is essential to both himsa and ahimsa. In fact it is even more essential in the latter for ahimsa is nothing if it is not the acme of bravery.

Toting India : Jan. 30, 1929*
<\$> < <\$>

A BRAVE man always gives credit to the other party for its bona fides t

Young India : Mar. 19, 1931

<s> <\$> <s>

THERE is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great and without bitterness of spirit and in the fulness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does.

Harijan : Oct. 15, 1938.
<\$><*><\$>

Bread-Labour

"WHAT is your view on what Tolstoy calls * Bread-labour ?' Do you really earn your living by your bodily labour ?"

Strictly speaking bread-labour is not a word of Tolstoy's coining. He took it from another Russian writer Bbndarif, and it means that everyone is expected to perform sufficient body-labour in order to entitle him to it. It is not therefore necessary to earn one's living by bread-labour, taking the word in its broader sense. But everyone must perform some useful body-labour.

For me at the present moment spinning is the only body-labour I give. It is a mere symbol. I do not give enough body-labour. That is also one of the reasons why I consider myself as living upon charity. But I also

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believe that such men will have to be found in every nation who will give themselves body, soul and mind to it and for their sustenance throw themselves on the mercy of their fellow men, that is, on God.

Toung India : Nov. 5, 1925,

<\$><\$><\$>

THERE seems to be some confusion about the principle of bread-labour. It is never opposed to social service. Intelligent bread-labour is any day the highest form of social service. For what can be better than that a man should by his personal labour add to the useful wealth of the country ? ' Being ' is ' doing. '

The adjective ' intelligent ' has been prefixed to ' labour ' in order to show that labour to be social service must have that definite purpose behind it. Otherwise every labourer can be said to render social service. He does in a way, but what is meant here is something much more than that. A person who labours for the general good of all serves society and is worthy of his hire. Therefore, such bread-labour is not different

from social service. What the vast mass of mankind does for self or at best for family, a social servant does for general good.

Harijan : June 1, 1935.

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Brahma created His people with the duty of sacrifice laid upon them and said, ' By this do you flourish. Let it be the fulfiller of all your desire. 7 ../ He who eats without performing this sacrifice eats stolen bread/ thus says the Gita. * Earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow/ says the Bible. Sacrifices may be of many kinds. One of them may well be bread-labour. If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as

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we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice. Men will no doubt do many other things either through their bodies or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love, for the common good. There will be then no rich and no poor, none high and none low, no touchable and no untouchable.

This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it. Even if without fulfilling the whole law of sacrifice, that is, the law of our being, we performed physical labour enough for our daily bread, we should go a long way towards the ideal.

If we did so, our wants would be minimised, our food would be simple. We should then eat to live, not live to eat. Let anyone who doubts the accuracy of this proposition try to sweat for his bread, he will derive the greatest relish from the productions of his labour, improve his

health
and discover that many things he took were
superfluties.

May not men earn their bread by intellectual labour ?
No. The needs of the body must be supplied by the body.
< Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's/ perhaps
app-
]ies here well.

Mere mental, that is, intellectual labour is for the
soul
and is its own satisfaction. It should never demand
pay-
ment. In the ideal state, doctors, lawyers and the like
will
work solely for the benefit of society, not for self.
Obedi-
ence to the law of bread-labour will bring about a
silent
revolution in the structure of society. Man's triumph
will
consist in substituting the struggle for existence by
the
struggle for mutual service. Thela*v of the brute will
be
replaced by the law of man.

Return to the villages means a definite voluntary re-
cognition flf the duty of bread-labour and all it
connotes.
But says the critic, * Millions of India's childern are
to-day
living in the villages and yet they are living a life
of semi-

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starvation.' This, alas, is but too true. Fortunately
we
know that theirs is not voluntary obedience. They would
perhaps shirk body-labour if they could, and even rush
to
the nearest city if they could be accommodated in it.
Com-
pulsory obedience to a master is a state of slavery,
willing

obedience to one's father is the glory of somhip.
Similarly
compulsory obedience to the law of bread-labour breeds
poverty, disease and discontent. It is a state of
slavery.
Willing obedience to it must bring contentment and
health.
And it is health which is real wealth, not pieces of
silver and
gold. The Village Industries Association is an
experiment
in willing bread-labour.

Harijan : June 29, 1935

SOME of the simplest things that Gandhiji has been
saying and writing seem to puzzle and perplex people
v\ho
ask him to explain what he could possibly have meant.
One of these is Gandhiji's insistence on bread-labour.
It is
the simplest of propositions to understand that if
everyone
earned his bread by the sv\eat of his brow there would
be na
exploitation and no over work. But the puzzle to some
is that most people do not do so. The lawyer who earns
his
thousands a month and guineas an hour does no body-
labour nor do many other professional people of his
kind.
But sa)s Gandhiji to the puzzled one : c Why worry
about
those who do not do body-labour? I have never imagined
that
every man on earth will earn his bread by the sweat of
his
brow, lut I have simply enunciated the golden rule. Are
jcu prepared to do it ? If you are, you need not be
jealous
of the man \\ho is not prepared to do it or cannot do
it. I
may not be able to earn what fruit and milk I eat, by
mere
body-labour, but that means that I am to be pitied, the
rule
is not affected. Only a few people can observe

Brahmachaiya
but should they, therefore, be jealous of the millions
who

BREAD-LABOUR 57

cannot? The latter may be pitied, rather than be
envied.' M. D,

Harijan : Aug. 3, 1935,

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THE law, that to live man must work, first came home
to me upon reading Tolstoy's writing on bread-labour.
But
even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after
reading Ruskin's Unto This Last. The divine law, that
man
must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands,
was
first stressed by a Russian writer named T. N.
Bondarif.
Tolstoy advertised it, and gave it wider publicity. In
my
view, the same principle has been set forth in the
third
chapter of the Gita, where we are told, that he who
eats
without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice
here
can only mean bread-labour.

Reason too leads us to an identical conclusion. How
can a man, who does not do body-labour, have the right
to
eat? 'In the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat thy
bread/
says the Bible. A millionaire cannot carry on for long,
and
will soon get tired of his life, if he rolls in his bed
all day
long, and is even helped to his food. He therefore
induces
hunger by exercise, and help himself to the food he
eats.
If every one, whether rich and poor, has thus to take

exercise in some shape or form, why should it not assume the form of productive, i.e. bread labour? No one asks the cultivator to take breathing exercise or to work his muscles. And more than nine tenths of humanity lives by tilling the soil. How much happier, healthier and more peaceful would the world become, if the remaining tenth followed the example of the over whelming majority, at least to the extent of labouring enough for their food ! And many hard-ships, connected with agriculture, would be easily redressed, if such people took a hand in it. Again invidious distinctions of rank would be abolished, when every one without exception acknowledged the obligation of bread-labour. It is

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common to all the varnas. There is a world-wide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated; the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest.

Bread-labour is a veritable blessing to one who would observe Non-violence, worship Truth, and make the observance of brahmacharya a natural act. This labour can truly be related to agriculture alone. But at present at any rate, everybody is not in a position to take to it. A person can therefore spin or weave, or take up carpentry or smithery, instead of tilling the soil, always regarding agriculture how-

ever to be the ideal. Every one must be his own scavenger. Evacuation is as necessary as eating, and the best thing would be for every one to dispose of his own waste. If this is impossible, each family should see to its own scavenging. I have felt for years, that there must be something radically wrong, where scavenging has been made the concern of a separate class in society. We have no historical record of the man, who first assigned the lowest status to this essential sanitary service. Whoever he was, he by no means did us a good. We should from our very childhood, have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is, for every one who has realised this, to commence bread-labour as a scavenger. Scavenging, thus intelligently taken up, will help one to a true appreciation of the equality of man.

From Tervada Mandir : Page 50.

British Empire

NO empire intoxicated with red wine of power and plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world, and this British Empire, which is based upon organised exploitation of physically weaker races of the earth and upon a

BRITISH GOVERNMENT 59

continuous exhibition of brute force, cannot live if there is a just God ruling the universe.

Young India : Feb. 23, 1922.

WHEREVER you turn in India you encounter pitfalls. To me every institution be it the most philanthropic run by and in the name of the Empire in India has an unmistakable taint about it. That we run to and lo* nIDst or some of them is no test of their goodness. It is a test of our helplessness, short-sightedness or selfishness. We have not the courage to sacrifice much in order to save ourselves from criminal participation in sustaining an Empire which is based on fraud and force, and whose chief, if not one aim is to perpetuate the pDlicy of ever-growing exploitation of the so-called weaker races of the earth.

Young India : Dec. 13, 1928.

British Government

THE British Government is never and nowhere entirely or even chiefly laid on force. It does make an honest attempt to secure the good-will of the governed. But it does not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous means to compel the consent of the governed.

It has not gone beyond the c Honesty is the best policy *
id?a. It therefore bribes you into consenting to its will by awarding titles, medals and ribbDns, b/ giving you employ-ment, by its superior financial ability to open for its employees avenues for enriching themselves and finally when these fail, it resorts to force.

Young India : June 30, 1920.

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I MUST dare say that the Mogul and the Marathai Governments were better than the Biitish, in that the nation as a whole was not so emasculate or so impoverished as it is to-day. We were not the Pariahas of the Mogul or the Maratha Empire. We are the Pariahas of the British Empire.

Toung India : June 22, 192U

WHAT severer condemnation can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British nation, it has emasculated a whole people ?

Toung India : Nov. 17, 1920.

IT is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation.

India : Feb. 9, 1921.

British Political Institutions

I QUESTION this claim to exclusive political sense that the English arrogate to themselves. It is one of the greatest superstitions of the age and the surprise to me is that even the most level-headed among the English sometimes succumb to it. There is much in British political institutions that I admire. But I am no fetish worshipper. I do not believe that they are the paragon of perfection or that they must be adopted by India at any price. The English have not been

able to make a perfect success of them even in their own country, much less to demonstrate that they are the best model for the whole world to adopt. There are Englishmen who admit that the Mother of Parliaments has not fulfilled all the expectations that were entertained of her.

Young India : Mar. 28, 1929.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA 61

WHAT is excellent in British political institutions is there for the whole world to see and copy* The British need not come all the way to India as rulers to teach us political wisdom. Whatever is worth adopting for India must come to her through the process of assimilation, not forcible superimposition. For instance, the Chinese possess the cunning of the hand in painting which is all their own. It is there for the whole world to admire and imitate. You would not expect the Chinese to come and take possession of England and to teach to her the Chinese fine arts !

Young India : Mar. 28, 1929

British Rule in India

I LONG for freedom from the English yoke. I would pay any price for it. I would accept chaos in exchange for it. For the English peace is the peace of the grave. Anything would be better than this living death of a whole people. This satantic rule has well nigh ruined this fair land materially, morally and spiritually.

Toung India ; Jan. 12, 1928.

<\$><\$> <\$>

IT is clear that the riches derived from the tillers of the soil are not a voluntary contribution or a contribution compelled for their benefit. The villagers are not affected by the Pax Britannica so-called ; for they were untouched even by the invasions of Timur or Nadirshah. They will remain untouched by anarchy if it comes. But in order that this enormous contribution may be exacted without resistance, violence has been organised by the British Government on a scale unknown, before and manipulated in so insidious a manner as not to be easily seen or felt as such. British rule has appeared to me to be a perfect personification of violence. There are snakes that by their very appearance paralyse their victims. They do not need to make any further demonstration of their power. Even so, I am sorry to have to

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say, has the British power worked upon us in India. Frightfulness is not a word of Indian coinage. It was coined by a British judge in order to bring vividly to light the meaning of the Jalianwala Massacre. And we are promised a multiple, if we dare lift up our heads and say, ' We will have no more of this loot that has bled India dry.'

Let us, too, understand how organised violence works and is on that account far more harmful than sporadic, thoughtless, sudden outburst. Ordered violence hides

itself
often behind camouflage and hypocrisy as we see them
work-
ing through the declarations of good intentions,
commissions,
conferences and the like, or even through measures
conceived
as tending to the public benefit but in reality to the
benefit
of the wrongdoer. Greed and deceit are often the
offspring
as they are equally often the parents of violence.
Naked
violence repels like the naked skeleton shorn of flesh,
blood
and the velvety skin. It cannot last long. But it
persists
fairly long when it wears the mask of peace and
progress
so-called.

Such awe-inspiring violence concealed under a ' golden
lid ' begets the violence of the weak which in its turn
works
secretly and sometimes openly.

Young India : Feb. 6, 1930.

ENGLAND will never make any advance so as to satisfy
India's aspirations till she is forced to it. British
rule is no
philanthropic job, it is a terribly earnest business
proposition
worked out from day to day with deadly precision. The
coating of a benevolence that is periodically given to
it
merely prolongs the agony.

Young India : Feb. 28, 1929.

MY personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot inten-
tionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow
human

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA 63

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.

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen, in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as dearest friends. Indeed, much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse ?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of civil disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

Young India : Mar, 12, 1930,

ALIEN rule is like a foreign matter in an organic body.

Remove the poison and the body will at once start
recupe-
rating. We do not want the freedom of India, if it is
to be
bought at the sacrifice of the lives of others if it is
to be
bought by spilling the blood of the rulers. But if any
sacrifice can be made by the nation, by ourselves, to
win
that freedom, then you will find that we will not
hesitate to

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give a Ganges mil of blood to HDW in India in order to
vindicate ths freedom tint ha* b*ea so long delayed.

(From a speech to the Independent Labour Party ,
London.)

Toung India : Oct. 15, 1930.

Q, Don't you think there is fear of the different
communities violently quarrelling among themselves when
the British withdraw from India ?

A. I have compared the British rule to a wedge and
no sooner the wedge is removed than the divided parts
will
unite. But even if we continue to fight I should think
it a
godsend. A man who broods on evil is as bad as a man
who does evil, if he is no worse, and so if we are
prevented
from running at one another's throats simply became of
the
superimposed force of alien rule, the sooner that force
is re-
moved the better. We should fight harder for a time but
we should unite better ultimately.

Young India : Oct. 22, 1931 .

Buddhism

YOU do not know, perhaps, that one of my sons, the eldest boy, accused me of being a follower of Buddha, and some of my Hindu countrymen also do not hesitate to accuse me of speaking Buddhistic teachings under the guise of Sanatana Hinduism. I sympathise with my son's accusations and the accusations of my Hindu friends. And sometimes I feel even proud of being^ accused of being a follower of Buddha, and I have no hesitation in declaring in the presence of this audience that I owe a great deal to the inspiration that I have derived from the life of the Enlightened One.

It is my deliberate opinion that the essential part of the teachings of Buddha now forms an integral part of Hinduism. It is impossible for Hindu India to-day

BUDDHISM 65

to retrace her steps and go behind the great reformation that Gautama effected in Hinduism. By his immense sacrifice, by his great renunciation and by the immaculate purity of his life, he left an indelible impress upon Hinduism, and Hinduism owes an internal debt of gratitude to that great Teacher. And if you will also forgive me for saying so and if you will also give me the permission to say so, I would venture to tell you that what Hinduism did not assimilate of what passes as Buddhism to-day was not an essential part of Buddha's life and his teachings.

It is my fixed opinion that Buddhism or rather the teaching of Buddha found its full fruition in India, and it could not be otherwise, for Gautama was himself a Hindu oi Hindus. He was saturated with the best that was in Hinduism, and he gave life to some of the teachings that were buried in the Vedas and which were overgrown with weeds, His great Hindu spirit cut in its way through the

forest of words, meaningless words, which had overlaid the golden truth that was in the Vedas. He made some of the words in the Vtdas yield a meaning to which the men of his generation were utter strangers, and he found in India the most congenial soil. And wherever Buddha went, he was followed by and surrounded not by non-Hindus but Hindus, those who were themselves saturated with the Vtdic laws. But Buddha's teaching like his heart was all-expanding and all-embracing and so it has survived his own body and swept across the face of the earth. And at the risk of being called a follower of Buddha I claim this achievement as a triumph of Hinduism. Buddha never rejected Hinduism, but he broadened its base. He give it a new life and new interpretation. But here comes the point where I shall need your forgiveness and your generosity, and I want to submit to you that the teaching of Buddha was not assimilated in its fullness whether it was in Ceylon, or in Burma, or in China or in Tibet.

66 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

You and those who call themselves Buddhists outside India have no doubt taken in a very large measure the teaching of Buddha, but when I examine your life and when I cross-question the friends from Ceylon, Burma, China or Tibet, I feel confounded to find so many inconsistencies between what I have come to understand as the central fact of Buddha's life and your own practice, and if I am not tiring you out, I would like hurriedly to run through three prominent points that just now occurred to me. The first is the belief in an all-prevading Providence called God.

I have heard it contended times without number and I have read in books also claiming to express the spirit of Buddhism that Buddha did not believe in God. In my humble opinion such a belief contradicts the very central fact of Buddha's teaching. In my humble opinion the confusion has arisen over his rejection and just rejection of all the base things that passed in his generation under the name of God. He undoubtedly rejected the notion that a being called God was actuated by malice, could repent of His actions, and like the kings of the earth could possibly be open to temptations and bribes and could possibly have favourites. His whole soul rose in mighty indignation against the belief that a being called God required for His satisfaction the living blood of animals in order that He might be pleased animals who were His own creation. He, therefore, reinstated God in the right place and dethroned the usurper who for the time being seemed to occupy that White Throne. He emphasised and re-declared the eternal and unalterable existence of the moral government of this universe. He unhesitatingly said that the Law was God Himself.

God's laws are eternal and unalterable and not separate from God Himself. It is an indispensable condition of His very perfection. And hence the great confusion that Buddha disbelieved in God and simply believed in the moral law, and because of this confusion about God Himself, arose the confusion about the proper understanding of the great word Nirvana. Nirvana is undoubtedly not utter extinctiuo.

BUDDHISM 67

So far as I have been able to understand the central fact of Buddha's life, Nirvana is utter extinction of all that is base in us, all that is corrupt and corruptible in us. Nirvana is not like the black, dead peace of the grave but the living peace, the living happiness of a soul which is conscious of itself, and conscious of having found its own abode in the heart of the Eternal.

The third point is the low estimation which the idea of sanctity of all life came to be held in its travels outside India. Great as Buddha's contribution to humanity was in resorting God to His eternal place, in my humble opinion greater still was his contribution to humanity in his exacting regard for all life, be it ever so low. I am aware that his own India did not rise to the height that he would fain have seen India occupy. But the teaching of Buddha, when it became Buddhism and travelled outside, came to mean that the sacredness of animal life had not the sense that it had with an ordinary man. I am not aware of the exact practice and belief of Ceylonese Buddhism in this matter, but I am aware what shape it has taken in Burma and China. In Burma especially the Burmese Buddhists will not kill a single animal, but do not mind others killing the animals for them and dishing the carcasses for them for their food. Now, if there was any teacher in the world who insisted upon the inexorable law of cause and effect it was inevitably Gautama, and yet my friends, the Buddhists outside India, would, if they could, avoid the effects of their

own acts.

Toung India : JVov. 24, 1927.

Bureaucracy

IT is contrary to my nature to believe in the depravity of human feelings. But there is so much evidence about me of the depravity of the bureaucratic mind that it will stop at anything to gain its end.

Toung India : Oct. 20, 1921 .

68 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Business

COMMERCIAL bodies can never be democratic.

Toung India : Oct. 1, 1925

IT is wrong to think that business is incompatible with ethics. I know that it is perfectly possible to carry one's business profitably and yet honestly and truthfully. The plea that business and ethics never agree is advanced only by those who are actuated by nothing higher than narrow self-interest. He who will serve his own ends will do so by all kinds of questionable means, but he who will earn to serve the community will never sacrifice truth or honesty. You must bear in mind that you have the right to earn as much as you like but not the right to spend as much as you like. Anything that remains after the needs of a decent living are satisfied belongs to the community.

Harijan ; May 4, 193\

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I DO not hold dishonest practices in business to be warranted or excusable. The principle of unconditional honesty is as binding in this as in any other field of life, and it is up to a business man never to compromise his principle no matter what it may cost him. In the end, of course, honesty pays, though that can hardly be a consideration for observing it. One has a perfect right to fix and regulate the scale of prices that he shall charge from a particular set of customers, but it must be done according to a clear fixed principle and not out of mere opportunism or immoral expediency. There should be in it no room for fraud, sharp practice or finesse, to bamboozle the simple, unsuspecting customer.

Harijan : Mar. 13, 1937-

CALAMITY 69

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Calamity

BY nature I am so framed that every calamity moves me irrespective of the people whom it may overtake.

-Harljan:S ept. 22, 1910.

Capital & Labour

IN the struggle between capital and labour, it may be generally said that more often than not the capitalists are in the wrong box. But when labour comes fully to realise its strength, I know it can become more tyrannical than capital. The millowners will have to work on the terms dictated by labour, if the latter could command intelligence of the former. It is clear, however, that labour will never

attain
to that intelligence. If it does, labour will cease to
be
labour and become itself the master. The capitalists do
not
fight on the strength of money alone. They do possess
intelligence and tact.

Swaraj as conceived by me does not mean the end
of king-ship. Nor does it mean the end of capital.
Accumu-
lated capital means ruling power. I am for the
establishment
of right relations between capital and labour, etc. I
do not
wish for the supremacy of the one over the other. I do
not
think there is any natural antagonism between them. The
rich and the poor will always be with us. But their
mutual
relations will be subject to constant change. France is
a
republic, but there are all classes of men in France.

Young India : Jan. 8, 1925.

<s> <s> <s>

I HAVE always said that my ideal is that capital and
labour should supplement and help each other. They
should be a great family living in unity and harmopy,
capital not only looking to the material welfare of the
labour-
ers but their moral welfare also, capitalists being
trustees
for the welfare of the labouring classes under them.

India : Aug. 20, 1928.

70 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

TRUE social economics will teach us that the working
man, the clerk and the employer are parts of the same
indi-
visible organism. None is smaller or greater than the
other.
Their interests should be not conflicting but identical

and
interdependent.

Toting India : May 3, 1928

^ ^ 3>

ALL capitalists, according to some, are born ogres. But there need be no such inherent antipathy between the two.

It is an erroneous notion. If the capitalists are apt to be proud of their wealth, the working men are apt to be pioud of their numerical strength. We are liable to belayed and intoxicated by the same passion as the capitalists, rnd it must be our prayer that both may be free from that passion.

Tourtg India : Mar. 26, 193 1 .

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NO dcubt capital is lifeless, but not capitalists, who are amenable to conversion.

Harijan : May 8, 1937.

Caste and Varna

' IN your Hinduism do you basically include the caste system ?'

4 I do not. Hinduism does not believe in caste. I would obliterate it at once. -But I believe in varnadharma which is the law of life. I believe that some people are born to teach and some to defend and some to engage in trade and agriculture and some to do manual labour, so much so that these occu- pations become hereditary. The law of varna is nothing but the law of conservation of energy. Why should my son not be a scavenger if I am one ?'

' ' Indeed ? Do you go so far ?'

* I do, because I hold a scavenger's profession in no way inferior to a clergyman's/

CASTE AND VARNA 7i

c I grant that, but should Lincoln have been a wood-chopper rather than President of the U.S.A.?'

* But why should not a wood-chopper be a President of the United States ? Gladstone used to chop wood.'

' But he did not accept it as his calling. 5

' He would not have been worse off if he had done so. What I mean is, one born a scavenger must earn his livelihood by being a scavenger, and then do whatever else he likes. For a scavenger is as worthy of his hire as a lawyer or your Piesident. That, according tome, is Hinduism. There is no better communism on earth, and I have illustrated it with one verse from the Upanishads which means : God pervades all animate and inanimate. Therefore renounce all and dedicate it to God and then live. The right of living is thus derived from renunciation. It does not say, 'When all do their part of the work I too will do it. 5 It says, c Don 5 t bother about others, do your job first and leave the rest to HIM.' Vainadharma acts even as the law of gravitation. 1 cannot cancel it or its working by trying to jump higher and higher day by day till gravitation ceases to work. That effort will be vain. So is the effort to jump over one another. The law of varna is the antithesis of competition which kills. 7

(Conversation between Gandhiji and an American clergyman)

Harijan : Mar. G, 1937

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AS for caste, I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap on progress. Nor, do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state. We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realise equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man. Thus caste, in so far as it connotes distinctions in status, is an evil.

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I do, however, believe in varna which is based on hereditary occupations. Varnas are four to mark four universal occupations, imparting knowledge, defending the defenceless carrying on agriculture and commerce, and performing service through physical labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hinduism having recognised them as the law of our being, has made use of it in regulating social relations and conduct. Gravitation affects us all, whether one knows its existence or not. But scientists who knew the law have made it yield results that have startled

the world. Even so, has Hinduism startled the world by its discovery and application of the law of varna. When Hindus were seized with inertia, abuse of varna resulted in innumerable castes, with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to intermarriage and inter-dining. The varna has nothing to do with these restrictions. People of different varnas may inter-marry and inter-dine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of chastity and hygiene. But a Brahmin who marries a Shudra girl, or vice versa, commits no offence against the law of varna. *Toung India* : Jan. 4, 1931.

Cause

NO cause can survive internal difficulties if they are indefinitely multiplied. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the avoidance of splits. You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital part. *Toung India* : Nov. 24, 1920.

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A CAUSE has the best of success, when it is examined and followed on its own merits. Measures must always in a progressive society be held superior to men who are after all imperfect instruments working for their fulfilment.

Toung India : July 13, 1921.

Ceremonies

I do not believe in ceremonies except to the extent that they awaken in us a sense of duty.

Toung India : June 12, 1928.

CHAOS vs MISRULE 73

Chaos vs Misrule

CHAOS means no rule, no order. Rule or order can come, does come, out of no rule or no order, but never directly out of misrule or disorder masquerading under the sacred name of rule or order.

If I were compelled to choose between this rule and violence I would give my vote for the latter though I will not, I could not, assist a fight based on violence. It would be a matter for me of Hobson's choice. The seeming quiescence of to-day is a dangerous form of violence kept under suppression by greater violence or rather readiness for it. Is it not better than those, who, out of a cowardly fear of death or dispossession, whilst harbouring violence refrain from it, should do it and win freedom from bondage or die gloriously in the attempt to vindicate their birthright ?

My own position and belief are clear and unequivocal. I neither want the existing rule nor chaos. I want true order established without having to go through the travail of chaos. I want this disorder to be destroyed by non-violence, i. e., I want to convert the evil-doers. My life is dedicated to that task. And what I have written in the previous paragraphs directly flows from my knowledge of the working of non-violence which is the greatest force known to mankind. My belief in its efficacy is unshakeable so is my belief unshakeable in the power of India to gain her freedom through non-violent means and no other. But this power of hers cannot be evoked by suppressing truth or facts, however ugly they may for

the moment appear to be. God forbid that India should have to engage in a sanguinary duel before she learns the lesson of non-violence in its fulness. But if that intermediate stage, often found to be necessary, is to be her lot, it will have to be faced as a stage inevitable in her march towards freedom and certainly preferable to the existing order which is only so-called, but which is like a whited sepul .

74 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

chre hiding undiluted violence underneath.

Toung India : Mar. 1, 1928.-

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WE are so very much fear-stricken that a severance of the British connection means to us violence and chaos. Well, I want to make myself clear once more. Votary as I am of non-violence, if I was given a choice between being a helpless witness to chaos and perpetual slavery, I should unhesitatingly say that I would far rather be witness to chaos in India, I would far rather be witness to chaos in India, I would far rather be witness to Hindus and Musalmans doing one another to death than that I should daily witness our gilded slavery. To my mind golden shackles are far worse than iron ones, for one easily feels the irksome and galling nature of the latter and is prone to forget the former. If, therefore, India must be in chains, I \vcould they were of iron rather than of gold or other precious metals.

tcung India : Jan. 16, 1920,

Character

THE foundation of Satyagraha as of nation building is undoubtedly self-purification, self-dedication, selflessness. Let each one ask oneself, 'How then can I purify myself in terms of the nation ? Rectitude of private character is surely the beginning of the structure. If my private character is foul, I am like 'a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.' If then I am not right inside, I must this very instant purge myself and be a fit vessel for dedication. Government cannot help me or interfere with me here. I must be the sole author of my making or undoing.

Toung India : April 7, 1927.

<3> <3> <\$>

NO religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and

CHARACTER 75

character not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the test of merit. Harijan : Mar. 8, 1942.

THOUGH the external may have its use y constituted as I am, I have all my life thought of growth from within. External appliances are perfectly useless if there is no internal reaction. When a body is perfect within, it becomes imper-vious to external adverse influences and is independent of external help. Moreover when the internal organs are sound they automatically attract external help. Hence the proverb God helps those who help themselves. If

therefore
we would all work to bring about internal perfection we
need not take up any other activity at all. Sept. 4,
1924,

Toung India :

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AS a splendid palace deserted by its inmates looks like
a ruin, so does a man without character, all his
material
belongings notwithstanding.

Satyagraha in South Africa : P. 356*

3> <S> <\$>

ALL our learning or recitation of the Vedas^ correct
knowledge of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and what not, will
avail
us nothing, if they do not enable us to cultivate
absolute
purity of heart. The end of all knowledge must be
building
up of character. Toung India : Sept. 8, 1927

your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and
Wordsworth would be in vain, if at the same time you
do-
not build your character, and attain mastery over your
thoughts and actions. When you have attained self-
mastery
and learnt to control your passions, you will not utter
notes
of despair. You cannot give your hearts and profess
poverty
of action. To give one's heart is to give all. You
must,
to start with, have hearts to give. And this you can do
iC
you will cultivate them,

India : I <]

76 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

BUT character cannot be built with mortar and stone,
It cannot be built by other hands than your own. The
Principal and the Professors cannot give you character
from
the pages of books. Character building comes from their
very lives, and, really speaking, it must come from
within
yourselves.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : P. 85-

<\$> 3> <S>

PURITY consists first of all in possessing a pure heart
but what there is in the heart really comes out also
and
is shown in outward acts and outward behaviour. And a
boy who wants to keep his mouth pure, will never utter
a bad word. Of course, that is quite clear. But he
neither
will put anything into his mouth that will cloud his
intellect,
cloud his mind, and damage his friends also.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : P. 95.

<3> <\$> <3>

A CHIVALROUS boy would always keep his mind
pure, his eyes straight, and his hands unpleated. You
do
not need to go to any school to learn these fundamental
maxims of life, and if you will have this triple
character
with you, you will build on a solid foundation.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : P. 105.

<3> & <3>

A MAN of character will make himself worthy of any
position he is given.

Young India : Sep. 9, 1920.

< <3> <\$>

THERE are no two opinions about the fact that intellect rather than riches will lead. It might equally be admitted by the correspondent that the heart rather than the intellect will eventually lead. Character, not brains, will count at the crucial moment.

Young India : Sep. 19, 1921.

CHARACTER 77

PURITY of character and salvation depend on purity of heart.

Young India : Mar. 15, 1921.

<s> <s> <s>

PUT all your knowledge, learning and scholarship in one scale and truth and purity in the other and the latter will by far outweigh the other. The miasma of moral impurity has to-day spread among our schoolgoing children and like a hidden epidemic is working havoc among them. I therefore appeal to you, boys and girls, to keep your minds and bodies pure. All your scholarship, all your study of the scriptures will be in vain if you fail to translate their teachings into your daily life. I know that some of the teachers too do not lead pure and clean lives. To them I say that even if they impart all the knowledge in the world to their students but inculcate not truth and purity among them, they will have betrayed them and instead of raising them set them on the downward road to perdition. Knowledge without character is a power for evil only, as seen in the instances of so many 'talented thieves' and 'gentlemen rascals' in the world.

Toung India : Feb. 21, 1929,

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CHARACTER alone will have effect on the masses,
Masses will not argue. They will simply want to know
who
are the .men who go to them. If those men have
credentials,
the masses will listen to them; if they have no
credentials,
the masses will not listen.

Toung India : Dec. 29, 1933,

Charkha

I PRESENT you with the SPINNING WHEEL
and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic
salvation. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art
and to
be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

Toung India* Jan. 19, 1920,

78 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

WITHOUT a cottage industry the Indian peasant
is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the
produce of the land. He needs a supplementary
industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the
best.

The Queens of Europe before Europe was caught in
Satan's trap, spun yarn and considered it a noble
calling.

The very words, spinster and wife, prove the ancient
dig-

nity of the art of spinning and weaving. 'When Adam
delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman, also
reminds one of the same fact. Not on the clatter of
arms

depends the revival of her prdsperty and true
independence.

It depends mo^t largely upon reintroduction, in every
home of the music of the spinning wheel. It gives
-sweeter music and is more profitable than the

execrable
harmonium, coucertina, and the accordion.

I know that there are friends who laugh at this attempt to revive this great art. They reminded me that, in these days of mills, sewing-machines or typewriters, only a lunatic can hope to succeed in reviving the rusticated spinning wheel. These friends forget that the needle has not yet given place to the sewing machine nor has the hand lost its cunning in spite of the typewriter. There is not the slightest reason why the spinning wheel may not co-exist with the spinning mill even as the domestic kitchen co-exists with the hotels. Indeed typewriters and sewing machines may go, but the needle and the reed pen will survive. The mills may suffer destruction. The spinning wheel is a national necessity. I would ask sceptics to go to the many poor homes where the spinning wheel is again supplementing their slender resources and ask the inmates whether the spinning wheel has not brought joy to their homes.

Toung India : Aug. 18, 1920.

<S> <\$> <3>

AGRICULTURE and hand-spinning are two lungs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at all costs.

Toung India . July 13. 1921-.

CHARKHA 79

NO one has ever said that spinning can be a means of livelihood except to the very poor. It is intended to restore spinning to its ancient position as a universal industry auxiliary to agriculture and resorted to by

agriculturists during those months of the year when agricultural operations are suspended as a matter of course and cultivators have otherwise little to do. For the present all people alike are invited to devote their leisure to spinning with a view to bringing about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in course of the present year. No one asks an able-bodied labourer who can earn twelve annas a day to give up his work in order to take to spinning. However, people are so poor in many parts of the country that a daily wage of even three annas a day would be a veritable boon to them and enable them to tide over bad seasons. The spinning wheel is capable of being applied as a complete insurance against famines and droughts. Three annas again is only a most cautious and conservative estimate.

Toung India : Aug. 4, 1921

<3> <\$> <S>

Restoration of charkha automatically solves that difficult problem of enforced emigration. Land alone cannot support the poor peasantry of India even if there, was no assessment to be paid.

Toung India : Aug. 25, 1921.

<\$><\$><\$>

ATTACKS on hand-spinning notwithstanding, I cling to the belief that Swaraj is unattainable without the beautiful art becoming universal in India. The reasoning applied to the proposition is incredibly simple. India cannot live unless her homes become self-supporting. They cannot become so unless they have a supplementary

80 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

occupation. It will, therefore, not avail if all our cloth was manufactured in our mills. If hand-spinning became

universal, every home would get a share of the crores and without any complicated machinery. And India is able to manufacture all her own cloth. It is understood that, when spinning becomes universal, the millions of weavers and lacs of carders will revert to their original occupation. This is the economic aspect of hand-spinning.

It will save our women from forced violation of their purity. It will, as it must, do away with begging as a means of livelihood. It will remove our enforced idleness. It will steady the mind. And I verily believe that, when millions take to it as a sacrament, it will turn our faces Godward.

This is the moral aspect of spinning.

And when it has become universal and traffic in foreign cloth has become a thing of the past, it is the surest sign that India is earnest, sober, and believes in the non-violent and religious character of her struggle.

At present, outsiders do not believe in our ability to boycott foreign cloth and to manufacture enough for our requirements by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

But when it becomes an established fact, India's opinion too will become an irresistible force, and if necessary, she can then, but not till then resort to Civil Disobedience in order to bend a recalcitrant Government to its will.

This is the political aspect.

Tourg India ; Sep. 22, 1921.

<\$> <3> <\$>

IN my loneliness, it is my only infallible friend and comforter. May it be so to the reader.

Toung India : Sep. 4, 1924,

CHARKHA 81

THE winter of despair can only be turned into the sunshine of hope for the millions only through the life-giving wheel the charkha.

Young India : Aug. 27, 1925.

<3> <\$> <\$>

ITS message is one of simplicity, service of mankind, living so as not to hurt others, creating an indissoluble bond between the rich and the poor, capital and labour the prince and the peasant.

Young India : Sep. 17, 1925.

<\$><\$><\$>

THE greatest of my activities is the charkha. I hold it to be the best part of my service social, political and spiritual. For it includes these branches of service. My invitation to all to spin if only for half an hour daily for the sake of the starving millions of this land makes the movement at once both political and spiritual.

He who spins before the poor inviting them to do likewise serves God as no one else does.

Young India : Sep 24, 1925.

<\$><\$><*>

IT is the one thing that can bring a ray of sunshine into the dark and dilapidated dungeon of the half-starved peasantry.

Young India : Mar. 11, 1926.

<\$> <3> <:>

FOR me nothing in the political world is more important than the spinning-wheel. I can recall many occasions when I have postponed other matters to make room for a discussion on the spinning wheel as the central part of our economics or politics.

Young India : April 19, 1926.

<3> <\$> <S>

I think of the poor of India every time that I draw a thread on the wheel. The poor of India to-day have lost faith in God, more so in the middle classes or the rich.

For a person suffering from the pangs of hunger, and

82 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

desiring nothing but to fill his belly, his belly is his God.

To him anyone who gives him bread is his master.

Through

him he may even see God. To give alms to such persons, who are sound in all their limbs, is to debase oneself and them. What they need is some kind of occupation, and the occupation that will give employment to millions

can only be hand-spinning. But I can instil my faith in the potency of hand-spinning in the minds of the toilers

of India not by making speeches but only by spinning myself. Therefore, I have described my spinning as a penance or sacrament. And, since I believe that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, I see God in every thread that I draw on the spinning-wheel.

Young India : Mar. 20, 1926.

<s> <s> <\$>

I MAY repeat that I would to-day discard the spinning-wheel if someone shows a better and more universal political programme than hand-spinning. But up to this time I have been shown none. I am anxious to know

if there is any.

Young India : Feb. 17, 1927.

<3> <\$><\$>

DO you know" the daily income per head of our country ? Our economists say that it is one anna and six pies, though even that is misleading. If someone were to work out the average depth of a river as four feet from the fact that the river was six feet deep in certain places and two feet in others, and proceeded to ford it, would he not be drowned ? That is how statistics mislead. The average income is worked out from the figures of the income of the poor man as also of the Viceroy and the millionaires. The actual income will therefore be hardly three pice per head. Now, if I supplement that income by even three pice with the help of the charkha, am I not right in calling the charkha my Cow of Plenty ? Some people attribute

CHARKHA 83

superhuman powers to me, some say I have an extraordinary character. God alone knows what I am. It is also possible to disagree about the efficacy of satyagraha, but I do not think there is any reason for disagreement on these obvious facts about the charkha. If someone convinces me to-day that there is no poverty in India that there are few in India who starve for want of even a few pice a day, I shall own myself to have been mistaken and shall destroy the spinning-wheel.

Toting India : Feb. 17, 1927.

< <& <^

LITTLE is it realised even by the best workers that the message of the wheel means a complete revolution in national life. Its successful delivery means a solidly-knit, well-organised, well-disciplined, self-restrained, self-contained, self-respecting, industrious and prosperous nation, no member of which, willing and ready to work, ever need starve.

Regular spinning for half an hour daily is no strain and it should be a joy to be able to renew from day to day through the wheel a vital contact with the millions of paupers.

Toung India : Aug. 8, 1929.

^ ^ ^

THERE is a world of difference between spinning for sacrifice and spinning for recreation. I would advise you to observe a religious silence while spinning. It would give you spiritual peace and if you make it a point always to spin at a particular fixed hour, it will automatically regulate your other appointments too and help you to a well-ordered life.

IT is the symbol of the nation's prosperity and therefore freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace. It bears not a message of illwill towards the nations of the earth but of good-will and self-

84 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

help. It will not need the protection of a navy threatening

world's peace and exploiting its resources, but it needs the religious determination of millions to spin their yarn in their own homes as to-day they cook their food in their own homes, I may deserve the curses of posterity for many mistakes of omission and commission, but I am confident of earning its blessings for suggesting a revival of the charkha. I stake my all on it. For every revolution of the wheel spins peace, good-will and love. And with all that, inasmuch as the loss of it brought about India's slavery, its voluntary revival with all its implications must mean India's freedom.

Young India : Dec. 8, 1921.

<S> <S> <

I SEE a vital connection between the charkha and non-violence. Even as certain minimum qualifications are indispensable in a soldier in arms, so are certain other and even opposite qualifications indispensable in a non-violent soldier, i. e., a satyagrahi. One of these latter is adequate skill in spinning and its anterior processes. A satyagrahi occupies himself in productive work. There is no easier and better productive work for millions than spinning. What is more, it has been an integral part of the non-violent programme since its commencement. Civilisation based on non-violence must be different from that organised for violence. Let not Congressmen trifle with this fundamental fact. I repeat what I have said a thousand times that, if millions spun for Swaraj and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience. It will be a constructive effort such as the world has not witnessed before, it is the surest method of converting the enemy.

Harijan : Dec. 2, 1939.

Chivalry

I SHOULD never think of reaping Swaraj out of British defeat. It would be anything but chivalry. Mine is, there*

CHRISTIANITY 8S

fore, not misplaced. Chivalry is a vital part of akiinn.

Ahimsa without it is lame, it cannot work.

Harijan : July 28, 19 to.

Children

CHILDREN inherit the qualities of the parents, no less than their physical features. Environment does play an important part, but the original capital on which a child

starts in life is inherited from its ancestors. I have also seen

children successfully surmounting the efforts of an evil inheri-

tance. That is due to purity being an inherent attribute

of the soul.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 381.

Christianity

INDIA of the near future stands for perfect toleration of all religions. Her spiritual heritage is simple living

and high-thinking. I consider Western Christianity in its practical working a negation of Christ's Christianity.

I cannot conceive Jesus, if he was living in the flesh in

our midst, approving of modern Christian organisations, public worship or modern ministry. If Indian Christians will simply cling to the Sermon on the Mount, which was delivered not merely to the peaceful disciples but

a groaning world, they would not go wrong, and they would find that no religion is false, and that if all live according to their lights and in the fear of God, they would not need to worry about organisations, forms of worship and ministry. The Pharisees had all that, but Jesus would have none of it, for they were using their office as a cloak for hypocrisy and worse. Co-operation with forces of Good and Non-co-operation with forces of Evil are the two things we need for a good and pure life, whether it is called Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

The message of Jesus, as I understand it, is contained in his Sermon on the Mount unadulterated and taken

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as a whole, and even in connection with the Sermon on the Mount, my own humble interpretation of the message is in many respects different from the orthodox.

The message, to my mind, has suffered distortion in the West. It may be presumptuous for me to say so, but as a devotee of truth, I should not hesitate to say what

I feel. I know that the world is not waiting to know my opinion on Christianity.

Tcvfig India : Mar. 23, 1926.

DR. CRAKE, an American clergyman, wanted to understand Gandhiji's attitude towards Christianity, as he had heard diverse representations made about it, and he also wanted a simple statement regarding Gandhiji's attitude to religion in general.

'I shall certainly give you my reaction to Christianity,' said Gandhiji. Even when I was 18, I came in touch with good Christians in London. Before that I had come in touch with what I used then to call 'beef

and beer-bottle Christianity,' for these were regarded as the indispensable criteria of a man becoming a Christian, with also a third thing, namely adoption of a European style of dress. Those Christians were parodying St. Paul's teaching 'Call thou nothing unclean.' I went to London, therefore, with that prejudice against Christianity. I came across good Christians there who placed the Bible in my hands. Then I met numerous Christians in South Africa, and I have since grown to this belief that Christianity is as good and as true a religion as my own. For a time I struggled with the question, 'Which was the true religion out of those I knew?' But ultimately I came to the deliberate conviction that there was no such thing as only one true religion and every other false. There is no religion that is absolutely perfect. All are equally imperfect or more or less perfect, hence the

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conclusion that Christianity is as good and true as my own religion. But so also about Islam or Zoroastrianism or Judaism.

I therefore do not take as literally true the text that Jesus is the only begotten Son of God. God cannot be the exclusive Father and I cannot ascribe exclusive divinity to Jesus. He is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Mahomed or Zoroaster. Similarly I do not regard every word of the Bible as the inspired word of God even as I do not regard every word of the Vedas or the Koran as inspired. The SUM TOTAL of each of these books is certainly inspired but I miss that inspiration in many of the things taken individually. The Bible is as much a book of religion with me as the Gita and the Koran.

[With this he pointed to the two or three editions of the Koran with also a copy of the Bible lying on bamboo-shelf in front of him. He had read numerous commentaries on the Bible, but had not read many commentaries on the Koran, and that is why there was more than one edition now in front of him.]

'Therefore, I said he, I am not interested in weaning you from Christianity and making you a Hindu, and I would not relish your designs upon me, if you had any, to convert me to Christianity ! I would also dispute your claim that Christianity is the ONLY true religion. It is also a true religion, a noble religion, and along with other religions it has contributed to raise the moral height of mankind. But it has yet to make a greater contribution. After all, what are 2,000 years in the life of a religion? Just now Christianity comes to yearning mankind in a tainted form. Fancy Bishops supporting slaughter in the name of Christianity!'

'But,* asked Dr. Crane, 'when you say that all religions are true, what do you do when there are conflicting counsels ?'

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'I have no difficulty,' said Gandhiji, 'in hitting upon the truth, because I go by certain fundamental maxims. Truth is superior to everything and I reject what conflicts with it. Similarly that which is in conflict with non-violence should be rejected. And on matters which can be reasoned out, that which conflicts with Reason must also be rejected.*

'In matters which can be reasoned out ?*

'Yes, there are subjects where Reason cannot take us far and we have to accept things on faith. Faith then does not contradict Reason but transcends it. Faith is a

kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the purview of Reason, Well, then, given these three criteria, I can have no difficulty in examining all claims made on behalf of a religion. Thus to believe that Jesus is the only begotten Son of God is to me against Reason, for God can't marry and beget children. The word 'son' there can only be used in a figurative sense. In that sense everyone who stands in the position of Jesus is a begotten son of God. If a man is spiritually miles ahead of us we may say that he is in a special sense the son of God, though we are all children of God. We repudiate the relationship in our lives, whereas his life is a witness to that relationship/

'Then you will recognize degrees of divinity. Would you not say that Jesu was the most divine ?'

'No, for the simple reason that we have no data. Historically we have more data about Mahomed than anyone else because he was more recent in time. For Jesus there is less data and still less for Buddha, Rama and Krishna; and when we know so little about them, is it not preposterous to say that one of them was more divine than another ? In fact even if there were a great deal of data available, no judge should shoulder the burden of sifting all the evidence, if only for this reason

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE 89

that it requires a highly spiritual person to guage the degree of divinity of the subjects he examines. To say that Jesus was 99 per cent divine, and Mahomed 50 per cent, and Krishna 10 per cent, is to arrogate to oneself a function which really does not belong to man/

Harijan : Mar. 6, 1937.

Civil Disobedience

I HAVE found that it is our first duty to render voluntary obedience to law, but whilst doing that duty I have also seen that when law fosters untruth it becomes a duty to disobey it. How may this be done ? We can do so by never swerving from truth and suffering the consequences of our disobedience. That is Civil Disobedience. No rules can tell us how this disobedience may be done and by whom, when and where, nor can they tell us which laws foster untruth. It is only experience that can guide us, and it requires time and knowledge of facts.

Young India : Sep. 13, 1919.

<\$> <s> <\$>

IN Civil Disobedience, the resister suffers the consequences of disobedience. This was what Daniel did when he disobeyed the law of the Medes and Persians. That is what John Bunyan did and that is what the ryots have done in India from times immemorial. It is the law of our being. Violence is the law of the beast in us. Self-suffering, i. e., civil resistance, is the law of the man in us. It is rarely that the occasion for civil resistance arises in a well-ordered state. But when it does it becomes a duty that cannot be shirked by one* who counts his honour, i.e. conscience, above everything.

Young India : Oct. 21, 1921.

<J> <\$> <\$>

THOUGHTLESS disobedience means disruption of society.

Young India : Oct. 19, 1921.

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CIVIL disobedience is not a slate of lawlessness and licence, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint. Young India : Nov. 17, 1921.

<\$> <s> <3>

SUBMISSION to the state law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission, therefore, to a state wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. A citizen who thus realises the evil nature of a state is not satisfied to live in its sufferance, and therefore appears to the others who do not share his belief to be a nuisance to a society whilst he is endeavouring to compel the state, without committing a moral breach to arrest him. Thus, considered, civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a sufferer's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil state.

Is not this the history of all reform? Have not reformers, much to the disgust of their fellows, discarded even innocent symbols associated with an evil practice?

Young India : Nov. 10, 1921.

<3> <S> <S>

DISOBEDIENCE to be civil has to be absolutely non-violent, the underlying principle being the winning over of the opponent by suffering, i. e. t, love.

Young India : Nov. 3, 1921.

<s> <s> <s>

PURE Civil Disobedience must not be carried beyond the point of breaking the unmoral laws of the country. Breach of the laws- to be civil assumes the strictest and willing obedience to the gaol discipline, because disobedience of a particular rule assumes a willing acceptance of the sanction provided for its breach. And immediately a person quarrels both with the rule and the sanction for its breach, he ceases to be civil and lends himself to the precipitation of chaos and anarchy. A civil resister is, if one may be permitted such a claim for him, a

philanthro-
pist and a friend of the state. An anarchist is an
enemy
of the state and is, therefore, a misanthrope.

Young India : Dec. 15, 1921

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE 91

CIVIL Disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering.
Its effect is marvellous though unperceived and gentle.

Young India : Dec. 22, 1921.

<\$> <S> <3>

TO expect me to give up the preaching of Civil
Disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace,
which would be tantamount to ask me to commit suicide.

Young India : Dec. 29, 1921.

<s> <s> <s>

CIVIL Disobedience has to be civil in more senses than
one. There can be no bravado, no impetuosity about
it.

It has to be an ~~crdeied~~, \\ell-thought-out, humble
offering.

Young India : July 10, 1924.

<\$> <s> <\$>

CIVIL Disobedience means capacity for unlimited
suffering, without the intoxicating excitement to
killing.

Young India : Nov. 27, 1924.

<3> <S> <S>

PREPARATION for Civil Disobedience means

discipline, self-restraint, a non-violent but resisting
spirit,

cohesion and above all scrupulous and willing obedience
to the known laws of God and such laws of man as*
are in furtherance of God's laws,

Young India : Dec. 26 ^ 1924,

<\$><\$> <\$>.

CIVIL resistance to wrong is not a new doctrine
or practice with me. It is a life-long belief and a
life-
long practice. To prepare the country for civil
resistance
is to prepare it for non-violence. To prepare the
country
for non-violence is to organise it for constructive
work,
which to me is synonymous with the spinning-wheel.

Young India : Aug. 6, 1925.

& Q> &

CIVIL Disobedience asks for and needs not a single
farthing for its support. It needs and asks for stout
hearts with a faith that will not flinch from any
danger
and will shine the brightest in the face of severest
trial.
Civil Disobedience is a terrifying synonym for
suffering^

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But it is better often to understand the terrible
nature
of a thing if people will truly appreciate its
benignant
counterpart. Disobedience is a right that belongs to
every
human being and it becomes a sacred duty when it
springs from civility or, which is the same thing,
love.

Tomg India : April 1, 1926.

<S> 3> <S>

ALL Civil Disobedience is a part or branch of Satyagraha but all Satyagraha is not Civil Disobedience.

Young India : July 14, 1927.

Civility

EXPERIENCE has taught me that civility is the most difficult part of Satyagraha. Civility does not here mean the mere outward gentleness of speech cultivated for the occasion, but an inborn gentleness and desire to do the opponent good. These should show themselves in every act of a Satyagrahi.

My Experiments with Truth : P. 536.

<\$> <\$> <s>

INCIVILITY should be answered not by incivility but by a dignified and calm endurance of all suffering in the name of God.

Young India : May 8, 1927.

Class War

I CAN, most decidedly, avoid class war if only the people will follow the non-violent method. By the non-violent method we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism. We invite the capitalist to regard himself as a trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and the increase of his capital. Nor need the worker wait for his conversion. If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to become

CLASS WAR 93

a co-sharer with the capitalist instead of remaining his slave.

If he aims at becoming the sole owner, he will most likely

be killing the hen that lays the golden eggs.

Inequalities

in intelligence and even opportunity will last till the end of

time. A man living on the banks of a river has any day more opportunity of growing crops than one living in an arid desert. But if inequalities stare us in the face the essen-

tial equality too is not to be missed. Every man has an equal right to the necessaries of life even as birds and beasts

have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding

duty and the corresponding remedy for resisting any attack

upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the correspon-

ding duties and remedies to vindicate the elementary fundamental equality. The corresponding duty is to labour

with my limbs and the corresponding remedy is to non-co-

operate with him who deprives me of the fruit of my labour. And if I would recognise the fundamental equality, as I must, of the capitalist and the labourer, I must

not aim at his destruction. I must strive for his conversion.

My non-co-operation with him will open his eyes to the wrong he may be doing. Nor need I be afraid of someone else taking my place when I have non-co-operated. For I expect to influence my co-worker so as not to help the wrong-

doing of his employer. This kind of education of the mass

of workers is no doubt a slow process, but, as it is also the

surest, it is necessarily the quickest. It can be easily demon-

strated .that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruc-

tion in the end of the worker and as no human being is

so
bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is
so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he
wrong-
ly considers to be wholly evil.

-7Toung India : Mar. 26, 1931.

Cleanliness

IT is a superstition to consider that vast sums of
money
are required for effecting sanitary reform. We must
modify
western methods of sanitation to suit our requirements.
And as my patriotism is inclusive and admits of no
enmity

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or ill-will, I do not hesitate, in spite of my horror
of western
materialism, to take from the West what is beneficial
for me.

Young India : Dec. 26, 1924-

INDEED sanitary work must be regarded as the founda-
tion of all volunteer training.

Toung India : Jan. 1, 1925.

<S> <e> <3>

Q. DON'T you have anything like antipathy for filth
and dirt ?

A* I have no antipathy against dirty people, but I
have a horror of dirt. I should not eat out of a dirty
plate
nor touch a dirty spoon or kerchief. But I believe in
remov-
ing dirt to its proper place, where it ceases to be
dirt.

Harijan: May 11, 1939.

DURING my wanderings nothing has been so painful to me as to observe our insanitation throughout the length and breadth of the land. I do not believe in the use of force for carrying out reforms, but when I think of the time that must elapse before the ingrained habits of millions of people can be changed, I almost reconcile myself to compulsion in this the most important matter of insanitation. Several diseases can be directly traced to insanitation. Hookworm for instance is such a direct result. Not a single human being who observes the elementary principles of sanitation need suffer from hookworm. The disease is not even due to poverty. The only reason is gross igno[^]nance of the first principles of sanitation.

(Cleanliness is next to godliness.' We can no more jain God's blessings with an unclean body than with an andean mind. A clean body cannot reside in an unclean 3ity.

COERCION 95

Let us not put off everything till Swaraj is attained and thus put off Swaraj itself. Swaraj can be had only by brave and clean people. Whilst the Government has to answer for a lot, I know that the British officers are not responsible for our insanitation. Indeed if we gave them free scope in this matter, they would improve our habits at the point of the sword. They do not do so because it does

not pay. But they would gladly welcome and encourage any effort towards improved sanitation. In this matter Europe has much to teach us. We quote with pride a few texts from Manu or if we are Musatmans from the Outran. We do not carry even these into practice. Europeans have deduced an elaborate code of sanitation from the principles laid down in these books. Let us learn these from them and adapt them to our needs and habits. How I would love to see not ornamental but useful sanitary associations whose members will deem it a privilege to take up the broom, the shovel and the bucket. Here is great national work for school-boys, school girls and collegiates all over India.

Young India : Nov. 19, 1925,

Coercion

WE may not use compulsion even in the matter of doing a good thing. Any compulsion will ruin the cause.

Young India: April 17, 1930.

THERE can be no coercion in Suuiraj. A non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology what-soever for his criminality.

Toting India : Nov. 24, 1921.
<\$><\$> <^

CONVERSION is our motto, not coercion. Coercion is an offspring of violence. Conversion is a fruit of non-violence and love.

Young India : Mar. 26, 1931

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Commonsense

COMMONSENSE is the realised sense of proportion.

Young India : July 4, 1929.

Communism

INDIA does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. They will bow the knee to any one who restores so-called order.

Young India ; Nov. 24, 1921.

3> <\$> <J>

I AM yet ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is. I have not been able to study it. I do not know whether it is for the good of Russia in the long run. But I do know that in so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me. I do not believe in short-violent cuts to success. Those Bolshevik friends who are bestowing their attention on me should realise that however much I may sympathise with and admire worthy motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is therefore really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself. But my creed of non-violence not only does not preclude me but compels me even to associate with anarchists and all those who believe in violence. But that association is always with the sole object of weaning them from what appears to me to be their error. For experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Even if my belief is a fond delusion, it will be admitted that it is a fascinating delusion.

Toung India : Dec. 11, 1924
< <\$><\$>

Q. WHAT is your opinion about the social economics of Bolshevism and how far do you think they are fit to be copied by our country ?

A. I must confess that I have not yet been able fully to understand the meaning of Bolshevism. All that I know

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is that it aims at the abolition of the institution of private property. This is only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the people adopted this ideal of their own accord or could be made to accept it by means of peaceful persuasion there would be nothing like it. But from what I know of Bolshevism it not only does not preclude the use of force but freely sanctions it for the expropriation of private property and maintaining the collective state ownership of the same. And if that is so I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshevik regime in its present form cannot last for long. For it is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence. But be that as it may there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake, and an ideal that is sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain : the noble

example

of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

Young India : May. 1, 1920.

Q. WHAT in your opinion ought to be the basis of India's future economic constitution ? What place will such institutions as savings banks, insurance companies, etc., have in it ?

A. According to me the economic constitution of India, and for the matter of that, the world should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realised only if the means of production of elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses. These should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be ; they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation

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Mothers. Their monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destitution that we witness to-day not only in this unhappy land but other parts of the world too. It is this evil that the Khadi movement is calculated to remedy. Savings banks and insurance companies will be there even when the economic reforms suggested to me have been effected but their nature will have undergone a complete transformation. Savings banks

to-day in India though a useful institution do not serve the very poorest. As for our insurance companies they are of no use whatsoever to the poor. What part they can play in an ideal scheme of reconstruction such as I have postulated is more than I can say. The function of savings banks ought to be to enable the poorest to husband their hard-earned savings and to subserve the interest of the country generally. Though I have lost faith in most Government institutions, as I have said before, savings banks are good so far as they go but unfortunately to-day their services are available only to the urban section of the community and so long as our gold reserves are located Outside India they can hardly be regarded as trustworthy institutions. In the event of a war all these banks may become not only utterly useless but even a curse to the people inasmuch as the Government will not scruple to employ the funds held by these banks against the depositors themselves* No Government institution can be depended upon to remain loyal to the interest of the people in emergency, if they are not controlled by and not run in the interests of the people. So long therefore as this primary condition is absent banks are in the last resort additional links to keep the people in chains. They may be regarded as an unavoidable evil and therefore to be suffered to exist but it is well to understand where we are in respect even of such harmless-looking institutions.

Toung India : Nov. 15, 1928.

COMMUNISM 95

I HAD made the working man's cause my own long before any of the young communists here were born. I

spent the best part of my time in South Africa working for them, I used to live with them, and shared their joys and sorrows. You must therefore understand why I claim to speak for labour. I expect at least courtesy from you if nothing else. I invite you to come to me and discuss things with me as frankly as you can.

You claim to be Communists, but you do not seem to live the life of communism. I may tell you that I am trying my best to live up to the ideal of communism in the best sense of the term. And communism does not, I fancy, exclude courtesy. I am amongst you to-day, within a few minutes I will leave you. But if you want to carry the country with you, you ought to be able to react on it by reasoning with it. You cannot do so by coercion. You may deal destruction to bring the country round to your view. But how many will you destroy? Not tens of millions. You may kill a few thousands if you had millions with you. But to-day you are no more than a handful. I ask you to convert the Congress if you can and to take charge of it, But you cannot do so by bidding goodbye to the elementary rules of courtesy. And there is no reason why you should be lacking in ordinary courtesy, when it is open to you to give the fullest vent to your views, when India is tolerant enough to listen patiently to anyone who can talk coherently.

The truce has done no harm to the labourers. I claim that none of my activities has ever harmed the workers, nor can ever harm them. If the Congress sends its representative to the Conference, they will press for no Swaraj other than

the Swaraj for workers and peasants. Long before the Communist Party came into existence the Congress had decided that that Swaraj would have no meaning which was not the 'Swaraj for workers and peasants. Perhaps none of you workers here gets less than a monthly wage of Rs. 20 but

100 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

I am working for winning Swaraj not only for you but for those (working and unemployed millions who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a piece of stale roti and a pinch of salt. But I do not want to deceive you ; I must warn you that I do not bear any ill to the capitalists. I can think of doing them no harm. But I want, by means of suffering, to awaken them to their sense of duty. I want to melt their hearts and get them to render justice to their less fortunate brethren. They are human beings, and my appeal to them will not go in vain. The history of Japan reveals many an instance of self-sacrificing capitalists. During the last Satyagraha, quite a number of capitalists went in for considerable sacrifice, went to jail and suffered. Do you want to estrange them ? Don't you want them to work with you for the common end?

Young India : Mar. 26, 1931.

Q. HOW to dispossess people of ill-gotten gains which is what the Socialists are out to do ?

A. Who is to judge what gains or riches are ill-gotten

or well-gotten ? God alone can judge, or a competent authority appointed both by the 'haves' and the 'have nots' can judge. Not anyone and everyone. But if you say that ALL property and possession is theft, all must give up property and wealth. Have we given it up? Let US make a beginning expecting the rest to follow. For those who are convinced that their own possessions are ill-gotten, there is of course no other alternative but to give them up.

Harijan : Ang. 1, 1936,

Q. IS not the Congress veering round to com-

munism ?

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A. Has it ? I do not see it. But if it does, and if it is not the Russian model, I do not mind it. For what does communism mean in the last analysis ? It means a classless society an ideal that is worth striving for. Only

I part company with it when force is called to aid for achieving it. We are all born equal, but we have all these

centuries resisted the Will of God. The idea of inequality,

of 'high and low' is an evil, but I do not believe in eradicating evil from the human breast at the point of the bayonet.

The human breast does not lend itself to that means.

Harijan: Mar. 13, 1937.

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VIOLENCE is no monopoly of any one party. I know Congressmen who are neither socialists nor communists but

who are frankly devotees of the cult of violence.
Contrari-
wise, I know socialists and communists who will not
hurt a
fly but who believe in the universal ownership of
instruments
of production. I rank myself as one among them.

Harijan : Dec. 10, 1938,

ALL your literature that I have studied clearly says
that
there is no independence without resort to force. I
know
that there is a body of communists that is slowly
veering
round -to non-violence. I would like you to make your
position absolutely plain and absolute. I have it
from
some of the literature that passes under the name of
communist literature that secrecy, camouflage and the
like
are enjoined as necessary for the accomplishment of the
communist and especially as communism has to engage in
an unequal battle against capitalism which has
organised
violence at its beck and call.

Harijan : Dec. 10, 1938.

102 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

I MAY say that communists have not made much
headway yet in India, and I somehow feel that the
character
of our people will not easily lend itself to communist
methods.

Harijan : April 13, 1940

WHAT do you think of communism ? Do you think
it would be good for India ?'

' Communism of the Russian type, that is com-

munism which is imposed on a people, would be repugnant to India. I believe in non-violent communism/ answered Gandhiji.

* But communism in Russia is against private property. Do you want private property ?'

' If .communism came without any violence, it would be welcome. For then no property would be held by any body except on behalf of the people and for the people.

A
millionaire may have his millions, but he will hold them for the people. The state could take charge of them whenever they would need them for the common cause.'

c Is there any difference of opinion between you and Jawaharlal in respect of Socialism ?'

* There is, but it is a difference in emphasis. He perhaps puts an emphasis on the result, whereas I put on the means. Perhaps, according to him, I am putting an ovei-emphasis on non-violence, whereas he, though he believes in non-violence, would want to have Socialism by other means, if it was impossible to have it by non-violence.

Of course my emphasis on non-violence becomes one of principle. Even if I was assured that we could have independence by means of violence, I should refuse to have it. It won't be real independence.'

* But do you think the English will leave India to you and go back peacefully as a result of your non-violent

agitation ?'

' I do think so.'

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' What is the basis of your belief?'

* I have my faith in God and His Justice.'

The friend seemed to be deeply impressed. He took the words down and said : c You are more Christian than we so-called Christians. I will write these words down in block letters.'

* You must/ said Gandhiji, ' otherwise God would not be the God of Love but the God of violence.' (M. D.)

HarijaniFeb. 13, 1937
<\$><\$><\$>

I HAVE claimed that I was a socialist long before those I know in India had avowed their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred.

Unfortunately Western socialists have, so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialistic doctrines.

I have always held that social justice, even unto the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force.

I have further believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure redress of the wrongs suffered by them. That means is non-violent non-co-operation. At times non-co-operation

becomes as much a duty as co-operation. No one is bound to co-operate in one's own undoing or slavery. Freedom received through the effort of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom.

But the lowliest can feel its glow as soon as they learn the art of attaining it through non-violent non-co-operation.

Harijan : April 20, 1940.

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ALL Communists are not bad, as all Congressmen are not angels. I have, therefore, no prejudice against Communists, as such.

Their philosophy, as they have declared it to me, I cannot subscribe to.

Harian : Jan. 26, 1941.

Communal Pacts

FREEDOM will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore communal pacts, while they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts, without which there can be no peace in the land.

Harijanijan. 25, 42.

Complexion

IT is a law of nature that the skin of races near the equator should be black And if we believe that there must be beauty in everything fashioned by nature, we would not only steer clear of all narrow and one-sided conceptions of beauty, but we in India would be free from the improper sense of shame and dislike which we^ feel for our own complexion if it is anything but fair.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 19.

Compromise

A SATYAGRAHI never misses, can never miss a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He needs no previous preparation, his cards are always on the table. Suspension or continuation of battle

is one and the same thing to him. He fights or refrains to gain precisely the same end. He dare not always

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distrust his opponents. On the contrary he must grasp the hand of friendship whenever there is the slightest protest.

Young India : April 16, 1931

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BUT all my life through, the very insistence on truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise. I saw in later life that this spirit was an essential part of Satyagraha. It has often meant endangering my life and incurring the displeasure of friends. But truth is hard as adamant and tender as a blossom.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 134.

HUMAN life is a series of compromise, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory. Take this very simple case. The principle is that all life is one and we have to treat the sinner and saint alike, as the Glti says we have to look with an equal eye on a learned Pandit and a dog and a dog-eater. But here I am. Though I have not killed the snake, I know I have been instrumental in killing it. I know that I should not have done so. I know, besides, that snakes are kshztrapals (guardians of the field), and therefore too, I should not have helped in killing it. But as you see I have not been able to avoid it. But it is no use my thinking that I CANNOT avoid it. I do not give up the principle which is true for all time that all life is one, and I pray to God that He may rid me of the fear of snakes and enable me to achieve the non-violence necessary to handle snakes as we handle other domestics. Take another instance,

again a very simple one. I know that as a villager and as one who has made it his business to promote village crafts, I must use a village-made razor, but you see that

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I am using a foreign one. (Gandhiji was actually having a shave when these teachers arrived). I might have got a village-made razor, if I had written to friends to

procure one for me. But I thought I must help the village barber, no matter what kind of razor he used. I therefore decided to cultivate him, and put up with his dirty clothes and uncouth instruments. But on one thing I could not possibly compromise. He said he would not shave Harijans on the same terms as he was prepared to shave me, and I had to do without his services. Now you find me having a shave with a foreign razor, though it is open to me to procure a village-made one. Here there is obviously an indefensible compromise. And yet there is an explanation.

I have been sticking on to a set of shaving tackle given

me by a loving sister, whose gift I could not resist, and

whose feelings I could not hurt by rejecting the foreign

razor and insisting on having a village-made one. But there it is, compromise is there. I do not commend it for imitation. We must be prepared to displease the dearest ones for the sake of principle.

There are eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them. Supposing someone came and asked you to give up your religion and to embrace another at the point of the sword, would you do it? Supposing someone were to compel you to drink wine or eat beef, or tell a lie, would you not rather lay down

your life than yield to the coercion? No. A principle is

a principle, and in no case can it be watered down because of our incapacity to live it in practice. We have

to strive to achieve it, and the striving should be

conscious,
deliberate and hard.

I am not in the habit of losing co-workers. I go a long way with them in winning their affection and retaining it. But there does come a limit beyond which

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my compromise does not and cannot and should not go. No compromise is worth the name which endangers chances of success.

Harijan : Nov. 18, 1939.

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COMPROMISE is a part and parcel of my nature. I will go to the Viceroy fifty times, if I feel like it.

I went to Lord Reading whilst Non-co-operation was going on. I would not only go to the Viceroy when invited but I would even seek opportunities to go to him, if necessary. You must know that, if I do so, I do it in order to strengthen our cause and not weaken it. It happened so with General Smuts. At the last moment I telephoned to him. He put the receiver down in anger but I thrust myself on him. As a result he relented and I was in a stronger position. To-day we are friends*

I could not have fought the Dutch and the English without love in my heart for them, and without a readiness for

compromise. But my compromises will never be at the cost of the cause or of the country.

Harijan : Mar. 3, 1940.

<s> <s> <s>

ALL compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamentals. Any compromise on fundamentals is a surrender. For it is all give and no take.

Harijan : Mar. 30, 1940.

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MY life is made up of compromises, but they have
teen ccirpicmises that have brcught me nearer the goal.

Harijan : May 4, 1940.

Congress

WE wculd have been nowhere if there had been
no Ccngress to agitate for the rights of people.

Toting India : Dec. 31, 191S.

108 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

I DO not consider the Congress as a party oragnisation,
even as the British Parliament, though it contains all
parties,
and has one party or the other dominating it, from time
to
time, is not a party organisation.

Young India : April 28, 1920.

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A TRUE Congressman is a true servant. He ever gives,
ever wants service. He is easily satisfied so long as
his
own comfort is concerned. He is always content to take
a back seat. He is never communal or provincial.

His country is his paramount consideration. He is
brave to a fault because he has shed all earthly
ambition,
fear of Death itself. And he is generous because he is
brave, forgiving because he is humble and conscious of
his own failings and limitations.

If such Congressmen are rare, Swaraj is far off and
we must revise our creed. The fact that we have not
got Suoaraj as yet is proof presumptive that we have
not
as many true Congressmen as we want.

Toung India : Nov. 19, 1925.
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THE Congress is no preserve of any single individual. It is a democratic body with, in my opinion, the widest intelligent franchise the world has ever seen. For it gives statutory recognition to the dignity of Iab3ur. I wish it was the sole test. It accommodates all shades of opinion save violence and untruth.

Toung India : June 25, 1925*
<\$><\$><\$>

THE Congress does not prescribe to anybody his religion. It is a sensitive barometer from time to time registering the variation in the temperament of palitically-minded India. No Congressman is bound to act contrary to his political religion.

Toung India : Oct. 8, 1925.

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IT is a gross superstition to believe that one cannot serve effectively without the Congress prestige at one's

back " Toimg India : July 17, 1924,

THE Congress is the power-house from which all the power for all the work is to be derived. If the power-house is rotten, the whole national work must be necessarily

so.

Toung India: Jan. 10, 1929.

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WE are a nation passing through the valley of humiliation, So long as we have not secured our freedom we have not the least excuse at the annual stock-taking season for amusements, riotous or subdued. It is a week

of serious business, introspection and heart searching,
it
is a week for evolving national policies and framing
pro-
grammes for giving battle to a power perhaps the
strongest
and the most vicious the world has ever seen. I submit
that it is impossible to do clear thinking or to evolve
pro-
grammes political, social, economic, and educational in
the midst of distraction, noise, rush and a lavish
display of
boisterous amusements fit enough for a children's
pantomime,
entirely out of place as an appendage to a deliberative
assembly intent on preparing .for a grim life and death

India : Jan. 10, 1929.

<\$> <s> <s>

NO man, however great, be he even a Mahatma, is
indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent
upon
freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its
part, the Congress which claims to represent the nation
is
always greater than its greatest part. To be a living
organisation it must survive its most distinguished
members.

Toung India : Oct. 3, 1929;

110 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

THE Congress is the only truly national political
organisation in the country. It is the oldest of its
kiii. It
has had the services of the most distinguished sorn and
daughters of the nation. It is admittedly the ni33t
pDwerfu!
organisation in the land. It ought not to be difficult
\or
such a body to expand itself and find its flag flying
in every

village.

Young India : Oct. 10, 1929.

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THE Congress is not an organisation to enunciate theories, but to anticipate national wants and wishes, and forge practical sanctions for their fulfilment.

Young India : Jan. 9, 1930.

THE Congress is essentially and pre-eminently a Kisan organisation. It also endeavours to represent the %amindars and the propertied classes, but only to the extent that he interests of the Kisans are not prejudiced thereby. The Congress is nothing if it does not represent the Kisans.

Young India : Aug. 13, 1931.

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IT is not right to. say that the Congress is a Hindu organisation. What is the Congress to do if Muslims would not care to go into it ? The Congress is based on adult franchise, and any adult Hindu or Musalrnan can join the Congress. No community is excluded. Ask the Muslim friends who are members of the Congress, and they will tell you that they have not come to grief by having joined the Congress. I ask you therefore not to suspect that the Congress is a Hindu organisation. I ask every one of you to join the Congress and to take charge of it. But one cannot take charge of it by force. It can be done only by willing service. Ever since the Congress was started, those who have served it have had charge of it. And yet the

CONGRESS 111

Congress does not belong only to them, does not stand only for them, it belongs to and stands for all. It is the Swaraj Government in embryo. Its prestige is ever so much superior to that of the British Government, and the Congress President is greater than the Viceroy. Only monied people and men in high places know the Viceroy. One needs a motor-car to reach the Viceregal House. But the poorest man knows the Congress President (at present Sardar Vallabhai) and can walk up to him. The Sardar has dedicated himself to the service of the country, and he who serves the poor is great in the eyes of God. If you want to be in power under Swaraj, I invite you to assume the reins of the Congress now by joining it in large numbers. It is the most powerful organisation in the country, join it. We will welcome you.

Toung India : April 16, 1931.

<S> <S> 3>

THE Congress is composed of ordinary mortals. They share the virtues and vices of the nation which they seek to represent. But after all is said and done, it will not be denied that it is the oldest political organisation in the country, it is the most representative ; it has drawn to itself the best talent in the country, it has the highest amount of sacrifice to its credit. Above all it is the one organisation that has offered the greatest resistance to foreign rule and exploitation.

Harijan: June 18, 1938

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LET us understand the functions of the Congress. For internal growth and administration, it is as good a democratic organisation as any to be found in the world. But this democratic organisation has been brought into being to fight the greatest Imperialist Power living. For this external work, therefore, it has to be likened to an army. As such, it ceases to be democratic. The central authority possesses

112 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

plenary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it. Provincial organisations and Provincial Parliamentary Boards are subject to the central authority.

It has been suggested that, whilst my thesis holds good when there is active war in the shape of the civil resistance going on, it cannot whilst the latter remains under suspension. But suspension of civil disobedience does not mean suspension of war. The latter can only end when India has a constitution of her own making. Till then the Congress must be in the nature of an army. Democratic Britain has set up an ingenious system in India which, when you look at it in its nakedness, is nothing but a highly organised efficient military control. It is not less so under the present Government of India Act. The Ministers are mere puppets so far as for the real control is concerned. The collectors and the police who control them to-day, may at

a mere command from the Governors, their real masters, unseat the Ministers, arrest them and put them in a lock-up.

Hence it is that I have suggested that the Congress has entered upon office not to work the Act in the manner expected by the framers, but in a manner so as to hasten the day of substituting it by a genuine Act of India's own coining.

Therefore the "Congress conceived as a fighting machine, has to centralize control and guide every department, and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expects unquestioned obedience. The fight cannot be fought on any other terms.

They say this is Fascism, pure and simple. But they forget that Fascism is the naked sword. Under it Dr. Khare should lose his head. The Congress is the very antithesis of Fascism, because it is based on non-violence pure and undefiled. Its sanctions are all moral. Its authority is not derived from the control of panoplied blackshirts.

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Under the Congress regime Dr. Khare can remain the hero of Nagpur, and the students and citizens of Nagpur, and for that matter other places, may execrate me or/and the Working Committee without a hair of the demonstrators' heads being touched so long as they remain non-violent. That is the glory and strength of the Congress not its weakness. Its authority is derived from that non-violent attitude. It is the only purely non-violent political organization of importance, to my knowledge, throughout the world. And let it continue to be the boast of the Congress that it can command the willing and hearty obedience from its followers, even veterans like Dr.

Khare,
so long as they choose to belong to it.

Harijan : Aug. 6, 1938,

THE Congress endeavours to represent all communities. It is not by design, but by the accident of Hindus being politically more conscious than the others, that the Congress contains a majority of Hindus. As history proves the Congress is a joint creation of Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Hindus, led by Englishmen, be it said to the credit of the latter. And the Congress, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, retains that character. At the present moment a Muslim divine is the unquestioned leader of the Congress and for the second time becomes its President. The constant endeavour of Congressmen has been to have as many members as possible drawn from the various communities, and therefore the Congress has entered into pacts for the purpose of securing national solidarity. It cannot, therefore, divest itself of that function, and therefore, although I have made the admission that the Hindu Mahasabha or a similar Hindu organisation can properly have communal settlements, the Congress cannot and must not plead incapacity for entering into political pacts so long as it commands general confidence.

: Feb. 24. 1940.

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THE Congress claims to be the custodian of all interests even of English interests, in so far as they would regard India as their home and not claim any interests in conflict with those of the dum millions.

Young India : Oct. 15, 193U

Conscience.

THERE are times when you have to obey a call which is the highest of all, i. e., the voice of conscience even though such obedience may cost many a bitter tear, and even more, separation from friends, from family, from the state to which you may belong from all that you have held as dear as life itself. For this obedience is the law of our being.

Young India : Mar. 18, 1919.

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IN matters of conscience, the law of majority has no place.

Young India : Aug. 4, 1920.

^N ^S ^\$>

THERE is a higher court than courts of Justice and that is the court of conscience. It supercedes all other courts.

Young India : Dec. 15, 1921

^S ^^ ^N

THE human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience.

The only tyrant I accept in this world is the still voice within.

Young India: Mar. 2, 1922.

A CORRESPONDENT says in effect, "Do you know what you have done by continually harping on conscience.

I find youngsters and grown-up people talking utter

CONSCIENCE 115

nonsense under cover of conscience. What is more* youngsters have become impudent and grown-up people.

unscrupulous ; can you not prevent this mischief? If you* cannot, please withdraw the word from use and stop the drivel that is being said in the name of that sacred but much abused word. Pray tell us who has a conscience ?
Do all have it ? Do cats have a conscience when they hunt to death poor mice ?"

I must confess that the charge is not without substance. But he has presented only the dark side. Every virtue has been known to be abused by the wicked. But we do not on that account do away with virtue. We can but erect safe-guards against abuse. When people cease to think for themselves and have everything regulated for them, it becomes necessary at times to assert the right of individuals to act in defiance of public opinion or law which is another name for public opinion. When individuals so act, they claim to have acted in obedience to the conscience.

I entirely agree with the correspondent that youngsters as a rule must not pretend to have conscience. It is a quality or state acquired by laborious training. Wilfulness is not conscience. A child has no conscience. The correspondent's cat does not go for the mouse in obedience to the call of conscience. It does so in obedience to its nature. Conscience is the ripe fruit of strictest discipline. Irresponsible youngsters therefore who have never obeyed anything or anybody save their animal instinct have no conscience, nor therefore have all grown-up people. The savages for instance have to all intents and purposes no conscience. Conscience can reside only in a delicately tuned breast. There is no such thing therefore as mass conscience as distinguished from the conscience of individuals. It is safe therefore to say that when a man makes everything a matter of conscience, he is a stranger to it. It is a truthful saying that Conscience makes cowards of us all.' A con-

scientious man hesitates to assert himself, he is always

1 16 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

humble, never boisterous, always compromising, always ready to listen, ever willing, even anxious, to admit mistakes.

The correspondent is needlessly agitated. What does it matter that fifty thousand people say they act or refrain for conscience's sake ? The world has no difficulty in distinguishing between conscience and an arrogant or ignorant assumption of it. Such men would have acted in similar circumstances exactly as they would under cover of conscience. The introduction of conscience into our public life is welcome even if it has taught a few of us to stand up for human dignity and rights in the face of the heaviest odds. These acts will live for ever, whereas those done under shams are like soap-bubbles enjoying a momentary existence,

iToung India : Aug. 21, 1924.

I DO not want any patronage, as I do not give any. I am a lover of my own liberty and so I would do nothing to restrict yours. I simply want to please my own conscience, which is God.

Tovng India : Jan. 6, 1927.

^ ^ ^

WHAT must count with a public servant is the approbation of his own conscience. He must be like a rudderless vessel who, leaving the infallible solace of his own conscience, ever seeks to please and gam the approbation of public. Service must be its own and sole reward.

Consistency

CONSTANT development is the law of life, and a man who always tries to maintain his dogmas in order to appear consistent drives himself into a false position.

India : Sep. 21, 1928.

CONSISTENCY 117

THERE is a consistency that is wise and a consistency that is foolish. A man who in order to be consistent would go bare-bodied in the hot sun of India and sunless Norway in mid-winter would be considered a fool and would lose his life in the bargain.

Young India : April 4, 1929.
<\$><\$><\$>

CHANGE is a condition of progress. An honest man cannot afford to observe mechanical consistency when the mind revolts against anything as an error.

Young India : Dec. 19, 1929,

<3> <\$> 3>

I MUST admit my many inconsistencies. But since I am called 'Mahatma', I might well endorse Emerson's saying that, 'foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.' There is, I fancy a method in my inconsistencies.

In my opinion there is a consistency running through seeming inconsistencies, as in nature there is a unity running through the seeming diversity.

Young India : Feb. 13, 1930.

<\$><\$><\$>

MY so-called inconsistencies are no inconsistencies to those who understand, be it only intellectually, the

implications of non-violence.

Young India : April 24, 1931

<\$> <\$> <\$>

I MAKE no hobgoblin of consistency. If I am true to myself from moment to moment, I do not mind all the inconsistencies that may be flung in my face.

Harijan :Nov. 9, 193*.

Constituent Assembly

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru has compelled me to tudy, among other things, the implications of a Constituent

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Assembly. When he first introduced it in the Congress resolutions, I reconciled myself to it because of my belief in his superior knowledge of the technicalities of democracy.

But I was not free from scepticism. Hard facts have, however, made me a convert and, for that reason perhaps, more enthusiastic than Jawaharlal himself. For I seem to see in it a remedy, which Jawaharlal may not, for our communal and other distempers, besides being a vehicle for mass political and other education.

The more criticism I see of the scheme, the more enamoured I become of it. It will be the surest index to the popular feeling. It will bring out the best and the worst in us. Illiteracy does not worry me. I would plump for unadulterated adult franchise for both men and women, i. e., I would put them all on the register of voters. It is open to them not to exercise it if they do not wish to. I would give separate vote to the Muslims ; but, without giving separate vote, I would, though

reluctantly, give reservation, if required, to every real minority according to its numerical strength.

Thus the Constituent Assembly provides the easiest method of arriving at a just solution of the communal problem. Today we are unable to say with mathematical precision who represents whom. Though the Congress is admittedly the oldest representative organisation on the widest scale, it is open to political and semi-political organisations to question, as they do question, its overwhelming representative character. The Muslim League is undoubtedly the largest organisation representing Muslims, but several Muslim bodies by no means all insignificant deny its claim to represent them. But the Constituent Assembly will represent all communities in their exact proportion. Except it there is no other way of doing full justice to rival claims. Without it there can be no finality to communal and other claims.

Again the Constituent Assembly alone can produce

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 119

a constitution indigenous to the country and truly and fully representing the will of the people. Undoubtedly such a constitution will not be ideal, but it will be real, however imperfect it may be in the estimation of the theorists or legal luminaries. Self-government to be self-government has merely to reflect the will of the people who are to govern themselves. If they are not prepared for it, they will make a hash of it. I can conceive the possibility of a people fitting themselves for right government through a series of wrong experiments, but I cannot conceive a people governing themselves rightly through a government imposed from without, even as the fabled jackdaw could not walk like a peacock with feathers borrowed from his elegant companion. A diseased person has a prospect of getting well by personal effort.

He cannot borrow health from others.

The risks of the experiment are admitted. There is likely to be impersonation. Unscrupulous persons will mislead the illiterate masses into voting for wrong men and women. These risks have to be run, if we are to evolve something true and big. The Constituent Assembly,

if it comes into being as I hope it will as a result of an honourable settlement between us and the British people, the combined wit of the best men of the two nations will produce an Assembly that will reflect fairly,

truly the best mind of India. Therefore the success of the experiment at the present stage of India's history depends upon the intention of the British statesmen to part with power without engaging India in a deadly unorganised rebellion. For I know that India has become impatient. I am painfully conscious of the fact that India is not yet ready for non-violent civil disobedience

on a mass scale. If, therefore, I cannot persuade the Congress to await the time when non-violent action is possible, I have no desire to live to see a dog-fight

between the two communities. I know for certain that if I cannot discover a method of non-violent action or

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inaction to the satisfaction of *he Congress and there is no communal adjustment, nothing on earth can prevent an outbreak of violence resulting for the time being in anarchy and red ruin. I hold that it is the duty of alj communities ard Englishmen to prevent such a catastrophe ^

The only way out is a Constituent Assembly, I have given my own opinion on it, but I am not tied down to the details. When I was nearly through with this article, I got the following wire from Syed Abdulla

Brelvi : "Cosiderable misapprehensions among minorities (about) Constituent Assembly. Strongly urge clarification details, franchise, composition, methods arriving

decision."

I think I have said sufficient in the foregoing to answer

Syed Saheb's question. By minorities he has Muslims principally in mind as represented by the Muslim League.

If once the proposition that all communities desire a charter of independence framed by a Constituent Assembly

and that they will not be satisfied with anything else, is accepted, the settling of details surely becomes easy. Any

other method must lead to an imposed constitution mostly

undemocratic. It would mean an indefinite prolongation of imperialistic rule sustained by the help of those who

will not accept the fully democratic method of a Constituent Assembly.

The principal hindrance is undoubtedly the British Government. If they can summon a Round Table Conference as they propose to do after the war, they can surely summon a Constituent Assembly subject to 'safeguards to the satisfaction of minorities. The expression satisfaction of minorities' may be regarded as vague. It can be defined beforehand by agreement. The question thus resolves itself into whether the British Government desire to part with power and open a new chapter in their own history. I have already shown that the question of the Princes is a red herring across the path. European interests are absolutely safe so long as

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME 121

they are not in conflict with the interests of India*- I think this expression finds place in * the Irwin-Gandhi Pact.

Look at the question from any standpoint you like, it will be found that the way to democratic Swaraj lies only through a properly constituted Assembly, call it by whatever name you like. All resources must, there-

fore, be exhausted to reach the Constituent Assembly before direct action is thought of. A stage may be reached when direct action may become the necessary prelude to the Constituent Assembly. That stage is not yet.

Harijan : Nov. 25, 1939.

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I BELIEVE personally that it is the most satisfactory method of procedure ; but do not forget that I preserve an open mind on the matter. If some people hold that there are other forms of procedure which are more representative, I am willing to be convinced. Today I say that the assembly should be elected on adult franchise, but here again my mind is open to alternative proposals provided these proposals have the backing of representative men.

Harijan : May 18, 1940.

Constructive Programme

NATURE abhors a vacuum. Therefore, construction must keep pace with destruction. Even if all the titled friends gave up their titles, and if schools, courts and Councils were entirely deserted, and being thus embarrassed the Government abdicated in our favour, and if we had no constructive work to our credit, we could not conduct Swaraj. We should be entirely helpless. I often wonder whether it is sufficiently realised that our movement is not one for mere change of personnel but for change of the system and the methods.

Young India : May 8, 1924,

WHAT unfortunately I notice throughout my wanderings is that many Congressmen do not care so much for constructive work as for excitement and work that will bring them into prominence without costing them such labour, if any at all. This mentality has to be changed, before we can have a steady supply of workers. Everywhere I am surrounded by healthy-looking intelligent volunteers who spare no pains to make me comfortable and who under the impulse of service do not mind working day and night. If they could but be induced to transfer this devotion to a person who really does not need all that volume of service and who is more often than not embarrassed by such attention, to the cause which he represents, the problem is solved.

Young India : May 16, 1929.

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I KNOW that many have refused to see any connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience. But for one who believes in non-violence it does not need hard thinking to realise the essential connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience for Swaraj. I want the reader to mark the qualification. Constructive programme is not essential for local civil disobedience for specific relief as in the case of Bardoli. Tangible common grievance restricted to a particular locality is enough. But for such an indefinable thing as Swaraj people must have previous training in doing things of All-India interest. Such work must throw together the people and their leaders whom they would trust implicitly. Trust begotten in the pursuit of continuous constructive work becomes a tremendous

asset
at the critical moment. Constructive work therefore is
for
a non-violent army what drilling, etc. is for an army
designed for bloody warfare. Individual civil
disobedience
among an unprepared people and by leaders not known
to or trusted by them is of no avail, and mass civil
disobedience is an impossibility. The more therefore the

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME 123

progress of the constructive programme, the greater is
there
the chance for civil disobedience. Granted a perfectly
non-violent atmosphere and a fulfilled constructive
pro-
gramme I would undertake to lead a mass civil
disobedience
struggle to a successful issue in the space of a few
months.

Young India : June 9, 1930*
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Q. WHAT is the relation between constructive work
and Ahimsa ? Why are they so intimately connected ?

A. Well, I think it is obvious enough that Hindu-Mus-
lim unity, prohibition and abolition of untouchability,
are
impossible without non-violence. Remains only the
spinning
wheel. How does it become the symbol of non-violence ?
As I have already explained, the essential thing is
the spirit in which you regard it, the attributes you
invest it
with. It is no quinine pill which has certain inherent
proper-
ties in it, apart from what you think about it. The
spinning
wheel has no such inherent property. Take the Gayatri
mantra.
It cannot have the same effect on non-Hindus as it has
on me, nor can the Kalema have the same reaction on me
as it has on the Muslims. Even so the spinning wheel
in itself has nothing which can teach ahimsa or bring

Swaraj. But you have to think it with those attributes and it is transformed. Its obvious value is the service of the poor, but that does not necessarily mean that it should be a symbol of non-violence or an indispensable condition for Swaraj. But we since 1920 connected the wheel with Swaraj and non-violence.

Then there is the programme of self-purification with which the spinning wheel is again intimately connected. Coarse homespun signifies simplicity of life and therefore purity.

Without the spinning wheel, without Hindu-Muslim unity and without the abolition of untouchability there can be no civil disobedience. Civil disobedience presupposes

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willing obedience of our self-imposed rules, and without it civil disobedience would be a cruel joke,

Harijan: July 13, 1939.

IT is any day superior to civil disobedience. Civil disobedience without the backing of constructive effort is neither civil nor non-violent. Those who do constructive work merely for the sake of civil disobedience look at things topsyturvy.

Harijan : April 6, 1940.

A CORRESPONDENT writes :

"What are the qualities that you intend to inculcate in people by laying stress on the constructive programme ?

What are the qualifications necessary for a constructive worker in order to make his work effective ?"

The constructive programme is a big undertaking including a number of items : (1) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity; (2) Removal of untouchability; (3) Prohibition; (4) Khadi; (5) Other village industries; (6) Village sanitation ; (7) New or basic education; (8) Adult education ; (9) Uplift of women; (10) Education in hygiene and health; (11) Propagation of Rashtrabhasha; (12) Cultivating love of one's own language; (13) Working, for economic equality. This list can be supplemented if necessary, but it is so comprehensive that I think it can be proved to include items appearing to have been omitted.

The reader will see that it is the want of all these things that is responsible for our bondage. He will also see that the constructive programme of the Congress is not supposed to include all the items. That is understood to include only four items, or rather six, now that the Congress has created the All India Village Industries Association and the Basic Education Board.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME 1 25

But we have to go further forward, we have to stabilise and perfect ahimsa, and so have to make the constructive programme as comprehensive as possible. There should be no room for doubt that, if we can win Swaraj purely through non-violence, we can also retain it through the same means. In the fulfilment of the constructive programme lies the non-violent attainment of Swaraj.

The items I have mentioned are not in order of importance. I have put them down just as they came to my pen. Generally I talk of khadi only nowadays,

because millions of people can take their share in this work, and progress can be arithmetically measured. Communal unity and the removal of untouchability cannot be thus assessed. Once they become part of daily life, nothing need be done by us as individuals.

Let us now glance at the various items. Without Hindu-Muslim, i.e. communal unity we shall always remain crippled. And how can a crippled India win Swaraj ? Communal unity means unity between Hindus, Sikhs, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis, Jews. All these go to make Hindustan. He who neglects any of these communities does not know constructive work.

As long as the curse of untouchability pollutes the mind of the Hindu, so long is he himself an untouchable in the eyes of the world, and an untouchable cannot win nonviolent Swaraj. 'The removal of untouchability means treating the so-called untouchables as one's own kith and kin. He who does treat them so must be free from the sense of high and low, in fact free from all wrong class-sense. He will regard the whole world as one family. Under non-violent Swaraj it will be impossible to conceive of any country as an enemy country.

Pure Swaraj is impossible of attainment by people who have been of or who are slaves of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It must never be forgotten that a man

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in the grip of intoxicants is generally bereft of the moral sense.

Everyone now may be said to believe that without khadi there is no just and immediate solution of the problem of the starvation of our millions. I need not therefore dilate upon it. I would only add that in the resuscitation of khadi lies the resuscitation of the ruined village artisans. Khadi requisites (wheels, looms, etc.) have to be made by

the village carpenter and blacksmith. For unless these requisites are made in the village it cannot be self-contained and prosperous.

The revival of khadi presupposes the revival of all other village industries. Because we have not laid proper stress on this, khadi-wearers see nothing wrong in using other articles which are foreign or mill-made. Such people may be said to have failed to grasp the inner meaning of khadi. They forget that by establishing the Village Industries Association the Congress has placed all other village industries on the same level as khadi. As the solar system will be dark without the sun, even so will the sun be lustreless without the heavenly bodies. All things in the universe are interdependent. The salvation of India is impossible without the salvation of villages.

If rural reconstruction were not to include rural sanitation, our villages would remain the muck-heaps that they are today. Village sanitation is a vital part of village life and is as difficult as it is important. It needs a heroic effort to eradicate age-long insanitation. The village worker who is ignorant of the science of village sanitation, who is not a successful scavenger, cannot fit himself for village service.

It seems to be generally admitted that without the new or basic education the education of millions of children in India is well-nigh impossible. The village worker has therefore, to master it and become a basic education teacher himself.

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Adult education will follow in the wake of basic education as a matter of course. Where this new education has taken root, the children themselves become their parents' teachers. Be that as it may, the village worker has to undertake adult education also.

Woman is described as man's better half. As long as she has not the same rights in law as man, as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis. Suppression of woman is a denial of ahimsa. Every village worker will, therefore, regard every woman as his mother, sister or daughter as the case may be, and look upon her with respect. Only such a worker will command the confidence of the village people.

It is impossible for an unhealthy people to win Swaraj. Therefore we should no longer be guilty of the neglect of the health of our people. Every village worker must have a knowledge of the general principles of health.

Without a common language no nation can come into being. Instead of worrying himself with the controversy about Hindi-Hindustani and Urdu, the village worker will acquire a knowledge of the rashtrabhasha, which should be such as can be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

Our infatuation for English has made us unfaithful to provincial languages. If only as penance for this unfaithfulness the village worker should cultivate in the villagers a love of their own speech. He will have equal regard for all the other languages of India, and will learn the language of the part where he may be working^

and thus be able to inspire the villagers there with a regard for their own speech.

The whole of this programme will, however, be a structure on sand if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality. Economic equality must never be

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supposed to mean possession of an equal amount of worldly goods by everyone. It does mean, however, that everyone will have a proper house to live in, sufficient and balanced food to eat, and sufficient khadi with which to cover himself. It also means that the cruel inequality that obtains today will be removed by purely non-violent means. This question, however, requires to be separately dealt with.

Harijan : Aug. 18, 1940-

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BELIEVE me that Swaraj will be delayed in proportion to our failure and half-heartedness in carrying out the different items of the constructive programme. It is impossible to attain Swaraj non-violently unless there is self-purification. Harijan : July 28, 1940

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IF we wish to achieve Swaraj through truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. This rules out the deliberate creation of an anarchical state for the overthrow of the established order in the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod

of iron and produce order out of disorder.

Harijan: Jan. 18, 1942.

Contentment

MAN falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this. Man's happiness really lies in contentment.

He who is discontented, however, much he possesses becomes a slave to his desires. All the sages have declared from the housetops that the man can be his own worst enemy as well as his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands.

Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

CONVERSION 129

onversion

I WOULD not only not try to convert but would not even secretly pray that anyone should embrace my faith. My prayer would always be that Imam Saheb should be a better Mussalman, or become the best he can. Hinduism with its message of Ahimsa is to me the most glorious religion in the world, as my wife to me is the most beautiful woman in the world, but others may feel the same about their own religion. Cases of real honest conversion are quite possible. If some people for their inward satisfaction and growth change their religion let them do so.

Young India : June 27, 1927

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I HOLD that proselytising under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say, the least, unhealthy. It is most

certainly
resented by the people here. Religion after all is a
deeply
personal matter. It touches the heart. Why should I
change my religion because a doctor who professes
Christianity as his religion has cured me of some
disease or
why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change
whilst I am under his influence ? Is not medical relief
its
own reward and satisfaction ? Or why should I whilst I
am in a missionary educational institution have
Christian
teaching thrust upon me ? In my opinion these practices
are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not
even secret
hostility*. The methods of conversion must be like
Caesar's
wife above suspicion. Faith is not imparted like
secular
subjects. It is given through the language of the
heart.
If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its
aroma like
the rose its scent. Because of its invisibility, the
extent of
its influence is far wider than that of the visible
beauty of
the colour of the petals.

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against
the modern methods v of it. Conversion nowadays has
become a matter of business, like any other. I remember

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having read a missionary report saying how much it cost
per
head to convert and then presenting a budget for "the
next
harvest."

Yes, I do maintain that India's great faiths are all
sufficing for her. Apart from Christianity and Judaism,
Hinduism and its offshoots, Islam and Zoroastrianism
are
living faiths. No one faith is perfect. All faiths are

equally
dear to their respective votaries. What is wanted
therefore
is living friendly contact among the followers of the
great
religions of the world and not a clash among them in
the
fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show
the
superiority of its faith over the rest. Through such
friendly
contact, it will be possible for us all to rid our
respective
faiths of short-comings and excrescences.

It follows from what I have said above that India is in
no need of conversion of the kind I have in mind. Con-
version in the self-purification, self-realisation is
the crying
need of the times. That however is not what is ever
meant
by proselytising. To those who would convert India,
might
it not be said, "Physician heal thyself?"

Young India : April 23, 1931.

SURELY conversion is a matter between man and his
Maker who alone knows His creatures' hearts. And con-
version without a clean heart is, in my opinion, a
denial of
God and religion. Conversion without clearfiness of
heart
can only be a matter for sorrow, not joy, to a godly
person.

Harijan : Dec. 9, 1936^

CONVERSION without conviction is a mere change
and not conversion which is a revolution in one's life.

Harijan : Mar. 29, 1942.

Convictions

ONE needs to be slow to form convictions, but once

COUNCILS 131

armed they must be defended against the heaviest odds.

Young India : Oct. 7, 1926.

Councils

LET us not mistake reformed councils, more law courts and even governorships for real freedom or power. They are but subtler methods of emasculation.

Young India : Sept. 22, 1920.

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I KNOW for certain that it is not legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want.

Councils are no factories for making stout hearts. And freedom is miasma without stout hearts to defend it.

Young India : Dec. 15, 1921.

<\$><\$><\$>

TO enter the Councils is to submit to the vote of the majority, i.e., to co-operate. If then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, until we get justice in the Khilafat and the Punjab matters, we must put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the Councils, because it will neither represent the wish of the country nor our own which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A minister who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest. Service under protest shows that the situation is not intolerable.

Young India : July 14, 1920.

THE legislatures, central and provincial, are like other institutions powerful and tempting devices for draining India of whatever she has still left.

Young India : April 10, 1930.

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THE legislatures are but a pawn in the game of exploitation. Ostrich-like we hide our heads in the sand and refuse to see what is plain as a pikestaff to the onlooker.

Young India : May 1, 1930.

^N ^S ^^

I DO not deny that legislatures are a great temptation, almost like liquor booths. They hold out opportunities to self-seekers and job-hunters. But no congressman, can go with that sordid object.

Harijan : May 1, 1937-

THE boycott of the legislatures, let me tell you, is not an eternal principle like that of truth or non-violence. My opposition to them has considerably lessened, but that does not mean that I am going back on my former position. The question is purely one of strategy, and I can only say what is most needed at a particular moment. Am I the non-co-operator I was in 1920? Yes, I am the same non-co-operator. But it is forgotten that I was a co-operator too in the sense that I non-co-operated for co-operation, and even then I said that if I could carry the country forward by co-operation I should co-operate. I have now advised going to the legislatures not to offer co-operation but to demand co-operation.

Harijan : May 1, 1937.

I HAVE always held that parliamentary programme at all times is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside.

Harijan : Jan. 25, 1942.

Courage

COURAGE has never been known to be matter of muscle, it is a matter of the heart. The toughest muscle

COURTESY 133

has been known to tremble before an imaginary fear. It was the heart that set the muscle a trembling.

Young India : July 16, 1931.

Courtesy

WHEN restraint and courtesy are added to strength, the latter becomes irresistible.

Young India : Jan 19, 1922.

COURTESY should not be mistaken for flattery nor impudence for fearlessness.

Young India : June 12, 1924.

^s ^^ ^^

INTOLERANCE, discourtesy, harshness are not only against Congress discipline and code of honour, they are taboo in all good society and are surely contrary to the spirit of democracy.

Harijan : Aug. 14, 1937.

Cow

IT must be an article of faith for every Hindu, that the cow can only be saved by Mussalman friendship. Let us recognise frankly, that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon Mussalman good-will. It is as impossible to bend the Mussalmans to our will, as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal and free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism the doctrine of frightfulness.

Cow protection is the dearest possession of Hindu heart. It is the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. No one who does not believe in cow protection, can possibly be a Hindu. It is a noble belief. Cow protection means brotherhood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and tapasya. It cannot be imposed upon any one. To

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carry cow protection at the point of the sword, is a contradiction in terms. Rishis of old are said to have performed penance for the sake of the cow. Let us follow in the foot-steps of the Rishis, and ourselves do a penance, so that we may be pure enough to protect the cow and all that the doctrine means and implies.

Young India \ Mar. 16, 1920.

<\$> <J> <\$>

FOR me the cow is the purest type of sub-human life. She pleads before us on behalf of the whole of sub-human species for justice to it at the hands of man, the first among all that lives. She seems to speak to us through her eyes (let the reader look at them with my faith), "you are not

appointed over us to kill us and eat our flesh or
other-
wise ill-treat us, but to be our friend and guardian.'*

Young India : June 26, 1924.

<\$> <s> <s>

WHEN I see a cow, I do not see an animal to be
eaten. It is for me a poem of pity. I worship it and I
shall defend its worship against the whole world.

Young India : Aug. 28, 1924-

<\$> <3> <3>

COW protection includes, the protection and service oi
both man and bird and beast. It presupposes a thorough
eschewal of violence. A Hindu, if he is true Hindu, may
not raise his hand against a Mussalman or an Englishman
to protect the cow.

Young India : May 7, 1925.

3> <S> <S>

AN untouchable may cry and raise a protest, a Hindu
or Mussalman may raise a protest and even break heads
to settle a grievance. But the cow is entirely at our
mercy. She consents to be led to slaughter, and to be

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embarked for Australia and gives her progeny to carry
whatever burden we want it to carry, in sun or rain.

Young India : May 7, 1925.

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THE cow means not merely the animal, the giver
of milk and innumerable other things to India, but it
means also the helpless, the downtrodden and the
poor.

Young Indi :July 7, 1927

<S> <S> <3>

HINDUISM believes in the oneness not of merely all human life but in the oneness of all that lives. Its worship of the cow is, in my opinion, its unique contribution to the evolution of humanitarianism. It is a practical application of the belief in the oneness and, therefore, sacredness of all life. The great belief in transmigration is a direct consequence of that belief.

Young India : Oct. 20, 1927.

<S> <2> <\$>

THE poverty of the cow is reflected in the poverty of the people.

Young India : Oct. 24, 1929

ISLAM in India cannot make a better gift to the Hindus than this voluntary self-denial. And I know enough of Islam to be able to assert that Islam does not compel cow-slaughter and it does compel its followers to spare and respect to the full the feelings of their neighbours whenever it is humanly possible.

Young India ; Jan. 5, 1928.

<\$><\$><\$>

THE cow is an object of worship and veneration to millions in India. I count myself among them,

Harijan : Mar. 13, 1937.

136 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Q. SHOULD the Mussalmans have the freedom to kill cows ?

A. As a Hindu, a confirmed vegetarian, and a wor-

shipper of the cow whom I regard with the same
veneration
as I regard my mother (alas no more on this earth) I
main-
tain that Muslims should have full freedom to slaughter
cows,
if they wish, subject of course to hygienic
restrictions and in
a manner not to wound the susceptibilities of their
Hindu
neighbours. Fullest recognition of freedom to the
Muslims
to slaughter cows is indispensable for communal
harmony,
and is the only way of saving the cow. In 1921
thousands
of cows were saved by the sole and willing efforts of
Muslims
themselves. In spite of the black clouds hanging over
our
heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will
disperse
and that we shall have communal peace in this unhappy
land. If I am asked for proof, I must answer that my
hope
is based on faith and faith demands no proof.

Harijan : April 27, 1940.

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MOTHER cow is in many ways better than the
mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk
for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her
when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing
but grass and grain. Our mother often falls ill and
expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill.
Hers is an unbroken record of service which does not
end
with her death. Our mother when she dies means expenses
of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as
when she is alive. We can make use of every part of her
bones
of her body her flesh, her intestines, her horns and
her
skin. Well I say this not to disparage the mother
(who gives us birth, but in order to show you the
substantial
reasons for my worshipping the cow.

Hatijan : Sept. 15, 1940.

Cowardice

COWARDS can never be moral.

Young India : June 22, 1921.

CREEDS 137

BULLIES are always to be found where there are cowards.

Cowardice is perhaps the greatest vice from which we suffer and is also possibly the greatest violence, certainly far greater than bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name of violence. For it comes from want of faith in God and ignorance of His attributes. But I am sorry that I have not the ability to give the knowledge and the advice that the correspondent would have me to give on how to dispel cowardice and other vices. But I can give my own testimony and say that a heartfelt prayer is undoubtedly the most potent instrument that man possesses for overcoming cowardice and all other bad old habits. Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

Young India : Dec. 20, 1928.

NON-VIOLENCE and cowardice go ill together. I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true non-violence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness.

Harijan : July 15, 1939.

Creeds

ARE creeds such simple things like the clothes which a man can change at will and put on at will ? Creeds are such for which people live for ages and ages.

Young India : July 21, 1921.

WHEN anything assumes the strength of a creed it becomes self-sustained and derives the needed support from* within.

Young India :]*r\. 19, 1928.

138 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

CRITICISM of public man is a welcome sign of public awakening. It keeps workers on the alert.

Young India : May 9, 1921.

ALL criticism is not intolerance.

Young India : Feb. 12, 1925.

<^ ^ <

HEALTHY well-informed, balanced criticism is the azone of public life. A most democratic Minister is likely to go wrong without ceaseless watch from the public.

Harijan : Nov. 13, 1925.

3> 3> <>

THROUGHOUT my life I have gained more from my critic friends than from my admirers, especially when the criticism was made in courteous and friendly language.

Young India : Oct. 27, 1927.

^^ ^S ^>

I CAN profit by criticism never by praise.

Young India : April 25, 1929.

IT is good to see ourselves as others see us. Try as we may, we are never able to know ourselves fully as we are, especially the evil side of us. This we can do only if we are not angry with our critics but will take in good heart what-ever they might have to say.

Harijan : Mar. 6, 1937.

Criticism

DO not judge others. Be your own judge and you will be truly happy. If you will try to judge others, you are likely to burn your fingers.

Harijan : July 28, 1940.

CULTURE 139

Crowd Indian

AN Indian crowd is the most managable and docile in the world. But it needs previous preparation. But when we have not had it, it is the wisest thing not to bring together crowds.

Toung India: Oct. 27, 1920.

Culture

CULTURE of the mind must be subservient to the heart.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : Page 146.

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NO culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive. There is no such thing as pure Aryan culture in existence

today in India. Whether the Aryans were indigenous to India or were unwelcome intruders, does not interest me much. What does interest me is the fact that my remote ancestors blended with one another with the utmost freedom and we of the present generation are a result of that blend. Whether we are doing any good to the country of our birth and the tiny globe which sustains us or whether we are a burden, the future alone can show.

Harijan : May 9, 1936.

<\$><\$> <3>

CULTURE without labour, or culture which is not the fruit of labour, would be * Vomitoria ' as a Roman Catholic writer says. The Romans made indulgence a habit, and were ruined. Man cannot develop his mind by simply writing and reading or making speeches all day long.

Harijan : Aug. 1, 1936,

A NATION'S culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.

Harijan : Jan. 28, 1939

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Cunning

I BELIEVE that cunning is not only morally wrong but also politically inexpedient, and have therefore always discountenanced its use even from the practical standpoint.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 318.

Custom

WE must gladly give up custom that is against reason, justice, and religion of the heart. We must not

ignorantly
cling to bad custom and part with it when we must, like
a
miser parting with his ill-gotten hoard out of pressure
and
expedience. Young India : Feb. 9, 1921.

D

Darshan

LOVE that is satisfied with touching the feet of its
hero and making noise at him is likely to be comepara-
sitical. Such love ceases to be a virtue and after a
time
becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice.

Young India : Oct. 20, 1920.

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I HAVE a horror of touching- the-feet devotion. It
is wholly unnecessary as a mark of affection, it may
easily be degrading. It interferes with free and easy
movement, and I have been hurt by the nails of the
devotees cutting into the flesh. The performance has
often taken more than fifteen minutes to pass through
a crowd to a platform only a few yards from the
farthest end.

Young India : Sept. 5, 1929.

Death

FEAR of death makes us devoid both of valour
and religion. For want of valour is want of religious
faith.

Young India : April 11, 1919.

DEATH 141

WHY should we be upset when children or young
men or old men die ? Not a moment passes when some
one is not born or is not dead in this world. We should
feel
the stupidity of rejoicing in a birth and lamenting a

death.

Those who believe in the soul and what Hindu, Musalman or Parsi is there who does not ? know that the soul never dies. The souls of the living as well as of the dead are all one. The eternal processes of creation and destruction are going on ceaselessly.

There

is nothing in it for which we might give ourselves up to joy or sorrow. Even if we extend the idea of relationship only to our countrymen and take all the births

in the country as taking place in our own family, how many births shall we celebrate ? If we weep for all the deaths in our country, the tears in our eyes would never

dry. This train of thought should help us to get rid of all fear of death.

India, they say, is a nation of philosophers; and we have not been unwilling to appropriate the compliment. Still, hardly any other nation becomes so helpless in the

face of death as we do. And in India again, no other community perhaps betrays so much of this helplessness as

the Hindus. A single birth is enough for us to beside ourselves with ludicrous joyfulness. A death makes us indulge in orgies of loud lamentation which condemn the neighbourhood to sleeplessness for the night. If we wish

to attain Swaraj^ and if having attained it, wish to make

it something to be proud of, we must perfectly renounce this unseemly fright. Young India : Oct. 13, 1921.

DEATH, which is an eternal verity, is revolution, as birth and after is slow and steady evolution. Death is as necessary for man's growth as life itself.

Young India : Feb. 2, 1922.

LIFE persists in the face of death.

Young India : Oct. 23, 1924.

DEATH is at any time blessed but it is twice blessed for a warrior who dies for his cause, i. e. truth. Death is no fiend, he is the truest of friends. He delivers us from agony. He helps us against ourselves. He ever gives us new chances, new hopes. He is like sleep a restorer. Yet it is customary to mourn when a friend dies. The custom has no operation when the death is that of a martyr. Young India : Dec. 20, 1926.

<\$><\$> <3>

WHAT a comforting thought it is to think of death, whenever it comes, as a wise plan in the economy of nature ? If we could realise this law of our being and be prepared for death as a welcome friend and deliverer we should cease to engage in the frantic struggle for life.

We shall cease to want to live at the cost of other lives and in contempt of all considerations of humanity.

Such realization is impossible without a due conception of the definite and grave limitations of the body and an abiding faith in God and His unchangeable Law of Karma. Young India : May 12, 1927.

3> <S> <S>

AS Hindus we ought to be the least affected by the thought of death, since from the very cradle we are brought up on the doctrines of the spirit and the transitoriness of the body. Young India : Oct. 18, 1928.

OUR scriptures tell us, that childhood, old age and death are incidents only to this perishable body of ours and that man's spirit is eternal and immortal.

That being so, why should we fear death ? And where there is no fear of death there can be no sorrow over it either. Young India : Dec. 13, 1928.

^> <\$ <\$>

I WANT you all to shed the fear of death, so that when the history of freedom comes to be written, the

DEATH 143

names of the boys and girls of national schools and colleges may be mentioned therein as those who died not doing violence but in resisting it, no matter by whom committed. The strength to kill is not essential for self-defence; one ought to have the strength to die. When a man is fully ready to die he will not even desire to offer violence. Indeed I may put it down as a self-evident proposition that the desire to kill is in inverse proportion to the desire to die. And history is replete with instances of men who by dying with courage and compassion on their lips converted the hearts of their violent opponents. Tcung India : Jan. 23, 1930.

+ + +

IT is as clear to me as daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin. In fact tribulation and death seem to me to present a phase far richer than happiness or life. What is life worth without trials and tribulation, which are the salt of life. The history of mankind would have been a blank sheet without these individuals. What is Ramayana but a record of the trials, privations and penances of Rama and Sita. The life of Rama, after the recovery of Sita, full of happiness as it was, does, not occupy even a hundredth part of the epic. I want you all to treasure death and suffering more than life and to appreciate their cleansing and purifying character. Tcung India : Mar. 12, 1930.

+ + +

I AM fatalist enough to believe that no one can put off the hour of death when it has struck. Not the greatest medical assistance available has saved kings and

emperors,
from the Jaws of Death. Harijan : Sept. 19, 1936..

<\$> <S> \$>

IT is foolish to think that by fleeing one can
trick the dread god of death. Let us treat him as a
beneficent angel rather than as a dread god. We must.

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face and welcome him whenever he comes.

HarijanJulyG, 1940.
+ + +

LET us not die before the inevitable hour comes as it
must come to every one of us, war or no war.

Harijan : July 6, 1940.
-f- +- --

FOR many years I have accorded intellectual assent
to the proposition that death is only a %ig change in
life and nothing more, and should be welcome when-
ever it arrives. I have deliberately made a supreme
attempt to cast out from my heart all fear whatsoever
including the fear of death. Still I remember occasions
in my life when I have not rejoiced at the thought of
approaching death as one might rejoice at the prospect
of the meeting a long lost friend. Thus man often
remains weak notwithstanding all his efforts to be
strong,
and knowledge which stops at the head and does not
penetrate into the heart is of but little use in the
critical
times of living experience. Then again the stength of
the spirit within mostly evaporates when a person gets
and accepts support from outside. A Satyagrahi must be
always on his guard against such temptations.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 286.

Death Duties

IN this of all countries in the world possession of
inordinate wealth by individuals should be held as a

crime against Indian humanity. Therefore the maximum limit of taxation of riches beyond a certain margin can never be reached. In England, I understand, they have already gone as far as 70 per cent, of the earnings beyond a prescribed figure. There is no reason why India should not go to a much higher figure. Why should there not be death duties ? Those sons of millionaires who are of age and yet inherit their parents' wealth, are losers for the very inheritance. The nation thus becomes a double loser. For

DEFEAT 145

the inheritance should rightly belong to the nation. And the nation loses again in that the full faculties of the heirs are not drawn out, being crushed under the load of riches.

Harijan : July 31, 1937.

Death Sentence

I DO regard death sentence as contrary to ahimsa. Only He takes life who gives it. All punishment is repugnant to ahimsa. Under a State governed according to the principles of ahimsa, therefore, a murderer would be sent to a penitentiary and there given every chance of reforming himself. All crime is a kind of disease and should be treated as such.

Harijan : Mar. 19, 1937.

Debt

HE who repays a debt deserves no praise. In fact if he fails to do so, he may be liable to prosecution.

Harijan: May 21, 1938.

Deception

ULTIMATELY a deceiver only deceives himself.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 430.

Defeat

HEROES are made in the hour of defeat.
Success is, therefore, well described as a series of
glorious defeats.

Young India ;Jan. 15, 1925.

me.

DEFEAT cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten

Tcunghdia : July 3, 1924.

3> <S> <S>

IT is the spirit that defies defeat.

Young India : Sent. 27. 1928

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THE word 'defeat' is not to be found in my dictionary,
and everyone who is selected as a recruit in my army
may be sure that there is no defeat for a Satyagrahi.

Harijan : Mar. 30, 1940.

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A SOLDIER cannot plead difficulties in defence of his
defeat. Harijan : Nov. 10, 1939,

Democracy

IN some respects, popular terrorism is more
antagonistic
to the growth of the democratic spirit than the Govern-
mental. For the latter strengthens the spirit of
democracy
whereas the former kills it. Dyerism has evoked a
yearning after freedom as nothing else has. But
internal

dyersim representing as is will, terrorism by a majority will establish an oligarchy such as stifle the spirit of all free discussion and conduct.

Young India : Feb. 23, 1921.
^s ^> ^s

INTOLERANCE is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit.

Young India : Sept. 29, 1921

3> <> <\$>

WHAT Non-co-operation is fighting among other things is the spirit of patronage. We must have the liberty to do evil before we learn to do good. Even liberty must not be forced upon us. The democratic spirit demands that a most autocratic minister must yield to a people's will or resign office. Young India : Oct. 25, 1921

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THE highest form of freedom carries with it the greatest measure of discipline and humility. Freedom that comes from discipline and humility cannot be denied,, unbridled licence is a sign of vulgarity injurious alike to self and one's neighbours. Young India : June 3, 1926.

DEMOCRACY 147

ANY secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy.

Young India : Sept. 16, 1926.
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THE spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by abolition of forms. It requires change of the heart.

Young India : Mar. 16, 1927.

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THERE is no human institution but has its dangers.
The greater the institution the greater the chances of
abuse.
Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is
liable to
be greatly abused. The remedy therefore is not
avoidance
of democracy but reduction of possibility of abuse to a
mini-
mum.

Harijan : May 7, 1931.

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A POPULAR state can never act in advance of
public opinion. If it goes against it, it will be
destroyed.
Democracy disciplined and enlightened is the first
thing in
the world. A democracy prejudiced, ignorant,
superstitious
will, land itself in chaos and may be self-destroyed.

Harijan : July 20, 1931 .

^^ ^S ^S

A NATION that runs its affairs smoothly and
effectively without much state interference is truly
demo-
cratic. Where such . a condition is absent, the form of
Government is democratic in name.

Harijan : Jan. 11, 1936.

<> <\$> <\$>

IN theory, a leader of democracy holds himself at the
beck and call of the public. It is but right that he
should
do so. But he dare not do so at the sacrifice of the
duty
imposed upon him by the public.

Harijan : Oct. 9, 1937

148 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

DEMOCRACY of the west is, in my opinion, only so-called. It has germs in it, certainly, of the true type. But it can only come when all violence is eschewed and malpractices disappear. The two go hand in hand. Indeed malpractice is a species of violence. If India is to evolve the true type, there should be no compromise with violence or untruth. Ten million men and women on the Congress register with violence and untruth in their breasts would not evolve real democracy or bring Swaraj. But I can conceive the possibility of ten thousand Congressmen and women who are cent per cent, true, and free from having to carry the burden of innumerable doubtful companions bringing Swaraj. Harijan : Sept. 3, 1938.

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DEMOCRACY must in essence, therefore, mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.

Service of the family has been the motive behind all our activities hitherto. We must now learn to broaden our outlook so as to include in our ambit the service of the people as a whole.

We are familiar with several conceptions of village work. Hitherto it has mostly meant propaganda in the villages to inculcate upon the village masses a sense of their rights. Sometimes it has also meant conducting welfare activity among them to ameliorate their material condition. But the village work that I have now come to place before you consists in educating the villager in his duties.

Rights accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties. In fact the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all legitimate rights. All the rest is grab under one guise or another and contains in it seeds of himsa.

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The Swaraj of my conception will come only when all of us are firmly persuaded that our Swaraj has got to be won, worked and maintained through truth and ahimsa alone. True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated ahimsa.

We cannot afford to have discord in our midst if we are to educate the people. We must all speak with one voice.

If we want to weld the various sections into one people and that is the sine qua non of democracy, we may not, in rendering service, make any distinction between those who took part in our struggle and those who did not.

Harijan : May 27, 1939.

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A BORN democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine.

I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first the acid test of democracy. Moreover, a democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy. Only then does he acquire the

right of civil disobedience. I do not want anybody to give up his convictions or to suppress himself. I do not believe that a healthy and honest difference of opinion will injure our cause. But opportunism, camouflage or patched up compromises certainly will. If you must dissent, you should take care that your opinions voice your innermost convictions and are not intended merely as a convenient party cry.

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Today our democracy is choked by our internecine strife. We are torn by dissensions between Hindus and Mussalmans, Brahmins, and non-Brahmins, Congressmen and non-Congressmen. It is no easy task to evolve democracy out of this mobocracy. Let us not make confusion worse confounded by further introducing into it the virus of sectionalism and party spirit.

I value individual freedom but you must not forget that man is essentially a social being. He has risen to this present status by learning to adjust his individualism to the requirements of social progress. Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society, enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member.

Harijan: May 27, 1939.
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Q. WHY do you say, "Democracy can only be saved through non-violence ? " (The questioner was an American friend).

A. Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide- for, or protect the weak. My

notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. That can never happen except through non-violence. No country in the world today shows any but patronising regard for the -weak. The weakest, you say, go to the wall. Take your own case. Your land is owned by a few capitalist owners. The same is true of South Africa. These large holdings cannot be sustained except by violence, veiled if not open. Western democracy, as it functions today, is diluted Nazism or Fascism. At best it is merely a cloak to hide the Nazi and the Fascist tendencies of imperialism. Why is there the war today, if it is not

DEMOCRACY 151

for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils ? It was not through democratic methods that Britain bagged India. What is the meaning of South African democracy ? Its very constitution has been drawn to protect the white man against the coloured man, the natural occupant. Your own history is perhaps blacker still, in spite of what the Northern States did for the abolition of slavery. The way you have treated negro presents a discreditable record. And it is to save such democracies that the war is being fought ! There is something very hypocritical about it. I am thinking just now in terms of non-violence and trying to expose violence in its nakedness.

India is trying to evolve true democracy, i. e. without violence. Our weapons are those of Satyagraha expressed though the Charkha, the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, and non-violent organisation of labour as in Ahmedabad. These mean mass effort and mass education. We have big agencies for conducting these activities. They are purely voluntary, and their only

sanction is service of the lowliest.

This is the permanent part of the non-violent effort. From this effort is created the capacity to offer non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience which may culminate in mass refusal to pay rent and taxes. As you know, we have tried non-co-operation and civil disobedience on a fairly large scale and fairly successfully. The experiment has in it promise of a brilliant future. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak. The aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiment can and will, if the people come up to the mark or, to put it another way, if God gives me the necessary wisdom and strength to bring the experiment to fruition.

-Hanjan : May 18, 1940.

152 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

DEMOCRACY is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded, Harijan : May 7, 1942.

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IF we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause. Harijan : May 24, 1942.

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EVOLUTION of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or having listened make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst with the limits that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the

light vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all untruth. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it if there is any. Harijan : May 31, 1942.

Dhurna

WE must refrain from sitting Dhurna, we must refrain from crying 'shame, shame* to anybody, we must not use any coercion to persuade opr people to adopt our way.

We

must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves. Young India : Feb. 9, 1921.

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I CALL it 'barbarity 1 , for it is a crude way xor using coercion. It is also cowardly because one who sits Dhurna knows that he is not going to be trampled over. It is difficult to call the practice violent, but it is certainly worse.

If we fight our opponent, we at least enable him to return the blow. But when we challenge him to walk over us, knowing that he will not, we place him in a most awkward and humiliating position. Young India : Feb. 2, 1922.

DISCIPLINE 153

Diagnosis

A TRUE diagnosis is three-fourth's the remedy.

Harijan : June 24, 1939,

Difference

HONEST differences are often a healthy sign of progress.

Young India : July 17, 1920.

Disease

A PATIENT can ill afford to conceal his disease. If he does so he becomes his own enemy.

Young India : Feb. 2, 1928.

Discipline

DISCIPLINE knows no rank. A king who knows its value submits to his page in matters where he appoints him as the sole judge. Young India : Dec, 4, 1925.

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THERE is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice 3 discipline and self-control. Mere sacrifice without discipline will be unavailing. Young India : Jan. 9, 1926,

<S> <> <3>

A TRUE soldier does not argue, as he marches, how success is going to be ultimately achieved. But he is confident that if he only plays his humble part well, somehow or other the battle will be won. It is in that spirit that every one of us should act. It is not given to us to know the future. . But it is given to everyone of us to know how to do our own part well. Let us then do that which we know is possible for us if we only will.

Young India : May 17, 1927

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THERE will have to be rigid and iron discipline before we achieve anything great and enduring, and that discipline will not come by mere academic argument and appeal to reason and logic. Discipline is learnt in the school of adversity. Young India : June 24, 1928

LET it not be said that we are a people incapable of maintaining discipline. Indiscipline will mean disaster, and make one like me who is pinning to see Swaraj in his life-time perish in sorrow and grief.

Toting India : Mar. 12, 1931.

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WE cannot learn discipline by compulsion.

Toung India : Dec. 20, 1931.

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DISCIPLINE is to disorder what bulwarks and embankments are to storms and floods.

Toung India : May 14, 1931.

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NO reliance can be placed upon an organization which is not able to exercise effective control over its members.

Imagine an army whose soldiers, under the false belief that they are advancing the common cause, adopt measures in defiance of those taken by the headquarters. Such action may well spell defeat.

Harijan : Oct. 21, 1939.

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IN the coming struggle, if it must come, no half-hearted loyalty will answer the purpose. Imagine a general march-ing to battle with doubting, ill-prepared soldiers. He will surely march to defeat. I will not consciously make any such fatal experiment. This is not meant to frighten Congressmen. If they have the will, they will not find any instructions difficult to follow. Correspondents tell

me that
though they have no faith in me or the Charkha, they
ply the
latter for the sake of discipline. I do not understand
this
language. Can a general fight on the strength of
soldiers
who, he knows, have no faith in him ? The plain meaning
of this language is that the correspondents believe in
mass
action but do not believe in the connection I see
between it
and the Gharkha etc., if the action is to be non-
violent. They

DIVIDE AND RULE 155

believe in my hold on the masses, but they do not
believe
in the things which I believe have given me that, hold.
They merely want to exploit me and will grudgingly pay
the
price which my ignorance or obstinacy (according to
them)
demands. I do not call this discipline. True discipline
gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even
though
they do not satisfy reason. A volunteer exercises his
reason
when he chooses his general, but after having made the
choice, he does not waste his time and energy in
scanning
every instruction and testing it on the envil of his
reason
before following it. He is "not to reason why.*"

Harijan : Mar. :<, 1940,

Divide and Rule

IN the first place they (differences) are grossly exag-
gerated in transmission to the West. In the second
place,
they are hardened during foreign control, Imperial rule
means divide et impera. They must therefore melt with
the
withdrawal of the frigid foreign rule and the

introduction
of the warmth giving sunshine of real freedom.

Young India : July 2, 1931.

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AFTER all the discovery that India is governed by the 'divide and rule' policy was made in the first instance not by an Indian but if I am not mistaken, by an Englishman. It was either the late Allen Oatway Hume or George Yule who taught us that the empire was based upon a policy of divide and rule. Nor need we be surprised at or resent it. Imperial Rome did no otherwise. British did no otherwise with Boers. By a system of favouritism it sought to divide the Boer ranks. The Government of India is based upon distrust. Distrust involves favouritism and favouritism must breed division. There are frank Englishmen enough who have owned this fact.

Young India : Aug. 12, 1926.

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WE will continue to be divided so long as the wedge of foreign rule remains there, and sinks deeper and deeper. That is the way of the wedge. But take out the wedge and split parts will instantly come together and unite.

Young India : Nov. 5, 1931.

I HAVE no doubt that if British rule which divides us by favouring one or the other as it suits the Britishers were withdrawn to-day, Hindus and Muslims would forget their quarrels and live like brothers which they are. But supposing the worst happened and we have a civil war, it

would
last for a few days or months and we would settle down
to
business. Young India : Nov. 19, 1931.

Doubt

DOUBT is invariably the result of want or weakness of
faith.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 558.

Dowry System

THE parents should so educate their daughters that
they would refuse to marry a young man who wanted a
price for marrying and would rather remain spinsters
than
be party to the degrading terms. The only honourable
terms in .marriage are mutual love and mutual consent.

Young India : Jan. 15, 1927.

Drink Evil

YOU will not be deceived by the specious argument that
India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that
those who wish to drink must have facilities provided
for
them. The State does not cater for the vices of its
people.
We do not regulate and license houses of ill-fame. We
do
not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their
propensity
for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than
thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often
the
parent of both ? Young India : Feb. 23, 1922.

DRINK EVIL 157

WHAT about the education of the children ? may be
the question asked. I venture to suggest to you that it
is a
matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its
children educated from the drink revenue. We shall

deserve the curse of posterity, if we do not wisely
decide to
stop the drink evil, even though we 'may have to
sacrifice
the education of our children. But we need not. I know
many of you have laughed at the idea of making
education
self-supporting by introducing spinning in our schools
and
colleges. I assure you that it "solves the problem of
educa-
tion as nothing else can. The country cannot bear fresh
taxation. Even the existing taxation is unbearable. Not
only must we do away with the opium and the drink
revenue
but the other revenue has also to be very considerably
reduced, if the ever-growing poverty of the masses is
to be
combated in the near future ,

Young India : Jan. 12, 1925.

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DRUGS and drink are the two arms of the devil with
which he strikes his helpless slaves into stupefaction
and
intoxication. Young India : April 12, 1926.

<*> <s> <\$>

IN India there can be no reason for any referendum
because drink and drug habit are universally recognised
as a
vice. Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the
West.
To talk therefore of a referendum in India is to trifle
with
the problem.

Young India : April 22, 1926.

<s> <\$> <>

THERE is as much flaw in the argument that it is an
interference with the right of the people as there
would be
in the argument that the laws prohibiting theft
interfere

with the right of thieving. A thief steals all earthly possessions a drunkard steals his own and his neighbour's honour.

Young India : Jan. 6, 1927.

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INDIA is the most promising country in the world for carrying out total prohibition for the simple reason that addiction to drink is not considered respectable or fashionable and is confined only to a certain class of people.

Young India : June 23, 1927.

<> <*> <s>

I HAVE not hesitated to give my opinion, that it was a wicked thing for the Imperial Government to have transferred this the most immoral source of revenue to the provinces and to have thus made this tainted revenue the one source for defraying the cost of the education of Indian youth. Young India : Sept. 8, 1927.

<\$> 3> 3>

I VENTURE to submit that prosecutions are the smallest and the destructive part of prohibition. I suggest that there is a larger and constructive side to prohibition. People drink because of the conditions to which they are reduced. It is the factory labourers and others that drink. They are forlorn, uncared for, and they take to drink. They are no more vicious by nature than teetotallers are saints by nature. The majority of people are controlled by their environment. Young India : Sept. 8, 1927.

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WHATEVER may be true of countries with cold climates I am sure that in a climate like ours there is no need for drink whatsoever. Nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is a prey to the drink habit. History records that empires have been destroyed through that habit. We have it in India that the great community to which Shri Krishna belonged was ruined by that habit. The monstrous evil was undoubtedly one of the contributory factors in the fall of Rome. If therefore you will live decently >o u will shun this evil whilst there is yet time.

Young India : April 1 1, 1929.

DRINK EVIL 159

I HOLD drinking spirituous liquors in India, to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished. I do tolerate very unwillingly it is true and helplessly because of want of full realisation of the law of love a moderate system of penal code. And so long as I do, I must advocate the summary punishment of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings. I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters. Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to raging furnace or flooded stream* The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul. Young India : Aug. 8, 1929.

IT is a revenue which must be sacrificed and whilst it lasts, it should be held as sacrosanct and be wholly dedicated to the purpose of eradicating the drink evil. But today it is being utilised for educating our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put against this necessary temperance legislation. People are made to think that they will not be able to educate their children if this revenue stops. If things go on unchecked like this a whole nation might have to perish. If the evil spreads, it may be too late to undertake legislation,

Young India : April 11 , 1929,

WHEN Satan comes disguised as a champion of liberty, civilization, culture and the like, he makes himself almost irresistible. Young India : July 11, 1929,

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RUSHING to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to raging furnace or flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul. Young India : Aug. 8, 1929,

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THE drink curse has desolated many a labourer's home, There is no halfway house between drunkenness and prohibition. Well-to-do men may pretend to be moderate. But there is no such thing as moderation possible among labourers. Young India : Oct. 31, 1929.

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DRINK and drugs sap the moral well-doing of those

who are given to this habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundations of the nation and throws millions out of employment. The distress in each case is felt in the home and therefore by the women. Only those women who have drunkards as their husbands know what havoc the drink devil works in homes that once were orderly and peace giving.

Young India: April 10, 1930.

<\$> <\$> <\$>

ALCOHOL excites the nerves and narcotics deaden the sense of right and wrong. Young India : July 25, 1931.

<\$><\$><\$>

WHY are you so uncharitable to those who drink ? asked an English student.

A Because I am charitable to those who suffer from the effect of the curse.

Young India : Nov. 12, 1931

*& <& ^^

IF I was appointed^dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the toddy palms such as I know them in Gujrat, compel factory owners to produce humane conditions for their workmen and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements. I would close down the factories if the owners pleaded want of funds. Being a teetotaller, I would retain my sobriety in spite of the possession of one hour's dictatorship and there-fore arrange for, the examination of my European friends and diseased persons who may be in medical need of brandy

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and the like at State expense by medical experts and where necessary they would receive certificates which would entitle them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the fiery waters from certified chemists. The rule will apply mutatis mutandis to intoxicating drugs.

For the loss of revenue from drinks, I would straight-way cut down the military expenditure and expect the Commander-in-Chief to accommodate himself to the new condition in the best way he can. The workmen left idle by the closing of factories, I would remove to model farms to be immediately opened as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the factories unless I was advised during that brief hour that the State would profitably run the factories under the required conditions and therefore take over from the owners. Young India : June 25, 1931.

<3> <\$><\$>

PURE Swaraj is impossible of attainment by people who have been or who are slaves of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It must never be forgotten that a man in the grip of intoxicants is generally bereft of the moral sense.

Harijan : Aug. 18, 1940.

Dumb Millions

ALL the 24 hours of the day I am with them. 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. They do not recognise His presence ; I do. And

[worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions

Harijan: Mar. 11, 1939.

Duty

EVERY mistake of the Government helps. Every neglect of duty on our part hinders.

Young India : Mar, 2, 1922.

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DUTY will be merit when debt becomes a donation,

Young India : Mar. 18, 1926.

IF we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek. If leaving duties unperformed we run after rights, they will escape us like a Will O' The Wisp. The more we pursue them the farther will they fly. The same teaching has been embodied by Krishna in the immortal words : Action alone is thine. Leave thou the fruits severely alone. Action is duty ; fruit is the right.

Young India : Dec. 25, 1927.

PERFORMANCE of one's duty should be independent of public opinion. I have all along held that one is bound to act according to what to one appears to be right even though it may appear wrong to others. And experience has shown that that is the only correct course, I admit that there is always a possibility of one's mistaking right for wrong and vice versa but often one learns to recognise wrong only through unconscious error. On the other hand if a

man fails to follow the light within for fear of public opinion
or any other similar reason he would never be able to know
right from wrong and in the end lose all sense of distinction
between the two. That is why the poet has sung :

The pathway of love is the ordeal of fire,
The shrinkers turn away from it.

The pathway of ahimsa that is of love one has often to tread all alone. Young India : Oct 4, 1928.

<\$><\$><\$>

A MAN can give up a right, but he may not give up a duty without being guilty of a grave delinquency. Unpopularity and censure are often the lot of a man who wants to speak and practise the truth. I hold it to be the bounden duty of a Satyagrahi openly and freely to express his opinions

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which he holds to be correct and of benefit to the public even at the risk of incurring popular displeasure and worse. So long as I believe my views on ahimsa to be correct, it would be a sin of omission on my part not to give expression to them. Young India : Oct. 18, 1928.

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A SOLDIER never worries as to what shall happen to his work after him, but thinks only of the immediate duty in front of him. Young India : Sept. 26, 1929.

<s> <*><\$>

OUR people have not yet acquired the habit of doing their duty without persistent reminders even as we need the loud call of the temple bell to remind us that there is Gad watching over us and summoning us to prayer.

Young India : Feb. 21, 1929
^^ ^N ^O

EVERY duty performed confers upon one certain rights. Whilst the exercise of every right carries with it certain corresponding obligations. And so the never ending cycle of duty and right goes ceaselessly on.

Young India : Aug. 22, 1929.
3> 3> <3>

DUTY well done undoubtedly carries rights with it, but a man who discharges his obligations with an eye upii privileges generally discharges them indifferently and often fails to attain the rights he might have expected,, or when he succeeds in gaining them they turn out to be burdens.

Young India : Oct. 10, 1929.
<& <\$> <\$>

RIGHTS accrue automatically to him who duly performs his duties. In fact the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all legitimate rights. All the rest is grab under one guise or another and contains in it seeds of himsa.

Young India : Dec. 27, 1930.

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E
East and West

[The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Gandhiji to a friend in India in 1909.]

(1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West.

(2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization which is purely material.

(3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East ; anyhow the people of India, and even today Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization, are far better able to mix with Indians than the offspring of that civilization.

(4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraph, telephone and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization

(5) Bombay, Calcutta and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots.

(6) If British rule were replaced to-morrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England ; but then India would only become a second or fifth nation of Europe or America.

(7) East and West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say Germany and England both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured the one by the other.

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or to contemplate reform of the whole world.

To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion, is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation and real slavery. I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsoever to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals. If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

(12) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live consciously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

(13) India should wear no machine-made clothing whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

(14) England can help India to do this and then she will have justified her hold on India. There seems to be many in England today who think likewise.

(15) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people : the rude plough of perhaps five thousand

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years ago is the plough of the husbandman today. Therein lies salvation. People live long under such conditions in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it.

It is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions. As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who find their satisfaction from the present mad rush. If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and therefore I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced. All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step, and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow. The theory is there : our practice will have to approach it as much as possible. Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint. Everytime I get into a railway car or use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right. I do not fear the logical result on that basis. The visiting of England

is bad,
and any communication between South Africa and India
by means of ocean-grey-hounds is also bad and so on.
You and I can, and may olitgrow these things in our
present
bodies, but the chief thing is to put our theory right.
You
will be seeing there all sorts and conditions of men.
I,
therefore, feel that I should no longer withhold from
you
what I call the progressive step I have taken mentally.
If
you agree with me, then it will be your duty to tell
the
revolutionaries and every body else that the freedom
they
want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by
killing people or doing violence, but by setting
themselves
right and by becoming and remaining truly Indian. Then
the British rulers will be servants and not masters.
They

EAST AND WEST 167

will be trustees, and not tyrants, and they will live
in
perfect peace with the whole of the inhabitants of
India.
The future, therefore, lies not with the British race,
but
with the Indians themselves, and if they have
sufficient
self-abnegation and abstemiousness, they can make them-
selves free this very moment, and when we have arrived
in India at the simplicity which is still ours largely
and
Which was ours entirely until a few years ago, it will
still
be possible for the best Indians and the best Europeans
to see one another throughout the length and breadth of
India and act as the leaven. When there was no rapid
locomotion, teachers and preachers went on foot, from
one
end of the country to the other, braving all dangers,
not

for recruiting their health (though all that followed from their tramps), but for the sake of humanity. Then were Benares and other places of pilgrimage the holy cities, whereas to-day they are an abomination.

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"I do not hold for one moment," Gandhiji exclaimed, "that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East, but I think the social evolution of the West to-day lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish to-day to encroach on the social institutions of the Europeans in South Africa. (Cheers) Most Indians are natural traders. There are bound to be trade jealousies and those various things that come from competition. I have never been able to find a solution of this most difficult problem, which will require the broad-mindedness and spirit of justice of the Government of South Africa to hold the balance between conflicting interests.

(From a farewell speech at Durban) : July 18, 1914.

I WOULD heartily welcome the Union of East and West provided it is not based on brute-force.

Young India : Oct. 1, 1931.

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Eating

ONE should eat not in order to please the palate, but just to keep the body going. When each organ of sense subserves the body and through the body the soul, its special relish disappears, and then alone does it begin to function in the way nature intended it to do.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 393.

Economics

TRUE economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time be also good economics. An economics that inculcates Mammon worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak, is a false and dismal science. It spells death. True economics, on the other hand, stands for social justice, it promotes the good of all equally including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life.

Harijan : Oct. 9, 1937.
<\$><\$><\$>

EVEN though I am a layman, I make bold to say that the so-called laws laid down in books on economics are not immutable like the laws of Medes and Persians, nor are they universal. The economics of England are different from those of Germany. Germany enriched herself by bounty-fed beet sugar. England enriched herself by exploiting foreign markets. What was possible for a compact area is not possible for an area 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. The economics of a nation are determined by its climatic, geological and temperamental conditions. The Indian conditions are different from the English in all these essentials. What is meat for England is in many cases poison for India. Beef tea in the English climate may be good, it is poison for the hot climate of India. Fiery whisky in the north of the British Isles may be a necessity, it renders an Indian unfit for work

ECONOMICS

or society. Fur coats in Scotland are indispensable, they

will be an intolerable burden in India. Free trade for a country which has become industrial, whose population can and does live in cities, whose people do not mind preying upon other nations and therefore sustain the biggest navy to protect their unnatural commerce, may be economically sound (though, as the reader perceives, I question its morality). Free trade for India has proved her curse and held her in bondage.

Young India: Dec. 9, 1921.
< <8> <3>

I MUST confess that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful. Thus the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour. It is sinful to eat American wheat and let my neighbour the grain dealer starve for want of custom.

Young India : Oct. 13, 1921.
<\$> <\$> <3>

APPLICATION of the laws of economics must vary with varying conditions.

Young India : July 2, 1931.

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INDEED, economics that ruins one's health is false, . because money without health has no value. Only that economy is true which enables one to conserve one's health. The whole of the initial programme of village re-construction is, therefore, aimed at true economy, because it is aimed at promoting the health and vigour of the villagers.

Harijan : Mar. 1, 1935.
^s <& ^^

IMITATION of English economics will spell our ruin. Young India : June 21, 1919.

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DOES economic progress clash with real progress ? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress

of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus : Does not moral progress increase,

in the same proportion as material progress ? . know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us.

But I venture to think that we always mean the large one

even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realize that there is no such thing

as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours.

If, therefore, material progress does not clash with moral

progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can

we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the large proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of India, stated by the late Sir

William Wilson Hunter to be living on one meal a day.

They say that, before we can think or talk of their moral

welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants With these they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then

is taken a sudden jump; what is true of thirty millions is true

of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law.

I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be. "No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live

and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest

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thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance

as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show how that possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth.

I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far

safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed of Jesus two thousand years ago. St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity.

He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space he transcended them. It is to

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him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks; Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life. And Jesus said unto him : 'Why callest thou me good. There is none good but one, i.e. 9 God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal. Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.'

And he answered and said unto him : * Master, all these have I observed from my youth/ Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him ; 'One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shall have treasure in heaven

come, take up the cross and follow me.' And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved for he had great possession. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciple : 'How hardly shall they, that have

riches enter into the kingdom of God/ And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answered them again

and said unto them, 'Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than

for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God !' Here you

have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as- we say to-day : 'But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral.' So they state their case thus : And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves : 'Who then can be saved. 5 And Jesus looking upon them said : 'With men it is impossible, but not with God, for with God all things are possible.' Then Peter began to say unto him : 'Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee. 1 And Jesus answered and said : 'Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or fathei

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or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and Gospel's but he shall receive one hundredfold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land, and in the world to come, eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last, first.' You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting, in support of the law stated by Jesus, passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger, if possible, than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. ^ Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world. Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir,

Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramakarishna were men who exercised an immense influence over, and moulded the character of, thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, so far are we going down hill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the

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highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are to-day groaning under the heel of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in . s. d. American wealth has become the standard. She is the envy of the other nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt, if it were made, is foredoomed to failure. We cannot be 'wise,' temperate and furious' in a moment. I would have our leaders teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours

was once, we are told, the abode of the gods. It is not possible to conceive gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded with men who know not for the most part what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers, who would oust them if they could and whom they would, in their turn, oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his Deliberate judgment:

In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these, were in no degree inferior to those which prevail today.

In a series of chapters he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says : 'This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over Nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilisation, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented.' He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men,

ECONOMICS

women and children, how, as the country has rapidly

advanced in riches, it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanitation, life destroying trades, adulteration, bribery and gambling. He shows how with the advance of wealth, justice has become immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births, and congenital defects has increased and prostitution has become an institution. He concludes his examination by these pregnant remarks :

The proceedings of the diverse courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in London society assured me that, both in country houses and in London, various kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with, which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire ; but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments taken together with the most pious declaration in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes.

Under the British aegis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism, We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals straight i.e., if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives

bear witness to our boast. Then we shall benefit her
and
ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with
rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We
need
not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice
even
to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly
spiritual
nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater
fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater
charity
than love to self. If we will but clean our houses, our
palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and
show in
them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to
any
combinations of hostile forces without having to carry
the

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burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the
Kingdom of
God and his righteousness, and the irrevocable promise
is
that everything will be added unto us. These are real
economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce
them in our daily life.

[A lecture delivered by Gandhiji at a meeting of the
Muir
Central College Economics Society Allahabad, on Dec.
22, 1916. |

/^TN %% 7*N

WHAT is economically wrong cannot be religiously
right. In other words, if a religion cuts at the very
Fundamentals of economics it is noi a true religion but
only a delusion. My critic on the other hand believes
that this view is opposed to the teachings of our
ancient
scriptures. I, at least, am not aware of a single text
in
opposition to this view nor do I know of any religious
institution that is being maintained in any part of the

world today in antagonism to the elementary principles of economics. As for nature, any one who has eyes can see, that it always observes the principle that I have stated. For instance, if it has implanted in its creation the instinct for food it also produces enough food to satisfy that instinct from day to day. But it does not produce a jot more. That is nature's way. But man, blinded by his selfish greed, grabs and consumes more than his requirements in defiance of nature's principle, in defiance of the elementary and immutable moralities of non-stealing and non-possession of other's property and thus brings down no end of misery upon himself and his fellow-creatures. To turn to another illustration, our Shastras have enjoined that the Brahman should give knowledge as charity without expecting any material reward for it for himself. But they have at the same time conferred upon him the privilege of asking for and receiving alms and have laid upon the other sections of the community the duty of giving alms, thus uniting religion and economics in a common bond of harmony. The reader will be able to find further instances of this kind for himself. The religious

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principle requires that the debit and credit sides of one's balance sheet should be perfectly square. That is also the truest economics and therefore true religion. Whenever there is any discrepancy between these two it spells bad economics and makes for unrighteousness. That is why the illustrious author of the Gita has defined yoga as balance or "evenness." But the majority of mankind do not understand this use of economics to subserve religion; they want it only for amassing "profits" for themselves.

Humanitarian economics, on the other hand, for which I stand, rules out "profits" altogether. But it rules out "deficit" no less for the simple reason that it is utterly impossible to safe-guard a religious institution by following a policy of dead loss. Young India : Nov. 3, 1927.

<\$><\$><\$>

VILLAGE economics is different from industrial economics. Human economics is not the same as that of exploitation or mere dead matter.

Young India : June 11, 1931.

Education

PURITY of personal life is the one indispensable condition for building up a sound education.

Young India : Sept. 8, 1927
^ ^ ^

LITERARY training by itself is not of much account. Remember that unlettered persons have found no difficulty in ruling over large states. President Kruger could hardly sign his own name.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 213.

^ 3> <\$>

LITERARY education is of no value, if it is not able to build up a sound character.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 214.

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WE have lost much of our self-respect, on account of being too much Europeanised. We think and speak in English. Thereby, we impoverish our vernaculars, and estrange the feelings of the masses. A knowledge of

English
is not essential to the service of our Motherland.

Speeches and Waitings of Mahatma Gandhi : page 1 10.

I HAVE always felt that the true text book for the
pupil is his teacher*

My Expmmtns With Truth : Page 412.

CHILDREN take in much more and with less labour
through their ears than through their eyes.

My Expmmtns With Truth : Page 412.

IT is possible for a teacher situated miles away to
affect the spirit of the pupils by his way of living.
It
would be idle for me, if I were a liar, to teach boys
to tell
the truth. A cowardly teacher would never succeed in
making his boys valiant, and a stranger to self-
restraint
could never teach his pupils the value of self-
restraint. I
saw, therefore, that I must be an eternal object-lesson
to the
boys and girls Jiving with me. They thus became my
teachers, and I learnt I must be good and live
straight, if
only for their sake. I may say that the increasing
discip-
line and restraint I imposed on myself at Tolstoy Farm
was
mostly due to those wards of mine.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 414.

^s ^s ^s

IT has always been my conviction that Indian parents
who train their children to think and talk in English
from
their infancy betray their children and their country.
They
deprive them of the spiritual and social heritage of
the
nation, and render them to that extent unfit for the
service
of the country.

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I HAVE heard it said that after all it is English-educated India which is leading and which is doing all the thing for the nation. It would be monstrous if it were otherwise. The only education we receive is English education. Surely we must show something for it. But suppose that we had been receiving during the past fifty years education through our vernaculars, what should we have to-day ? We should have to-day a free India, we should have our educated men, not as if they were foreigners in their own land but speaking to the heart of the nation ; they would be working amongst the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past 50 years would be a heritage for the nation. Today even our wives are not the sharers in our best thought. Look at Professor Bose and Professor Ray and their brilliant re-searches. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses ?

Young India : Feb. 4, 1920.

^N ^x ^N

ENGLISH is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to Western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of Western literature, thought and science. That would be .the legitimate use of English. Whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned

our
mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our un-
equal relations with Englishmen. The highest
development
of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge
of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and
specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys
and girls to think that an entry into the best society
is
impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too

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humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the
infatuation for English is one of the essentials of
Swaraj.

Toung India : July 12, 1920.

^^ ^^ ^^

I HAVE never been able to make a fetish of literary
training. My experience has proved to my satisfaction
that literary training by itself adds not an inch to
one's
moral height and that character-building is independent
of
literary training. I am firmly of opinion that the
Govern-
ment schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and
Godless. They have filled us with discontent and
providing
no remedy for the discontent, have made us despondent.
They have made us what we were intended to become
clerks and interpreters. Toung India : June 1, 1921.

<S> ^ <

SO many strange things have been said about my views
on national education, that it would perhaps not be out
of
place to formulate them before the public.

In my opinion the existing system of education is
defective, apart from its association with an utterly
unjust
Government, in three most important matters :

(1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture.

(2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand and confines itself simply to the head.

(3) Real education is impossible through -a foreign medium.

Let us examine the three defects. Almost from the commencement, the text books deal, not with things the boys and the girls have always to deal with in their homes, but things to which they are perfect strangers. It is not through the text-books, that a lad learns what is right and what is wrong in the home life. He is never taught to have any pride in his surroundings. The

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higher he goes, the farther he is removed from his home, so that at the end of his education he becomes estranged from his surroundings. He feels no poetry about the home life. The village scenes are all a sealed book to him. His own civilization is presented to him as imbecile^ barbarous, superstitious and useless for all practical purposes. His education is calculated to wean him from his traditional culture. And if the mass of educated youths are not entirely denationalised, it is because the ancient culture is too deeply embedded in them to be altogether uprooted even by an education adverse to its growth. If I had my way, I would certainly destroy the majority of the present text-books and cause to be written text-books which have a bearing on and correspondence with the home life, so that a boy as he learns may react upon his immediate

surroundings.

Secondly, whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate where more than eighty per cent, of the population is agricultural and another 10 percent, industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in after life. Indeed I hold that, as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour. There is no reason why a peasant's son, after having gone to a school, should become useless, as he does become, as agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt* Moreover, in India, if we expect, as we must, every boy and girl of school-going age to attend public schools, we have not the means to finance education in accordance with the existing style, nor are millions of parents able to pay the fees that are at present imposed. Education to be universal must therefore be free. I fancy that, even under an ideal system of government, we shall not be able to

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devote two thousand million rupees which we should require for finding education for all the children of school-going age. It follows, therefore, that our children must be made to pay in labour partly or wholly for all the education they receive. Such universal labour to be profitable can only be (to my thinking) hand-spinning and hand-

weaving. But for the purposes of my proposition, it is immaterial whether we have spinning or any other form of labour, so long as it can be turned to account.

Only, it will be found upon examination, that on a practical, profitable and extensive scale, there is no occupation other than the processes connected with cloth-production which can be introduced in our schools throughout India.

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and 'teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

One word only as to the education of the heart. I do not believe that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher. And, who are the teachers in the primary and even secondary schools? Are they men and women of faith and character? Have they themselves received the training of the heart? Are they even expected to take care of the permanent elements in the boys and girls placed under their charge? Is not the method of engaging teachers for lower schools an effective bar against character? Do the teachers get even a living wage? And we know that the teachers of primary schools are not selected for their patriotism. They only come who cannot find any other employment.

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Finally, the medium of instruction. My views on this point are too well known to need re-stating. The foreign medium has caused brain-fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought,

and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

My uncompromising opposition to the foreign medium has resulted in an unwarranted charge being levelled against me of being hostile to foreign culture or the learning of the English language. No reader of Young India could have missed the statement often made by me in these pages, that I regard English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

Nothing can be farther from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers. But I do respectfully contend that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasurers so rich as ours has. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An

academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look , at but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

Toung India: Sept. 1, 1921.

^^ ^^ ^^

NATIONAL education to be truly national ' must reflect the national condition for the time being.

Toung India: Mar. 12, 1925.

THE greatest drawback of the present system of education is that it does not bear the stamp of reality, that the children do not react to the varying wants of the country. True education must correspond to the surrounding circumstances or it is not a healthy growth.

Young India : Mar. 12, 1925.

. < 3> <>

IT^ is an education which, if it has given us a few self-sacrificing patriots, has also produced many more men who have been willing accomplices with the Government in holding India in bondage. Toung India : Dec. 23, 1926.

3> <\$> <\$>

THE correspondent seems to think that I decry the use of even learning English, which I have never done. That the English speaking Indians have rendered immense service to the country nobody can deny, but unfortunately it is equally undeniable that further progress is being

blocked by us English-speaking Indians refusing to learn the language of the masses and to work amongst them in accordance with methods best suited to them.

Young India: Feb. 17, 1927.

^ ^ <\$>

WHAT is literary training worth of if it cramp and confine us at a critical moment in national life ?

Knowledge and literary training are no recompense for emasculation.

Young India : June 21, 1928.

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AMONG the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest.

It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people.

Young India : July 5, 1928.

<\$><\$> ^>

EVERY time that I am obliged to speak in the English language before an audience of my countrymen, I feel humiliated and ashamed. Young India : Jan. 13, 1927,

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EDUCATION should be so revolutionized as to answer the wants of the poorest villager instead of answering those

of an imperial exploiter.

Hanjan : Aug. 21, 1937.

<s> <s> <\$>

I MUST not be understood to decry English or its noble literature. The columns of Hat if an are sufficient evidence of my love of English. But the nobility of its literature cannot avail the Indian nation any more than the temperate climate of the scenery of England can avail her, India has to flourish in her own climate, and scenery, and her own literature, even though all the three may be inferior to the English climate, scenery and literature. We and our children must build on our own heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own. We can never grow on foreign victuals. I want the nation to have the treasures contained in that language, and for that matter the other languages of the world, through its own vernaculars. Hanjan : Dec. G* 1936,

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I HOLD that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g., hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose etc. In other words an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds pari passu with the education of the physical and spiritual

faculties of
the child. They constitute an indivisible whole.
According
to this theory, therefore it would be a gross fallacy
to
suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or
independ-
dently of one another.

Harijan : April 17, 1937.
<\$><\$><\$>

MAN is neither mere intellect, nor the gross animal
body, nor the heart or soul alone. A proper and har-
monious combination of all the three is required for
the
making of the whole man and constitutes the true
economics
of education. Harijan : Dec. 19, 1938.

^ < 3>

THE craze for ever-changing text-books is hardly a
healthy sign from the educational stand-point. If text-
books are treated as a vehicle for education, the
living word
of the teacher has very little value. A teacher who
teaches
from text books does not impart originality to his
pupils.
He himself becomes a slave of text books and has no
oppor-
tunity or occasion to be original. It therefore seems
that
the less text books there are the better it is for the
teacher
and his pupils. Text books seem to have become an
article of commerce. Authors and publishers who make
writing and publishing a means of making money are
interested in a frequent change of text books. In many
cases teachers and examiners are themselves authors of

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text books. It is naturally to their interest to have
their

books sold. The selection board is again naturally composed of such people. And so the vicious circle becojnes complete. And it becomes very difficult for parents to find money for new books every year. It is a pathetic sight to see boys and girls going to school loaded with books which they are ill able to carry. The whole system requires to be thoroughly examined. The commercial spirit needs to be entirely eliminated and the question approached solely in the interest of the scholars. It will then probably be found that 75 per cent, of the text books will have to be consigned to the scrap-heap. If I had my way, I would have books largely as aids to teachers rather than for the scholars. Such text books as are found to be absolutely necessary for the scholars should circulate among them for a number of years so that the cost can be easily borne, by middle class families. The first step in this direction is perhaps for the State to own and organise the printing and publishing of text books. This will act as an automatic check on their unnecessary multiplication.

Harijan : Sept. 9, 1939.

^^ ^^ ^^

LITERARY training does not always mean expansion of the intellect. Primarily it is a matter of memorising. A letter is imprinted on the brain in the same way as any other picture. But literary training is more than mere reading.

Harijan : April 5, 1942.

Effort

I KNOW that there is a school of philosophy which teaches complete inaction and futility of all effort. I have not been able to appreciate that teaching, unless, in order to secure verbal agreement, I were to put my own interpretation on it. In my humble opinion, effort is necessary for one's own growth. It has to be irrespective of results. Ramdhami or some equivalent is necessary, not for the sake

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of repetition, but for the sake of purification, as an aid to effort, for direct guidance from above. It is, therefore, never a substitute for effort. It is meant for intensifying and guiding it in proper channel.

* Young India : Oct. 21, 1926.
^s ^k ^s

IT is for us to make the effort. The result is always in God's hands. Young India : Mar. 12, 1931.

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PROVIDENCE has its appointed hour for everything. We cannot command results; we can only strive.

Harijan : May 6, 1939.
<\$><\$><\$>

GLORY lies in the attempt to reach one's goal and not in reaching it. Harijan : April 5, 1942.

Embarrassment

IT is contrary to my creed to embarrass Governments or anybody else. This does not however mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrassment. But I

should
not hold myself responsible for having caused
embarrassment
when I resist the wrong of a wrong-doer by refusing
assis-
tance in his wrong-doing.

Young India : April 28, 1920.

Englishmen

AS the elephant is powerless to think in the terms of
the ant, in spite of the best intentions in the world,
even so
is the Englishman powerless to think in the terms of,
or
legislate for the Indian.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 301.

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ENGLISHMEN have an amazing capacity for self-
deception. Young India : Dec. 20, 1920.

<\$><><\$>

THE average Englishman is haughty, he does not
understand us, he considers himself to be a superior
being.
He thinks that he is born to rule us. He relies upon
his

ENGLISHMEN 189

forts or his gun to protect himself. He despises us. He
,
wants to compel co-operation, i. ., slavery. Even him
we
have to conquer, not by bending the knee, but remaining
aloof from him, but at the same time not hating him nor
hurting him. It is cowardly to molest him. If we simply
refuse to regard ourselves as his slaves and pay homage
to
him, we have done our duty. A mouse can only shun the
cat. He cannot treat with her till she has filled the
points

of her claws and teeth. At the same time, we must show every attention to those few Englishmen who are trying to cure themselves and fellow Englishmen of the disease of race superiority. Young India : July 12, 1921.

<*> <\$> <\$>

Q. WHAT is your own real attitude towards the

English and your hope about England ?

A. My attitude towards the English is one of utter friendliness and respect, I claim to be their friend, because it is contrary to my nature to distrust a single human being or to believe that any nation on earth is incapable of redemption. I have respect for Englishmen, because I recognise their bravery, their spirit of sacrifice for what they believe to be good for themselves, their cohesion and their powers of vast organisation. My hope about them is that they will at no distant date retrace their steps, revise their policy of exploitation of undisciplined and ill-organised races and give tangible proof that India is an equal friend and partner in the British Commonwealth to come. Whether such an event will ever come to pass will largely depend upon our own conduct. That is to say, I have hope of England because I have hope of India. We will not for ever remain disorganised and imitative. Beneath the present disorganisation, demoralisation and lack of initiative I can discover organisation, moral strength and initiative forming themselves. A time is coming when England will be glad of India's friendship and India will disdain to reject the proffered hand because it has once despoiled her, I know that I have nothing to offer in proof

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of my hope. It is based on an immutable faith. And it is
a poor faith that is based on proof commonly called.

Young India : Mar. 29, 1925.

<\$><\$><\$>

THERE is no room for Englishmen as masters. There is room for them if they will remain as friends and helpers.

Young India: Feb. 11, 1926.

MY enmity is not against them, it is against their rule.
I seem to be born to be an instrument to compass the end
of that rule. But if a hair of an English head was touched
I should feel the same grief as I should over such a mishap
to my brother. I say to them as a friend, 'Why will you not understand that your rule is ruining this country ?
It
has got to be destroyed even though you may pound us to powder or drown us/ Young India : April 3,

ENGLISHMEN are sportsmen. They have ample sense of humour. They can hit hard and take a beating also in good grace. Harijan : Aug. 6, 1938.

Error

WHENEVER I see an erring man, I say to myself I have also erred; when I see a lustful man I say to myself, so
was I once; and in this way I feel kinship with every one in
the world and feel that I cannot be happy without the humblest of us being happy.

Young India : June 7, 1920

<s> <\$> <s>

AN error does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation, nor does truth become error because nobody see it. Young India : Dec. 17, 1921.

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EVEN as wisdom often comes from the mouths of babes, so does it often come from the mouths of old people.
The golden rule is to test everything in the light of reason and experience, no matter from whom it comes.

Young India : Dec. 25, 1921

TO err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive if we, though being fallible, would like rather to be forgiven than punished and reminded of our misdeeds. Young India : Nov. 18, 1920.

THE only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow beings wears, and am therefore as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of the imperfections.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

CONFESSION of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

NEVER has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

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ERROR can claim no exemption even if it can be supported by the scriptures of the world.

Young India : Feb. 26, 1925.

A MAN of truth must ever be confident, if he has also equal need to be diffident. His devotion to truth

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demands the fullest confidence. His consciousness of the fallibility of human nature must make him humble and therefore ever ready to retrace his steps immediately he discovers his error. It makes no difference to his confidence that he has previously made Himalayan blunders. His confession and penance make him, if anything, stronger for future action. Discovery of errors makes the votary of truth more cautious of believing things and forming conclusions, but once he has made up his mind, his confidence must remain unshaken. His errors may result in men's reb'ance upon his judgments being shaken, but he must not doubt the truth of his position once he has come to a conclusion. It should further be borne in mind that my errors have been errors of calculation and judging men, not in appreciating the true nature of truth and ahimsa or in their application. Indeed these errors and my prompt confessions have made me surer, if possible, of my insight into the implications of truth and ahimsa. For I am convinced that my action in suspending Civil Disobedience at Ahmadabad, Bombay and Bardoli has advanced the cause of India's freedom and world's peace. I am convinced that because of the suspensions we are nearer Swaraj than we would have been without, and this I say in spite of despair being written in thick black letters on the horizon. Young India : Sept, 10, 1925.

I CLAIM to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough to confess my errors and to retrace my steps. Young India : May 6, 1926.

TO err is human ; it is noble after discovery to correct the error and determine never to repeat it.

Harijan : April 13, 1935

ERROR 193

TO err, even, grievously is human. But it is human only if there is a determination to mend the error and not to repeat it. The error will be forgotten if the promise is fully redeemed. Harijan : Feb. 6, 1937.

I CLAIM to have no infallible guidance or inspiration So far as my experience goes, the claim to infallibility on the part of a human being would be untenable, seeing that inspiration too can come only to one who is free from the action of pairs of opposites, and it will be difficult to judge on a given occasion whether the claim to freedom from pairs of opposites is justified. The claim to infallibility would thus always be a most dangerous claim to make. This however does not leave us without any guidance whatsoever. The sum-total of the experience of the sages of the world is available to us and would be for all time to come. Young India : Jan. 24, 1931.

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WHEN Non-co-operation was in full swing, and when during the course of the struggle I confessed to an error of judgment, a friend innocently wrote to me : 4 Eved if it was an error, you ought not to have confessed it. People ought to be encouraged to believe that there is at least one man who is infallible. You used to be looked upon as such. Your confession will now dishearten them. 5 This made me smile and also made me sad. I smiled at the correspondent's simpleness. But the very thought of encouraging people to believe a fallible man to be infallible was more than I could bear.

A knowledge of one as he is can always do good to the people, never any harm. I firmly believe that my prompt confession of my errors have been all to the good for them. For me at any rate they have been a blessing.

Harijan: July 17, 1937

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IT is easier not to do a thing at all than to cease doing it, even as it is easier for a life abstainer to remain teetotaler than for a drunkard or even a temperate man to abstain. To remain erect is infinitely easier than to rise from a fall. Harijan : Dec. 1, 1938.

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ALL sins are committed in secrecy. The moment we realise that God witnesses even our thoughts we shall be free. Hanjan : Jan. 17, 1939.

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I BELIEVE that if in spite of the best of intentions one is led into committing mistakes, they do not really result in harm to the world or for the matter of that any individual. God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended errors of men who live in fear of Him. T^ung *hdia : Jan. 3, 1939.

3> <S> 3>

IT is my firm belief that not one of my known errors was wilful. Indeed what may appear to be an obvious error to one may appear to another as pure wisdom.

Young India : Jan. 3, 1939.

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THERE is no defeat in the confession of one's error. The confession itself is a victory -Hanjan : May 27, 1939.

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IT is best to own the error. It is sure to add to GUI strength. Error ceases to be error when it is corrected.

Young India : Mar. 2, 1940.

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Q,. IS not the realisation of one's error and the resolve never to repeat it a penance in itself? Is any further penance necessary ?

A. Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance. One casts

EVIL 195

away his evil habits as a snake casts off his skin, and thus

purifies himself. Such self-purification is itself complete penance But he who gets into the habit of committing errors cannot easily shed it. For all such, penance in its accepted sense, if undertaken with discrimination, is likely to be a great help. Harijan : Sept. 15, 1940.

I AM always ready to correct my mistakes. A full and candid admission of one's mistake should make one proof against its repetition. A full realization of one's mistake is also the highest form of expiation. Harijan : April 6, 1940.

^ ^ 3>

I HAVE always held that it is only when one sees one's own mistakes with a convex lens, and does just the reverse in the case of others, that one is able to arrive at a just relative estimate of the two.

My Experiments Wiik Truth : Page 575.

Evil

A MAN who broods on evil is as bad as a man who does evil, if he is no worse. Young India : Jan. 1, 1921.

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IT is easier for the average man to run away from evil than to remain in it and still remain unaffected by it. Many men can shun grog-shops and remain teetotallers, but not many can remain in these pestilential places and avoid the contagion. . Young India : Aug. 6, 1925.

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FOR me the fight is never with individuals it is ever with their manners and their measures.

Young India : Dec. 31, 1931.

Exaggeration

A CAUSE can only lose by exaggeration.

Young India : July 21, 1921-

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Exercise

NO matter what amount of work one has, one should always find some time for exercise, just as one does for one's meals. It is my humble opinion that, far from taking away from one's capacity for work, it adds to it.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 287.

Expediency

I HAVE a horror of the word 'expediency' because of its bad odour. As a rule, expediency is often opposed to morality and does not exclude the use of violence.

Young India : Dec. 12, 1921-

Experiments

He who would go in for novel experiments must begin with himself. That leads to a quicker discovery of truth, and God always protects the honest experimenter.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 376-

Exploitation

EXPLOITATION of the poor can be extinguished not by affecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-co-operate with their exploiters That will convert the exploiters also. I have even suggested that

ultimately
it will lead to both being equal partners. Capital as
such
is not evil ; it is its wrong use that is evil. Capital
in some
form or other will always be needed.

8 1940.

FAITH 197

Faith

I DO not claim to know definitely that all con-
scious thought and action on my part is directed by the
Spirit. But on an examination of the greatest steps
that

I have taken in my life, as also of those that may be
regarded as the least. I think it will not be improper
to say that all of them were directed by the Spirit.

I have not seen Him, neither have I known Him-
I have made the world's faith in God my own, and as my
faith is ineffaceable. I regard that faith as amounting
to experience. However, as it may be said that to
describe faith as experience is to temper with truth,
it may perhaps be more correct to say that I have no
word for characterizing my belief in God.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 341.

INDEED one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly
tested when the horizon before one is the blackest.

Young India : April 3, 1924.

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FAITH knows no disappointment.

Young India : July 24, 1924.

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THERE is no cause for despondency for a man who has
faith and resolution. Young India : Aug. 14, 1924.

IT is poor faith that needs fair weather for standing

firm. That alone is true faith that stands the foulest weather. Young India : Nov. 20, 1924.

IT is a poor faith that is based on proof commonly called. Young India : Jan. 29, 1925.

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ONE'S faith has got to be bright and intelligent before it can enkindle faith in others.

Young India : Oct. 22, 1925.

BLIND enthusiasm and blind faith can lead to no lasting good. Young India : Oct. 22, 1925.

IT is faith that steers us through stormy seas, faith that moves mountains and faith that jumps across the ocean. That faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. He who has achieved that faith wants nothing. * Young India : Sept. 24, 1925.

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THE more I live the more I realise how much I owe to faith and prayer which is one and the same thing for me. And I am quoting an experience not limited to a few hours, or days or weeks, but extending over an unbroken period of nearly 40 years. I have had my share of disappointments, uttermost darkness, counsels of despair, counsels of caution, subtlest assaults of pride; but I am able to say that my faith and I know that it is still little enough by no means as great as I want it to be, has ultimately conquered every one of these difficulties up to now. If we have faith in us, if we have a prayerful heart, we may not tempt God, may not make terms with him. We

must reduce ourselves to a cipher.

Young India : Dec. 22, 1928.

WANT of faith is the father of an innumerable brood of doubts. f Young India : Feb. 21, 1929,

FAITH 199

FAITH cannot be given by anybody. It has to come from within. Young India : April 17, 1930.

THAT faith is of litt'e value which can flourish only in fair whether. Faith in order to be of any value has to survive the severest trials. Your faith is a whited sepulchre if it cannot stand against the calumny of the whole world. Young India : April 25, 1929.

AN M. B. B. S. from Mandalay sends a string of questions of which' the first is :

"You once expressed your opinion in the pages of Young India that faith begins where reason ends. Then I expect you will call it faith, if a person believes in a thing for which he can give no reasons. Is it npt then clear that faith is believing unreasonably ? Do you think it truth or justice if anybody believed in anything unreasonable ? I think it is folly to believe in that way. I do not know what your barrister mind will call it. If you think like me I hope you will call faith as nothing but folly."

If the worthy doctor will excuse my saying so, there is in his question a clear failure to understand my meaning. That which is beyond reason is surely not unreasonable. Unreasonable belief is blind faith and is often superstition. To ask anybody to believe without proof what is capable of proof would be unreasonable as for instance asking an intelligent person to believe

without the proof that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles. But, for an experienced person to ask another to believe without being able to prove that there is God is humbly to confess his limitations and to ask another to accept in faith the statement of his experience. It is merely a question of that person's credibility. In ordinary matters of life we accept in faith the word of persons on whom

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we choose to rely although we are often cheated. Why may we not then in matters of life and death accept the testinaoney of sages all the world over that there is God and that He is to be seen by following Truth and Innocence (non-violeace) ? It is at least as reasonable for me to ask my correspondent to have that faith in this universal testimony a? it would be for him to ask me to take his medicine in faith even though many a medicineman might have failed me. I make bold to say that without faith this world would come to nought in a moment. True faith is appropriation of the reasoned experience of people whom we believe to have lived a life purified by prayer and penance. Belief, therefore, in prophets or incarnations who have lived in remote ages is not an idle superstition but a satisfaction of an inmost spiritual want. The formula, therefore I have humbly suggested for guidance is rejection of every demand for faith where a matter is capable of present proof and unqestioned acceptance on faith of that which is itself incapable of proof except through personal exprience.

Young India : 14, July 1927.

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A MAN without faith is like a drop thrown out of the ocean bound to perish. Every drop in the ocean

shares its majesty and has the honour of giving us the ozone of life. Harijan : April 25, 1936.

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WORK without faith is like an attempt to reach the bottom of a bottomless pit . Harijan : Oct. 30, 1936.

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DR. MOTT : What affords you the greatest hope and satisfaction ?

Gandhiji : Faith in myself born of Faith in God,

Dr. Mott : In moments when your heart may sink within you, you hark back to this faith in God.

FAITH 201

Gandhiji : Yes. That is why I have always described myself as an irrepressible optimist.

Harijan : Dec. 26, 1936.

<e> <S> <3>

FAITH can be turned into knowledge by experience, and it can come only through the heart and not by the intellect. The intellect, if anything, acts as a barrier in matters of faith. Harijan : June 18, 1938,

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THE greater the difficulties, the greater should be our faith. Harijan : April 6, 1940.

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REASON is a poor thing in the midst of temptations. Faith alone can save us. Reason appears to be on the side of those who indulge in drink and free love. The fact is that reason is blurred on such occasions. It follows the instinct. Don't lawyers ranged on opposite

sides make reason appear to be on their side ? And yet one of them must be wrong, or it may be that both are. Hence faith in the Tightness of one's moral position is the only bulwark against the attack of reason.

There is no such thing as absolute morality for all times. But there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for imperfect mortals that we are. Thus, it is absolutely immoral to drink spirituous liquors except as medicine, in medicinal doses and under medical advice. Similarly, it is absolutely wrong to see lustfully any woman other than one's wife. Both these positions have been proved by cold reason. Counter arguments have always been advanced. They have been advanced against the very existence of God the sum of all that is. Faith that transcends reason is our only Rock of Ages. My faith has saved me and is still saving some from pitfalls. It has never betrayed me. It has never been known to betray anyone.

Harijan : Dec. 23, 1939.

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I FANCY I see the distinction between you and me. You, as a Westerner, cannot subordinate reason to faith, I, as an Indian, cannot subordinate faith to reason even if I will You tempt the Lord God with your reason; I won't. As the Gita says: Gjd is the fifth, or the unknown, deciding factor. Harijan : Oct. *3, 1939.

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FAITH is the function of the heart. It must be enforced by reason. The two ar^ not antagonistic as some think. The more intense one's faith is, the more it whets one's reason. When faith becomes blind it dies.

Harijan : April 6, 1940.

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I AM a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me The next step He will make clear to me when time for it comes.

My faith is not a sham but a reality greater than? the fact that I am penning these lines.

Harijan : Oct. 20, 1 940.

Fasting

A MIND consciously unclean cannot be cleaned by fasting, modifications in diet have no effect on it. The concupiscence of the mind cannot be rooted out except by intense self-examination, surrender to God and lastly, grace. But there is an intimate connection between the mind and the body, and the carnal mind always lusts for delicacies and luxuries. To obviate this tendency dietetic restrictions and fasting would appear to be necessary. The carnal mind, instead of controlling the senses, becomes their slave, and therefore the body always needs clean non-stimulating foods and periodical fasting.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 403.

A MAN emerging from a long fast should not be in a hurry to regain lost strength, and should also put a

FASTING 203

curb on his appetite. More caution and perhaps more restraint are necessary in breaking a fast than in keeping it. My Experiments With Truth : Page 422.

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A HARTAL brought about voluntarily and without pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a religious

spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God, it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a Satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening of fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is duragrahi fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act there is no room for any other force but that of reason regulated by the voice of conscience. Young India : May 7, 1919.

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THERE is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that would give us the requisite discipline, spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and resoluteness of will without which there can be no real progress.

Young India : Mar. 31, 1920-.

IN two or three cases, volunteers visited villagers,
and

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on the parents hesitating to withdraw their children
from
Government schools, sat dhurana and fasted until the
bewild-
ered parents had complied with their request. I told
the
workers that even this kind of pressure bordered on
violence,
for we had no right to make people conform to our
opinion
by fasting. One may conceivably fast for enforcing
one's
right but not for imposing one's opinion on another.

Toung India : Dec. 8, 1921

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I KNOW that the mental attitude is everything. Just
as a prayer may be merely a mechanical intonation as of
a
bird, so may a fast be a mere mechanical torture of the
flesh. Such mechanical contrivances are valueless for
the purpose intended. Again, just as a mechanical
chant may result in the modulation of voice, a mechani-
cal fast may result in purifying the body. Neither will
touch the soul within.

But a fast undertaken for fuller self-expression, for
attainment of the spirit's supremacy over the flesh, is
a
most powerful factor in one's evolution.

Toung India : Feb. 16, 1922.

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ALL fasting and all penance must as far as possible be
secret. But my fasting k both a penance and a punish-
ment, and a punishment has to be public. It is penance
for me and punishment for those whom I try to serve,
for

whom I love to live and would equally love to die. They have unintentionally sinned against the laws of the Congress, though they were sympathisers if not actually connected with it. Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

(In connection with Chauri Chaura Riots)

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FASTING in Satyagraha has well-defined limits. You cannot fast against a tyrant, for it will be a species of violence done to him. You invite penalty from him for disobedience of his orders but you cannot inflict on yourselves

FASTING 205

penalties when he refuses to punish and renders it impossible for you to disobey his orders so as to compel infliction of penalty. Fasting can only be resorted to against a lover, not to extort rights but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks. My fast at Bombay and then at Bardoli was of that character. I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I will not fast to reform, say, General Dyer, who not only does not love me but who regards himself as my enemy. Am I quite clear ?"

It need not be pointed out that the above remarks are of a general character. The words 'tyrant' and 'lover' have also a general application. The one who does an injustice is styled 'tyrant'. The one who is in sympathy with you is the 'lover'. 1

There are two conditions attached to a Satyagrahi fasts. It should be against the lover and for his reform, not

for
extorting rights from him.

I can fast against my father to cure him of a vice, but I may not in order to get from him an inheritance. The beggars of India who sometimes fast against those who do not satisfy them are no more Satyagrahis than children who fast against a parent for a fine dress. The former are impudent, the latter are childish. Young India : May 1, 1924.

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MY religion teaches me that whenever there is distress* which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray.

Young India : Sept. 25, 1924.

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THOUGH almost all my fasts have been undertaken for a moral purpose, being an inveterate diet reformer and a believer in fasting as a cure for many obstinate diseases, I have not failed to note their physical effects. I must, however, confess that I have not made any accurate observations for the simple reason that it was not possible for me to combine the two. I was much too pre-occupied with the moral values to note or mind the physical.

Young India : Dec. 17, 1925.

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FROM a layman's and from a purely physical standpoint, I should lay down the following rules for all those who may wish to fast on any account what soever :

1. Conserve your energy both physical and mental from the very beginning.

2. You must cease to think of food whilst you are fasting.
3. Drink as much cold water as you can, with or without soda and salt, but in small quantities at a time (water should be boiled, strained and cooled). Do not be afraid of salt and soda, because most waters contain both these salts in a free state.
4. Have a warm sponge daily.
5. Take an enema regularly during fast. You will be surprised at the impurities you will expel daily.
6. Sleep as much as possible in the open air.
7. Bathing in the morning sun. A sun and air bath is at least as great a purifier as a water bath.
8. Think of anything else but the fast.
9. No matter from what motive you are fasting, during this precious time, think of your Maker, and of your relation to Him and His other creation, and you will make discoveries you may not have even dreamed of.

With apologies to medical friends, but out of the fulness of my own experience and that of fellow-crank I say without hesitation, fast (1) if you are constipated, (2) if you are anaemic, (3) if you are feverish^ (4) if you have indigestion, (5) if you have a head-ache, (6) if you are reumatic, (7) if you are gouty, (8) if you are fretting and foaming, (9) if you are depressed, (10) if you are over-joyed ; and you will avoid medical prescriptions and patent medicines.

Eat only when you are hungry and when you have laboured for your food. Young India : Dec. 17, 1925.

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MY religion says that only he who is prepared to suffer can pray to God. Fasting and prayer are common injunctions in my religion. But I know of this sort of penance even in Islam. In the life of the Prophet I have read that the Prophet often fasted and prayed, and forbade others to copy him. Some one asked him why he did not allow others to do the thing he himself was doing. 'Because I live on food divine,' he said. He achieved most of his great things by fasting and prayer I learnt from him that only he can fast who has inexhaustible faith in God. The prophet had revelations not in moments of ease and luxurious living He fasted and prayed, kept awake for nights together and would be on his feet at all hours of the night as he received the revelations.

The public will have to neglect my fasts and cease to worry about them. They are a part of my being. I can as well do without my eyes, for instance, as I can without fasts. What the eyes are for outer world, fasts are for the inner. And much as I should like the latest fast to be the very last in my life, something within me tells me that I might have to go through many such ordeals and, who knows, much more trying. I no ay be wholly wrong. Then the world will be able to write an epitaph over my ashes :

'Well deserved thou fool. 7 But for the time being my error, if it be one, must sustain me. Is it not better that i satisfy my conscience though misguided, because not perfectly pure, than that I should listen to every voice, be it ever so friendly but by no means infallible ? if I had a Guru,

and I am looking for one, I should surrender myself
body
and soul to him. But in this age of unbelief a true
Guru is
hard to find. \ substitute will be worse than useless,
often positively harmful. I must therefore warn all
against
accepting imperfect ones as Gurus. It is better to
grope in
the dark and wade through a million errors to Truth
than
to entrust oneself to one who " knows not that he knows
not." Has a man ever learnt swimming by tying a stone
to his neck ?

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And who shall lose by erroneous fasting ? Of course
only myself. But I am public property, it is said. So
be
it. But I must be taken with all my faults. I am a
searcher after truth. My experiments I hold to be
infinitely more important than the best equipped
Himalayan
expeditions. And the results ? If the search is
scientific,
surely there is no comparison between the two. Let me
therefore go my way. I shall lose my usefulness the
moment I stifle the still small voice within.

Young India : Dec. 19, 1925.

THERE are many forms of Satyagraha, of which fasting
may or may not be one, according to the circumstances
of the case. A friend has put the following poses :

cl A man wants to recover money another owes him.
He cannot do so by going to law as he is a non-co-
operator, and the debtor in the intoxication of the
power of his wealth pays him no heed, and refuses
even to accept arbitration.

If in these circumstances, the creditor sits dhurna at
the debtor's door, would it not be Satyagraha ? The
fasting creditor seeks to injure no one by his fasting.
Ever since the golden age of Rama we have been follow-
ing this method. But I am told you regard this as

intimidation. If you do, will you kindly explain ? "

I know the correspondent. He has written from the purest motive. But I have no doubt that he is mistaken in his interpretation of Satyagraha. Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gain. If fasting with a view to recovering money is to be encouraged, there would be no end of scoundrels blackmailing people by resorting to the means.

I know that many such people are to be met with in the country. It is not right to argue that those who rightly resort to fasting need not be condemned because it is abused in a few cases. Any and every one may not draw his own distinction between fasting Satyagraha

FASTING 209

true and false. What one regards as true Satyagraha may very likely be otherwise. Satyagraha, therefore, cannot be resorted to for personal gain, but only for the good of others.

A Satyagrahi should always be ready to undergo suffering and pecuniary loss. That there would not be wanting dishonest people to reap an undue advantage from the boycott of law-courts practised by good people was a contingency not unexpected at the inception of Non-Co-operation. It was then thought that the beauty of Non-Co-operation lay just in taking those risks.

But Satyagraha in the form of fasting cannot be undertaken as against an opponent. Fasting can be resorted to only against one's nearest and dearest, and that solely for his or her good.

In a country like India, where the spirit of charity or pity is not lacking, it would be nothing short of an outrage to resort to fasting for recovering money. I know people

who have given away money, quite against their will, but out of a false sense of pity. The Satyagrahi has therefore to proceed warily in a land like ours. It is likely that some men may succeed in recovering money due to them, by resorting to fasting ; but instead of calling it a triumph of Satyagraha, I would call it a triumph of Duragraha or violence. The triumph of Satyagraha consists in meeting death in the insistence on truth. A Satyagrahi is always unattached to the attainment of the object of Satyagraha ; one seeking to recover money cannot be so unattached. I am therefore clear that fasting for the sake of personal gain is nothing short of intimidation and the result of ignorance.

Young India : Oct. 7, 1926.

OF what use is it to force the flesh merely if the spirit refuses to co-operate ? You may starve even unto death but if at the same time the mind continues to hanker after objects of the sense, your fast is a sham and a delusion.

Young India : Oct. 4, 1928.

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ONE of the candidates for the Khadi service went in one day with his own ailment. He said he was very much prone to anger and he wanted to cleanse himself with fasting. 'I warn you,' said Gandhiji, 'that fasting is not always a penance for sins. Humble surrender to God is the only escape from sin, and all fasting except when it is undertaken to help that surrender is useless. I would suggest a better remedy. Go and apologise to the man you were angry with, ask him to prescribe the penance for

you and do that. That will be much better expiation than fasting.' The friend went and did likewise. But what should the man who has been wronged do in this case ? Simply forgive ? Forgiveness, we have been told, is the ornament of the brave, but what is that forgiveness ? Passivity ? Taking the blow lying down ? Is that the meaning of resisting not evil ?

This was the subject of a talk one evening and I summarise it briefly : "This talk of passive non-resistance has been the bane of our national life. Forgiveness is a quality of the soul, and therefore a positive quality. It is not negative. 'Conquer anger,' says Lord Buddha, by non-anger.' But what is that 'non-anger ?' It is a positive quality and means the supreme virtue of charity or love. You must be roused to this supreme virtue which must express itself in your going to the angry man, ascertaining from him the cause of his anger, making amends if you have given any cause for offence and then bringing home to him the error of his way and convincing him that it is wrong to be provoked. This consciousness of the quality of the soul, and deliberate exercise of it elevate not only the man but the surrounding atmosphere. Of course only he who has that love will exercise it. This love can certainly be cultivated by incessant striving." (M.D.)

Young India : Jan. 11, 1928.

^S ^S ^^

WE have it in our shastras that whenever things go

FASTING 211

wrong, good people and sages go in for tapasya otherwise known as austerities. Gautama himself, when he saw oppression, injustice and death around him, and when he saw darkness in front of him, at the back of him, and each

side of him, went out in the wilderness and 'remained there fasting and praying in search of light. And if such penance was necessary for him who was infinitely greater than all of us put together how much more necessary is it for us

Young India: April 18, 1929.

<\$><\$> <3>

FAST is the last weapon of a Satyagraha against loved ones Young India: April 17, 1930.

<\$><\$><\$>

STARVATION of the body when the mind thinks of a multiplicity of dishes is worse than useless.

9 Young Indian April 17, 1930.

^N ^N ^^

THE physical and moral value of fasting is being more and more recognised day by day. A vast number of diseases can be more surely treated by judicious fasting than by all sorts of nostrums including the dreadful injections dreadful not because of the pain they cause but because of the injurious by-products which often result from their use. More mischief than we are aware of is done by the drug treatment. But. not many cases of harm done by fasting can be cited. Increased vitality is almost the universal experience of those that have fasted For real rest for body and mind is possible only during fasting. Suspension of daily work is hardly rest that the overtaxed and overworked digestive apparatus needs in a multitude of cases The moral effect of fasting, while it is considerable, is not so easily demonstrable For moral results there has to

be
perfect co-operation from the mind. And there is danger
of self-deception. I know of many instances in which
fasting undertaken for moral results has been overdone.
To a
limited extent it is a most valuable agent if the
person fasting

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knows what he is doing. There was considerable force in
the warning given by the Prophet against his disciples
copying his fasting over and above the semi-fasts of
Ramzan.

*My Maker sends me food enough when I fast, not so to
you/ said the Prophet. Of what use is a spiritual fast
when
the spirit hankers more after food, the longer the body
is
starved ?

Young India : Mar. 28, 1929.

3> <\$> <\$>

A PARROT-LIKE repetition of the choicest senti-
ment and mere starvation of the body would be worse
than
useless. Prayer and fasting avail where there is a
definite
consciousness of the presence of God in us, even as we
have
of friends living under the same roof. Self-deception
will
not do.

Tiung India : Aug. 13, 1931.

<\$> <S> <\$>

THE question asked by the Village Worker's Training
School boys was regarding the fasts undertaken by
Gandhiji
on various occasions. There were those for the redress
of
public wrongs, as distinguished from fasts undertaken
to
arouse the conscience of a dear one or an intimate co-
worker

or those undertaken for self-purification. Some of these are well known, e. g., those undertaken at the time of the mill labourer's strike in Ahmedabad in 1918 ; those that followed the Ahmed abad riots in 1919, . which were of a purely self-purificatory character : the Hindu-Muslim Unity fast of 1924; and the three Harijan fasts of 1932, 1933 and 1934. I need not go into the details of these. But there was one of which few readers are likely to have any knowledge. I at any rate had certainly no definite recollection of it and which has not been, so far as I remember, recorded anywhere. That was the first occasion of self-suffering in connection with a public movement, and I must share with the readers the details given by Gandhiji on that Sunday morning.

FASTING 213

It was in 1913. The Indian Labourers on the South Coast of Natal, from Durban to Isiping went on strike when they came to know of the miners' strike and the marchers' imprisonment. They all knew that the fight had developed into one for their emancipation from the annual poll tax of 3. But they had never been asked to go on strike. For two obvious reasons. For one thing Gandhiji had never intimately known the labourers on the South Coast, and secondly it was physically impossible to maintain the thousands of labourers and it would be most difficult to prevent a breach of the peace. But the news of suffering in one part of the country and in jails spread like

wild fire,
and there was no stopping these labourers. The Govern-
ment came down upon them with a heavy hand. All kind
of pressure was put upon them to bring them back to
work, and the slightest resistance was answered by
rifle fire.
These events were followed by an enquiry. Gandhiji was
prematurely released from jail. When he learnt of these
events, he imposed on himself a triple vow of self-
suffering
to be observed until the 3 tax was abolished : (1) To
adopt the labourer's dress, (i.e. no head-dress, but
only a
cloth wrapped round the waist and a kurti) (2) To walk
barefoot ; (3) To have only one meal during the day a
meal which during those days consisted of fruits
untouched
by fire. This penance went on for some months when at
last the settlement came and the tax was removed. "I
have no debt, I ' said Gandhiji, "that this penance
willingly
undertaken and cheerfully gone through had something to
do to bringing about the settlement. I do not mean to
imply that it had any direct influence upon the Union
Government. It is my firm belief that all real penances
produce unseen but sure effects. The penance
was undertaken for self-purification, for sharing,
however
humbly in the suffering of the strikers. That was the
only
way in which I could prayerfully appeal to God."

"The man who performs such penance throws himself
wholly and solely on God. He does not undertake such a

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penance lightly, never in anger, and not certainly with
a
view to winning any advantage for himself. Then it must
not be against an opponent with whom there is no bond
of
affection. Then it presupposes personal purity and a
living belief in non-violence and truth. Obviously
there
can be no room for pride in such penance." (M. D.)

Harijan : Dec 12, 1936.

<S> <> <8>

FASTING is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends noble

as well as ignoble. Buddha, Jesus and Mohammad fasted so as to see God face to face. Ramchandra fasted for the sea to give way for his army of monkeys.

Parvati

fasted to secure Mahadev himself as "her Lord and Master.

In my fasts I have but followed these great examples no doubt for ends much less noble than theirs,

Harijan : Mar. 18, 1939.

<3> <3> <\$>

FASTING is a potent weapon in the armoury.

It cannot be taken by everyone. Mere physical capacity to take it is no qualification for it. It is of no use without a living faith in God. It should never be a mechani-

cal effort nor a mere imitation. It must come from the depth

of one's soul. It is therefore always rare. I seem to be

made for it. It is noteworthy that not one of my colleagues

on the political field has felt the call to fast. And I am

thankful to be able to say that they have never resented my

fasts. Nor have fellow-members of the Ashram felt the call

except on rare occasions. They have even accepted the restriction that they may not take penitential fasts without

my permission, no matter how urgent the inner call may seem to be,

Thus fasting though a very potent weapon has necessarily very strict limitations and is to be taken only by

those who have undergone previous training. And, judged by my standard, the majority of fasts do not at all come

FASTING 215

under the category of Satyagraha fasts and are, as they are popularly called, hunger-strikes undertaken without previous preparation and adequate thought. If the process is repeated too often, these hunger-strikes will lose what little efficiency they may possess and will become objects of ridicule. Harijan : Mar. 18, 1939

<\$><\$><\$>

FAST is in my blood and my bones, I imbibed it with my mother's milk. My mother fasted if someone was ill in the family, she fasted if she was in pain, she fasted in season and out of season. How can I her son do otherwise ? Harijan : April 8, 1939.

<\$> 3> <e>

Q. ARE not all fasts violent ? Do I not coerce a friend when I try to prevent him, by means of my fast, from doing a wrong act ?

A. Fasts undertaken according to the rules governing them are truly non-violent. There is no room there for coercion. If a friend of mine is going astray, and if I impose suffering on myself by fasting in order to awaken his better instincts, it can be only out of love. If the friend for whom I fast has no love in him, he will not respond. If he has it and responds, it is all to the good. This is how I would analyse his act : He valued his love for me more than his bad ways. There is a possible risk, I admit, namely that as soon as the effect of the fast is over he would be tempted to go back to his old ways. But

then I can fast again. Ultimately the increasing influence of my love will either convert the friend to the extent of weaning him completely from his evil ways, or repeated fasts may lose their novelty, blunt his mind, and make it impervious to my fasting. It is my conviction that a fast undertaken out of genuine love cannot have such an untoward result. But because such a result is not impossible we cannot afford to disregard this pure instrument of

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moral reform. The risk, however, makes it clear that he who fasts should be properly qualified, and that it should not be lightly undertaken. Harijan : Sept. 15, 1940.

< < 3 >

I HAVE however been driven to the conclusion that fasting unto death is an integral part of Satyagraha programme, and it is the greatest and most effective weapon in its armoury under given circumstance. Not every one is qualified for undertaking it without proper course of training. Harijan : July 26, 1942.

Fate

FATES decide my undertakings for me. I never go to seek them. They come to me almost in spite of me. That has been my lot all my life long, in South Africa as well as ever since my return to India.

-Young India : May 7, 1925.

Faults

THERE is no one without faults, not even men of God. They are men of God not because they are faultless, but

because they know their own faults, they strive against them, they do not hide them and are ever ready to correct themselves. Harijan ; Jan. 28, 1939.

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WHEN we are afraid, it is our ahimsa that is at fault. Love and weakness cannot co-exist.

Harijan : July 6, 1940.

<s> <\$> <s>

I AM never accustomed to weigh my sins in golden scales. I can atone for them only if I make a mountain of a mole-hill. The reason is simple. Man can never see his faults in proper perspective, and, if he really did so, he would scarcely survive them. The remedy is, therefore, to magnify one's shortcomings.

Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

FEAR 217

Fear

THERE is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, whom we have to fear, and that is God ?
When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be. And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the Bhagwad Gita, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahman.
We fear consequences, and therefore we are afraid to tell the Truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequences. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we

can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India,
do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearless-
ness ? or shall we over-awe our countrymen, even as we are
over-awed ?

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 813.

<s> 4> <\$

FEAR has its use, but cowardice has none. I may not put my finger into the jaws of a snake, but the very sight of the snake need not strike terror into me. The trouble is that we often die many times before death overtakes us.

Harijan : Aug. 25, 1940,

<s> <\$> <s>

WHERE there is fear there is no religion.

Harijan : Aug>. 25, 1940;

Foreign Cloth

IT revives black memories and is a mark of shame, the East India Company, having forced it on us and is an emblem of slavery.

The poor should not be given these for they ought not to be dead to patriotism, dignity and respect.

Young India : July 28, 1921.

^N ^^ <&

I FEEL that it was right and wise on the part of the sisters who gave their costly clothing. Its destruction was

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the most economical use you could have made of it, even

as destruction of plague-infected articles is their most economical and best use. It was a necessary surgical operation designed to avert more serious complaints in the body politic. Young India: Aug. 11, 1921.

<\$><\$> <\$>

IN burning foreign clothes, we are burning our taste for foreign fineries. The effect upon India would have been equally disastrous, if Japan instead of England had tempted us in the first instance. The motive was to punish ourselves and not the foreigner. We are boycotting not British but all foreign cloth. The one would be meaningless as the other is a sacred duty. The idea of burning springs not from hate but from repentance of our past sins. A moment's reflection must show the writer that burning must make us earnest and thus stimulate, as it has stimulated, fresh manufacture. The disease had gone so deep, that a surgical operation was a necessity. The ill-clad or the naked millions of India need no charity but work that they can easily do in their cottages. Have not the poor any feeling of self-respect or patriotism? Is the gospel of patriotism only for the well-to-do?

Young India: Sept. 15, 1921.

<s> <\$> <s>

EVERY yard of foreign cloth, brought into India, is one bit of bread snatched out of the mouths of the starving poor.

Young India : Nov. 13, 1924.

^^ ^^ *^

IT is as much a duty as boycott of foreign waters would

je if they were imported to substitute the waters of
the
Indian rivers. Young India : Dec. 26, 1924,

<\$> <3> <^

IT is I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate
her exports with due regard to the welfare of India, as
it
is India's to regulate her imports with due regard to
her

FOREIGN CLOTH 219

own welfare. That economics is untrue which ignores or
disregards moral values. The extension of the law of
non-
violence in the domain of economics means nothing less
than
the introduction of moral values as a factor to be
considered
in regulating international commerce. And I must con-
fess that my ambition is nothing less than to see
inter-
national relations placed on a moral basis through
India's
efforts. I do not despair of cultivation of limited
mass
non-violence. I refuse to believe that the tendency of
human nature is always downward.

Young India: Dec. 26, 1924.

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IT is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply, for
instance, intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted
to
drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or
cloth,
if the discontinuance of their cultivation or
manufacture in
the country to which foreign grain or cloth are
exported
results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter
hurt a
man's soul and body just as much as intoxication.

Depres-
sion is but excitement upside down and hence equally
disastrous in its results and often more so because we
have
not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the
depression
of idleness or penury. Young Indip, : Dec. 26, 1924.

<\$><\$> <S>

I CALL the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was
raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of
India's
peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the
many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to
this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great
tempta-
tion is removed from Britain's path by India's
voluntary
effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain
and, as
Britain is today the predominant world power, good even
for
humanity. Young India : Dec. 26, 1926.

^ <\$> <\$>

LANCASHIRE has risen on the' ashes of India's

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greatest cottage industry and it is sustained by the
exploita-
tion of the helpless millions of this land.

Young India : Jan. 23, 1927.

<3> <3> <S>

LANCASHIRE is the Government in substance ; and
to grant India effective protection against Lancashire
would
be almost like committing suicide.

Young India : Jan, 23, 1927.

<\$> <\$> <\$>

INDIA'S pauperism reduces Lancashire to moral
bankruptcy. Young India : Jan. 23, 1927.

<\$><\$><\$>

Q. WHAT is your opinion about the importation of foreign goods other than cloth into India ? Are there any foreign commodities which you would like to see immediately laid under prohibition ? What do you think should be the nature of India's foreign trade in the future ?

A. I am more or less indifferent with regard to trade in foreign goods other than cloth. I have never been an advocate of prohibition of all things foreign because they are foreign. My economic creed is a complete taboo in respect of all foreign commodities whose importation is likely to prove harmful to our indigenous interests. This means that we may not in any circumstance import a commodity that can be adequately supplied from our own country. For instance I would regard it a sin to import Australian wheat on the score of its better quality but I would not have the slightest hesitation in importing oatmeal from Scotland, if an absolute necessity for it is made out, because we do not grow oats in India. In other words I would not countenance the boycott of a single foreign article out of ill-will or a feeling of hatred. Or to take up a reverse case, India produces a sufficient quantity of leather ; it is my duty therefore to wear shoes made out of Indian leather only; even if it is comparatively dearer and of an inferior quality in preference to cheaper and superior

FORGIVENESS 221

quality foreign leather shoes Similarly I would condemn the introduction of foreign molasses of sugar if enough of

it is produced in India for our needs. It will be thus clear from the above that it is hardly possible for me to give an exhaustive catalogue of foreign articles whose importation in India ought to be prohibited. I have simply inculcated the general principle by which we can be guided in all such cases And this principle will hold good in future too so long as the conditions of production in our country remain as they are today.

Young India : Nov. 15 , 1928,

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I WANT you to pledge yourselves not before me but before your God that henceforth you are not going to use any foreign cloth, that you are going to give up foreign clothes in your possession, that you will burn them even as you burn rags in your possession which may require to be disinfectated, even as a drunkard who suddenly becomes teetotaler empties his cupboard and destroys every bottle of brandy and whisky in his possession, no matter what it might cost him. You will count no cost too great against the cause, the liberty and honour of your country.

Young India : Mar. 14, 1929.

Forgiveness

TO forgive is not to forget. The merit lies in loving in spite of the vivid knowledge that the one that must be loved is not a friend. There is no merit in loving an enemy when you forget him for a friend.

Young India : June 23, 1920.

<^ <\$><\$>

I BELIEVE tint non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is th~ power to punish : it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless

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creature, A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her.

Toung India : Aug. 11, 1920.
<\$><> <\$>

TO err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive if we, though being falliable, would like rather to be forgiven than punished and reminded of our deeds. Toung India; Nov. 18, 1920.

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FORGIVENESS is a quality of the soul, and therefore a positive quality. It is not negative.

Young India : Jan. 12, 1928.

THE weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.

Toung India rDec. 16, 1929.

Foreign Medium Of Instruction

I AM certain that the children of the nation, that receive instruction in a tongue other than their own, commit suicide. It robs them of their birth right. A foreign medium means an undue strain upon the youngsters, it robs them of all originality. It stunts their growth and isolates them from their home.

English is a language of international commerce; it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to

Western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of Western literature, thought and science. That would be the legitimate use of English. Whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest deve-

FOREIGN MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION 223

lopment of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood, and specially the womanhood of India, to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj. Young India : Feb. 2, 1921

^s ^^ ^s

TILAK and Ram Mohan would have been far greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning. I am opposed to make a fetish of English education. I don't hate English education. When I want to destroy the Government, I don't want to destroy the English language but read English as an Indian nationalist would do. Ram Mohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pigmies who had no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya, Shankar, Kabir and Nanak. Ram Mohan and Tilak were pigmies before these giants. What Shankar alone was able to do, the whole arm of English knowing men can't do. I can multiply instances. Was Guru Govind a product of English education ?

Young India : April 13, 1921
<\$><\$><\$>

ENGLISH education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect, and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate, % We want to bask in the sunshine of freedom, but the enslaving system emasculates our nation. Pre-British period was not a period of slavery. We had some sort of Swaraj under Moghul rule. In Akbar's time the birth of a Pratap was possible and in Aurangzeb's time a Shivaji could flourish. Has 150 years of British rule produced any Partap and Shivaji?

Young India : April 13, 1921.
^N ^^ ^^

A FRIEND asks me to give my considered view on the value of English education and explain my talk on the

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sands at Cuttack. I have not read the report of the talk. But I gladly respond to the friend's wish.

It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indian, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection.

Ram Mohan Roy would have been a greater reformer and J. Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvellous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up

under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both
gained from their knowledge of the rich treasures of
English literature. But these should have been
accessible
to them through their own vernaculars. No country can
become a nation by producing a race of translators.
Think
of what would have happened to the English if they had
not an authorised version of the Bible. I do believe
that
Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Guru Govind Singh, Shivaji and
Pratap were greater than Ram Mohan Roy and Tilak.
I know that comparisons- are odious. All are great in
their own way.

But judged by the results, the effect of Ram Mohan
and Tilak on the masses is not so permanent or far-
reach-
ing as that of the others more fortunately born. Judged
by the obstacles they had to surmount, they were
giants;
and both would have been greater in achieving results
if
they had not been handicapped by the system under
which they received their training. I refuse to believe
that the Raja and the Loknath could not have thought
the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the
English
language. Of all the superstitions that affect India,
none
is so great as that a knowledge of the English language
is

FRAUD 225

necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing
accuracy of thought. It should be remembered that there
has been only one system of education before the
country
for the past fifty years, and only one medium of
expression
forced on the country. We have, therefore, no data be-
fore us to what we would have been but for the educa-
tion in the existing schools and colleges. This,
however,
we do know that India to-day is poorer than fifty years
ago, less able to defend herself, and her children have

less
stamina. I need not be told that that is due to the
defect
in the system of government. The system of education
is its most defective part. It was conceived and born
in
error, for the English rulers honestly believed the
indige-
nous system to be worse than useless. It has been
nurtured in sin, for the tendency has been to dwarf the
Indian body, mind and soul. Young India : Dec. 16, 1921

AMONG the many evils of foreign rule, this blighting
imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the
country will be counted by History as one of the
greatest.
It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has
shortened
the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the
masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive.
If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to
rob the
nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated
India
shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the
foreign
medium, the better it would be for them and the people.

Young India : June 5, 1928.

Frankness

A 'NO' uttered from deepest conviction is better
and greater than a 'yes' merely uttered to please,
or what is worse, to avoid trouble.

Young India: Mar. 17, 1927.

Fraud

FRAUD itself is a species of violence.

Young India : Mar. 20, 1930

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FORCE always includes fraud, non-violence always

excludes it. Harijan : Oct. 13, 1937.

Freedom

FREEDOM is never dear at any price. It is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living.

Harijan : Dec. 10, 1938.

3> <3> <S>

FREEDOM received through the effort of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom. Harijan : April 20, 1940.

FREEDOM'S battles are not fought without paying heavy prices. Just as man would not cherish the thought of living in a body other than his own, so do nations not like to live under other nations however noble and great the latter may be. Harijan : Aug. 18, 1940.

INDIVIDUAL freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society ? If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society -is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own modern editions of Chinghiz Khan retain their own.

Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

MY conception of freedom is no narrow conception. It is co-extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty. Harijan : June 7, 1942.

FREEDOM OF INDIA 22*

Freedom of India

SPEAKING with a full sense of responsibility over my shoulders I know the tremendous consequences of civil

dis-
obedience and of no-tax campaign in a vast country like
this, a country which has undisciplined masses, but a
man
who is mad as I am now after freedom, a man who is
hungry
after freedom, and a real hunger for freedom is
infinitely
more painful than hunger for mere bread, has got to
take
tremendous risks, to stake everything that he has in
order to
gain that precious freedom, and it is because I am
hungry
for that freedom, although I am on the threshold of
death,
I want to see Swaraj whilst I have still breath in me
that I want to take all those risks. But at the same
time
I want to take every precaution and therefore I shall
plead
with the Government and the powers that be, and shall
ask
them to come to their senses. Young India : March 14,
1929.

>/- V v

FREEDOM is not worth having if it does not connote
freedom to err and even to sin. If God Almighty has
given
the humblest of His creatures the freedom to err, it
passes
my comprehension how human beings, be they ever so
experienced and able, can delight in depriving other
human
beings of that precious right. Young India : March 12,
1931.

I LIVE for India's freedom and would die for it,
because it is part of truth. Young India : April 3,
1924,

THERE is no freedom for India so long as one man,
no matter how highly placed he may be, holds in the

hollow of his hands the life, property and honour of millions of human beings. It is an artificial, unnatural and uncivilised institution. The end of it is an essential preliminary to Swaraj. Young India : Nov. 13, 1924.

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IF we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause. Young India : Feb. 2, 1922.

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THE spirit of democracy which we want to spread throughout India cannot be spread by violence whether verbal or physical, whether direct, indirect or threatened.

Young India : Feb. 23, 1922.

^N ^^ ^x

DEMOCRACY is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. Young India : Mar. 2, 1922.

^S ^N ^N

I WORK for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive ; it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

Young India : April 3, 1924.

<\$> <^ <\$>

LET the youth of India realise that the death of Lalaji can only be avenged by regaining her freedom. Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism even though they may be of the true type, never by heroism so-called. The temple of freedom requires the patient, intelligent and constructive effort of tens of thousands of men and women, young and old. Young India : Dec. 27, 1928,

v^ ^^ ^^

I SHALL strive for a constitution, which will release India from all thralldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making

FREEDOM OF INDIA 229

they have an effective voice ; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams for which I

shall struggle at the next Round Table Conference. I may fail, but if I am to deserve the confidence of the Congress, my principals, I shall be satisfied with nothing less.

Young India : Sept. 10, 1931
<\$> <\$> <\$>

WE must be content to die if we cannot live as free men and women. Young India : Jan. 5, 1922

<\$><\$><\$>

WE seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We want to compel its submission to the people's will. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government. Free life under the Government has become intolerable, for the price exacted for the retention of freedom is unconscionably great. Whether we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions. I have known even little children become unbending when an attempt has been made to cross their declared purpose, be it ever so flimsy in the estimation of their parents.

Young India ! TVC. 15 109K

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INDIA'S freedom must revolutionise the world's outlook upon Peace and War. Her impotence affects the whole of mankind. Young India : Sept. 17, 1925.

<\$> <3> <\$>

IT is true indeed that India's progress in the direction I desire seems to have come to a pause but I think that it

only seems so. The little seed that was sown in 1920
has
not perished. It is, I think, taking deep root.
Presently
it will come out as a stately tree.

Toung India : Sept. 17, 1925.

<\$><\$><?>

NO man is indispensable for the evolution of this great
and ancient land of Dharma. Let India live though a
hun-
dred Gandhis have to perish. Toung India : Oct. 18,
1925.

<> <\$><\$>

SELF-EXPRESSION and self-government are not
things which may be either taken from us by any body or
which can be given us by anybody. It is quite true that
if those who happen to hold our destinies, or seem to
hold
our destinies in their hands, are favourably disposed,
are
sympathetic, understand our aspirations, no doubt it is
then easier for us to expand. But after all self-
government
depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon
our
ability to fight against * the heaviest odds. Indeed,
self-
government which does not require that continuous
striving
to attain it and to sustain it is not worth the name. I
have
therefore endeavoured to show both in word and in deed,
that political self-government that is self-government
for
a large number of men and women, is no better than
individual self-government, and therefore it is to be
attained
by precisely the same means that are required for
individual
self-government or self-rule, and so as you know also,
I
have striven in India to place this ideal before the
people
in season and out of season, very often much to the

disgust
of those who are politically minded merely.

Young India : Dec. 1, 1927.

FREEDOM OF INDIA 231

COUNCILS are no factories for making stout hearts.
And freedom is miasma without stout hearts to defend
it.

Young India : Dec. 15, 1921

<*><><\$>

SELF-GOVERNMENT means continuous effort to be
independent of government control whether it is foreign
government or whether it is national. Swaraj government
will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the
regulation
of every detail of life. Young India : Aug. 6, 1925.

<\$><\$><\$>

NO paper contribution will ever give us self-govern-
ment. No amount of speeches will ever make us fit for
self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit
us for
it. Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : P. 252 .

IF we are to receive self-government, we shall have to
take it. We shall never be granted self-government.
Look
at the history of the British Empire and the British
nation ;
freedom-loving as it is, it will not be a party to give
freedom to a people who will not take it themselves.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 258.

THE object of our non-violent movement, is complete
independence for India not in any mystic sense but in
English sense of the term without any mental
reservation.
I feel that every country is entitled to it without any

question of its fitness or otherwise. As every country
is fit
to eat, to drink and to breathe, even so is every
nation fit
to manage its own affairs, no matter how badly. Just as
a
man with bad lungs will breathe, with difficulty, even
so
India, because of her ailments may make a thousand mis-
takes. The doctrine of fitness to govern is a mere
eyewash.
Independence means nothing more or less than getting
out
of alien control. Young India: Oct. 15, 1931.

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IF I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can
possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order
that I,
belonging to a nation which counts one-fifth of the
human
race, may exploit any other race upon earth, or any
single
individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I
would
not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish
and
treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or
strong,,
to the same freedom. Young India : Oct. 1, 1931.

<\$><\$><\$>

NOT even for the freedom of India would I resort to
an untruth. Young India : Aug. 13, 1931 t

<\$> <\$> <3>

MY interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts
violent means, for their fruit will be not freedom but
slavery in disguise. And if we have not yet attained
our
freedom, it is because we have not been non-violent in
thought, word and deed.

I live for India's freedom and would die for it,

because
it is part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the
true
God. Young India : April 3, 1924.

<\$> <3> <

THE British people must realise that the Empire is to
come to an end. This they will not realise unless we in
India have generated power within to enforce our will.
The English have paid dearly for their freedom such as
it
is. They therefore only respect those who are prepared
to
pay an adequate price for their own liberty.

-~ Young India : Jan. 23, 1930.
^ ^ ^

IF we were not under the spell of hypnotism or if we
were not being acted upon by that great force inertia,
or
want of self-confidence, we would find it the most
natural
thing to breathe the air of freedom which is ours to
breathe*

Young India : Mar. 14, 1929.

FREEDOM OF INDIA 233

WE do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin.
That is not the way of non-violence.

Harijan : June 1, 1940.
<\$> < <\$>

I DO not want Britain's humiliation in order to gain
India's freedom. Such freedom, if it were attainable,
cannot be manfully retained. Harijan : Aug. 4, 1940.

<\$><\$> <S>

I CANNOT think of anyone wanting less than In-
dependence for his country if he can get it. No country
has
ever got it without its people having fought for it.

Harijan: July 6, 1940.

<3> > <3>

I WANT to see India free in my lifetime. But God may not consider me fit enough to see the dream of life fulfilled. Then I shall quarrel, not with him but with myself. Harijan : April 13, 1940.

^N ^S ^>

WHETHER we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions. I have known even little children become unbending when an attempt has been made to cross their declared purpose, be it ever so flimsy in the estimation of their parents. Young India : Dec. 15, 1921.

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FREEDOM'S battles are not fought without paying heavy prices. Just as man would not cherish the thought of living in a body other than his own, so do nations not like to live under other nations however noble and great the latter maybe. Harijan : Mar. 16, 1940.

Q,. SUPPOSING India does become free in your lifetime, what will you devote the rest of your years to ?

234 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

A. If India becomes free in my lifetime and I have still energy left in me, of course I would take my due share, though outside the official world, in building up the nation on a strictly non-violent basis. Harijan : April 27, 1940

<> <> <\$>

THROUGH the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the

crushing
heels of western exploitation in which England is the
greatest partner. Young India : Jan. 12, 1928.

THERE is no perpetual night on God's earth. Ours too
will have its ending. Only we must work for it.

Young India : Mar. 11, 1926.

<\$> <s> <\$>

I WOULD like to see India free and strong so that she
may offer herself as a willing and pure sacrifice for
the
betterment of the world. The individual, being pure,
sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the
village,
the village for the district, the district for the
province,
the province for the nation, the nation for all.

Young India : Sept. 17, 1925.

<^ <\$><\$>

IN any event India free cannot deny freedom to
any son of the soil. It gives one both pain and
surprise
when I find people feeling anxious about their future
under a free India. For me an India which does not
guarantee freedom to the lowliest of those born not
merely within an artificial boundary but within its
natural
boundary is not free India. Our fear paralyses our
thinking powers, or we should at once know that
freedom means a state at any rate somewhat better
than the present for every honest man or woman. It
is exploiters, money-grabbers, pirates and the like who
have to fear the advent of freedom.

Young India : Dec. 26, 1929.

FRIENDSHIP 235

LIBERTY is a jilt most difficult to woo and please.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

^S ^^ ^^

WE dare not enter the kingdom of liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-violence.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922.

IT would be a thousand times better for us to be ruled by a military dictator than to have the dictatorship concealed under sham councils and assemblies. They prolong the agony and increase the expenditure. If we are so anxious to live, it would be more honourable to face the truth and submit to unabashed dictation than to pretend that we are slowly becoming free. There is no such thing as slow freedom. Freedom is like a birth. Till we are fully free, we are slaves. All birth takes place in a moment.

Young India : Mar. 30, 1922.

Free Trade

I AM an out-and-out protectionist. I hold that every country, especially a poor country like India, has every right and is indeed bound to protect its interest, when it is threatened, by all lawful protective measures and to regain by such measures what has been lawfully taken away from it. Young India]. Aug. 2, 1928.

Friendship

WHEN a slave salutes a master and a friend salutes a friend, the form is the same in either case, but there is a world of difference between the two, which enables an observer to recognise the slave and the friend at once.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 307.

A REFORMER cannot afford to have close intimacy with him whom he seeks to reform. True friendship

is an identity of souls rarely to be found in this world*

Only between like natures can friendship be altogether worthy and enduring. Friends react on one another. Hence in friendship there is very little scope for reform. I am of opinion that all exclusive intimacies are to be avoided, for man takes in vice far more readily than virtue. And he who would be friends with God must remain alone, or make the whole world his friend. My Experiments With Truth : Page 32.

WHENEVER my contacts with strangers have been painful to friends, I have not hesitated to blame them. I hold that believers who have to see the same God in others that they see in themselves, must be able to live amongst all with sufficient detachment. And the ability to live thus can be cultivated, not by fighting shy of unsought opportunities for such contacts, but by hailing them in a spirit of service and withal keeping oneself unaffected by them. My Experiments With Truth : Page 343.

I COULD think of many friends who have been a source of great comfort to me in the midst of trials and disappointments. One who has faith reads in them the merciful providence of God, who thus sweetens sorrow itself. My Experiments With Truth : Page. 439.

SPIRITUAL relationship is far more precious than physical. Physical relationship divorced from spiritual is body without soul. My Experiments With Truth : Page 472.

<3> 3> 3>

INSISTENCE on truth can come into play when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only

when one party disregards the obligation of friendship.

Toung India : May 4, 1919.

THE test of friendship is assistance in adversity, and that too, unconditional assistance. Co-operation which

FRIENDSHIP 237

needs consideration is a commercial contract and not friendship. Conditional co-operation is like adulterated cement which does not bind. Toung India : Dec. 10, 1919.

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MY goal is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the great opposition to wrong.

Young India : Mar. 10, 1920.

^> ^N ^s

SELF-SUFFERING is the truest test of sincerity.

Young India : Sept 8, 1921.

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IT is the special privilege of a friend to own the other's faults and redeclare his affection in spite of faults.

Young India : April 24, 1924

FRIENDSHIP presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend. It never requires consideration.

Young India : May 29, 1924.

<\$><\$><\$>

WHY should mere disagreement with my views dis-
please me. If every disagreement were to displease,
since no two men agree exactly on all points, life
would
be a bundle of unpleasant sensations and therefore a
perfect
nuisance. On the contrary the frank criticism pleases
me.

For our friendship becomes all the richer for our dis-
agreements. Friends to be friends are not called upon
to agree even on most points. Only disagreement must
have no sharpness much less bitterness about them.

Young India : Nov. 5, 1925.

^\ ^ ^p

FRIENDSHIP that insists upon agreement on all
matters is not worth the name. Friendship to be real
must ever sustain the weight of honest differences,
how*

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ever sharp they may be. Young India : Dec. 1, 1927.

IF those who love cannot transfer this love to the
thing for which I stand, their love is blind and of
little value. I do not know if one should live to
provide

mere enjoyment for friends. Friendship means loving
mutual service, and sometimes it is a positive
disservice to

indulge one's friends and to expose them to
temptations.

And if these are friends who would spend lavishly for
pro-
viding luxuries for me, but would not spend for the
cause

I espouse, it is my clear duty to resist such luxuries.
Friends to be friends must first provide me with neces-
saries of life before they think of indulging me with
luxuries, and Kbandar work is a vital necessity of life
for me more vital than food. Young India : Feb. 24,
1927.

^P ^P ^^

A FRIENDSHIP which exacts oneness of opinion and conduct is not worth much. Friends have to tolerate one another's ways of life and thought even though they may be different except where the difference is fundamental. Harijan : May 9, 1940.

^ ^ ^

THERE can be no friendship between the brave and the effeminate. Harijan : May 23, 1940.

G
Gambling

IN a way it is worse than the plague or the quake. For it destroys the soul within. A person without the soul is a burden upon the earth. No doubt war against gambling is not so simple as war against plague or earthquake distress. In the latter there is more or less co-operation from the sufferers. In the former the sufferers invite and hug their sufferings. To wean the gambler from his vice is like weaning the drunkard from the

GANDHISM 239

drink habit. This war against gambling is therefore an uphill task. Harijan : June 15, 1935.

< <\$> 3>

I KNOW nothing of horse-racing. I have ever looked upon it with horror for its associations. I know that many men have been ruined on the race course.

But I must confess I have not had the courage to write anything against it. Having seen even an Aga Khan, prelates, viceroys, and those that are considered the best in the land, openly patronising it and spending thousands upon it, I have felt it to be useless to write about it. As a journalist and reformer, my functions is to call public attention to these vices about which there is likelihood of public opinion being created. Much as I disapprove of vaccination, I deem it to be waste

of effort to draw public attention to the evil. I must own that I had not the courage to bring the drink traffic in the campaign of purification. It has come unsought. The people have taken it up of their own accord.

But betting is, I apprehend, more difficult to deal with than drinking. When vice becomes a fashion and even a virtue, it is a long process to deal with it. Betting is not only fashionable but is hardly regarded as a vice. Not so drinking. Fortunately, it is still the fashion . to consider drinking a weakness, if not positively a vice. Every religion has denounced it with more or less vehemence. But betting has escaped much special attention. Let us hope, however, that the vigilant public will find a more innocent recreation than attending the race course, and thus show its disapproval of gambling at the race course. Young India : April 27, 192L

Gandhism

LET Gandhism be destroyed if it stands for error*
Truth and ahimsa will never be destroyed, but if
Gandhism

240 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

is another name for sectarianism it deserves to be destroyed. If I were to know, after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into sectarianism, I should be deeply pained. We have to work away silently. Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an inadequate follower I am of myself, for I cannot live upto the convictions I stand for.

Harijan : Mar. 2, 1940.

I WOULD ask you to give up the name 'Gandhites,' and Gandhism. You may call yourselves ahimsaites, if you like, but ' Gandhi-ite ' is meaningless. Gandhi

is
an erring mortal, a mixture of good and evil, so you
cannot go by the name 'Gandhi-ites'. Ahimsa is no such
adulterated ore, it is pure gold. Harijan : Mar. 2,
1940.

THEY might kill me but they cannot kill Gandhism.
If Truth can be killed, Gandhism can be killed. If non-
violence can be killed, Gandhism can be killed. For
what is Gandhism but winning Swaraj by means of truth
and non-violence ? Young India : April 2, 1931.

THE true method of bestowing affection on me is
to copy such actions of mine as may seem to be worthy
of imitation. No higher compliment can be paid to a
man than to follow him. Young India : Mar. 4, 1919.

Gandhiji Looks At Himself

I AM an erring mortal like you. I have never
even in my dream thought that I was a Maha-atma
(great soul) and that others were Alpa-atma (little
souls).
We are all equal before our Maker Hindus, Musalmans,
Parsis, Christians, worshippers of one God.

-Harijan : Mar. 30, 1940.

GANDHIJI LOOKS AT HIMSELF 241

FRIENDS who know me have certified that I am
as much a moderate as I am an extremist and as much
conservative as I am a radical. Hence perhaps my good
fortune to have friends among these extreme type of
men. The mixture is due, I believe, to my view of
akimta. Young India : April 6, 1931.

<S> <\$> <\$>

AS for my leadership, I have it, it has not come
for any seeking, it is a fruit of faithful service. A
man can as little discard such leadership as he can
the colour of his skin. And since I have become an
integral part of the nation, it has to keep me with
all my faults and shortcomings of some of which I am
painfully conscious and of many others of which candid
critics thanks be to them, never fail to remind me.

Young India : Feb. 13, 1930.

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AS a matter of fact my writings should be cremated with my body. What I have done will endure, not what I have said and written. I have often said recently that even if all our scriptures were to perish, one mantra of Ishopanishad was enough to declare the essence of Hinduism, but even that one verse will be of no avail if there is no one to live it. Even so what I have said and written is useful only to the extent that it has helped you to assimilate the great principles of truth and ahimsa. * If you have not assimilated them, my writings will be of no use to you, I say this to you as a Salyagrahi meaning every word of it.

Harijan : May 1, 1932.

<^ <s> <\$>

I FLATTER myself with the belief that some of my writings will survive me and will be of service to the causes for which they have been written.

Harijan : May 1, 1937.

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I HAVE received a cutting, in which I am reported to be credited with being a messenger of God, and I am asked whether I claim to have any special revelation from God. As to this, the latest charge, I must disown it. I pray like every good Hindu. I believe that we can all become messengers of God, if we cease to fear man and seek only God's Truth. I do believe I am seeking only God's Truth and have lost all fear of man. I therefore do feel that God is with the movement of Non-co-operation. I have no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals Himself daily to every human being but we shut our ears to the 'still small voice.' We shut our eyes to the

Pillar of Fire in front of us. I realise His omnipresence.

And it is open to the writer to do likewise.

Young India : May 25, 1921.

<S> <\$> <\$>

SOME of my correspondents seem to think that I can work wonders. Let me say as a devotee of truth that I have no such gift. All the power I may have comes from God. But He does not work directly. He works through His numberless agencies. In this case it is the Congress. All the prestige that I have is derived from that of the Congress. The latter derives it from its creed. If Congressmen deny the creed of truth and non-violence, the Congress loses prestige. I assure them that my virtues, real or so-called, will not count for anything, if I did not represent the Congress mind Young India : Oct. 8, 1924.

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I AM a dreamer. I am, indeed, a practical dreamer. My dreams are not airy nothings. I want to convert my dreams into realities, as far as possible.

Harijan : Nov. 7, 1933.

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I LAY claim to nothing exclusively divine in me.

GENERALISATION 243

I do not claim prophetship. I am but a humble seeker after Truth and bent upon finding it. I count no sacrifice too great for the sake of seeing God face to face. The whole of my activity whether it may be called social, political, humanitarian or ethical is directed to that end. And as I know that God is found more often in the lowliest of His creatures than in the high and mighty, I am struggling to reach the status of these. I cannot do so without their service. Hence my passion for the service

of the suppressed classes. And as I cannot render this service without entering politics, I find myself in them.

Thus I am no master. I am but a struggling, erring humble servant of India and there through of humanity.

There is already enough superstition in our country. No effort should be spared to resist further addition in the shape of Gandhi worship. Personally I have a horror of all adoration. I believe in adoring virtue apart from the wearer. And that can be done only after the wearer's death. Form is nothing. It is perishable.

Virtue persists and incarnates in one person or another.

That poor Gonds know nothing of me or my mission. I know I have no power to give any person anything. The very idea of my spirit visiting and possessing any person is repugnant to me. The practice can only do harm and lead to fraud. I urge coworkers to put down the worship the correspondent describes. It is a sin to let simple folk such as the Gonds to be encouraged in the practice of superstition.

Toung India : Sept. 11, 1924.

Generalisation

A SEEKER after Truth cannot afford to indulge in generalisation.

Darwin for the greater part of his book Origin of the Species has simply massed fact upon fact without any theorising, and only towards the end has formulated his

244 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

conclusion which, because of the sheer weight of testimony behind it, becomes almost irresistible. Yes I have criticised even Darwin's generalisation as being unwarranted.

Science tells us that a proposition may hold good in nine hundred ninety-nine cases and yet fail in the thousandth case and thus be rendered untenable as a universal statement. That is why in Jain philosophy so much stress is laid on Syadvad. A proposition must not only be able to satisfy the analytical test, but must also be proved conversely by synthesis before its universal validity can be established. Harijan : July 6, 1940.

Generosity

EVEN as justice to be justice has to be generous, generosity in order to justify itself has got to be strictly just.

Hanjan : Feb. 24, 1940.

Gita

A FRIEND puts forward the following poser :

The controversy about the teaching of the Gita whether it is Himsa (violence) or Ahimsa (non violence) will it seems go on for a long time. It is one thing what meaning we read in the Gita or rather we want to read in the Gita, it is another what meaning is furnished by an unbiased reading of it. The question therefore does not present much difficulty to one who implicitly accepts Ahimsa as the eternal principle of life. He will say that the Gita is acceptable to him only if it teaches Ahimsa. A grand book like the Gita could, for him, inculcate nothing grander than the eternal religious principle of Ahimsa. If it did not, it would cease to be his unerring guide. It would still be worthy of his high regard but not an infallible authority.

In the first chapter we find Arjuna laying down his weapons, under the influence of Ahimsa , and ready to die at the hands of the Kauravas.

He conjures up a vision of the disaster and the sin involved in Himsa. He is overcome with ennui and in fear and trembling exclaims :

*' Oh what a mighty sin we are up to ! "

Shri Krishna catches him in that mood and tells him : " Enough of this high philosophy. No one kills or is killed. The soul is immortal and the body must perish. Fight then the fight that has come to thee as a matter of duty. Victory or defeat is no concern of thine. Acquit thyself of thy task."

GITA 245

In the eleventh chapter the Lord presents a panoramic vision of the

Universe and says :

" / am Kala, the Destroyer of the Worlds, the Ancient of the Days ; I am hater* engaged in my task of destruction of the worlds Kill thou those already killed by me. Give not thyself up to grief ."

Himsa and Ahimsa are equal before God. But for man what is God's message ? Is it this : * Fight : for thou art sure to foil thy enemies in the field ?' If the Gita teaches Ahimsa the first and the eleventh chapters are not consistent with the rest ; at any rate do not support the Ahimsa theory. I wish you could find time to resolve, my dear brother.

The question put is eternal and everyone who has studied the Gita must needs find out his own solution. And, although I am going to offer mine, I know that ultimately one is guided not by the intellect but by the heart. The heart accepts a conclusion for which the intellect

subsequently
finds the reasoning. Argument follows conviction. Man
often finds reason in support of whatever he does or
wants to do.

I shall therefore appreciate the position of those
who are unable to accept my interpretation of the
Gita. All I need do is to indicate how I reached my
meaning, and what canons of interpretation I have
followed in arriving at it. Mine is but to fight for my
meaning, no matter whether I win or lose.

My first acquaintance with the Gita was in 1889, when
I was almost twenty. I had not then much of an inkling
of
the principle of Ahimsa. One of the lines of the
Gujarati poet
Shamal Bhatta had taught me the principle of winning
even
the enemy with love, and that teaching had gone deep
into me. But I had not deduced the eternal principle
of Non-violence from it. It did not for instance cover
all animal life. I had before this tasted meat whilst
in
India. I thought it a duty to kill venomous reptiles
like the snake. It is my conviction today that even
venomous creatures may not be killed by a believer in
Ahimsa. I believed in those days in preparing our-
selves for a fight with the English. I often repeated a

246 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Gujarati poet's famous doggerel : 'What wonder if
Britain
rules P etc. My meat-eating was as a first step to
qualify
myself for the fight with the English. Such was my
position before I proceeded to England, and there I
escaped meat-eating, etc., because of my determination
to
follow unto death the promises I had given to my
mother. My love for truth has saved me from many a
pitfall.

Now whilst in England my contact with two English
friends made me read the Gita. I say 'made me read/
because it was not of my own desire that I read it.

But when these two friends asked me to read the Gita with them, I was ashamed of my ignorance. The knowledge of my total ignorance of my scriptures pained me. Pride I think was at the bottom of the feeling. My knowledge of Sanskrit was not enough to enable me to understand all the verses of the Gita unaided. The friends of course were quite innocent of Sanskrit. They placed before me Sir Edwin Arnold's magnificent rendering of the Gita. I devoured the contents from cover to cover and was entranced by it. The last nineteen verses of the second chapter have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart. They contain for me all knowledge. The truths they teach are the 'eternal verities.' There is reasoning in them but they represent realised knowledge.

I have since read many translations and many commentaries, have argued and reasoned to my heart's content but the impression that the first reading gave me has never been effaced. Those verses are the key to the interpretation of the Gita. I would even advise rejection of the verses that may seem to be in conflict with them. But a humble student need reject nothing. He will simply say : 'It is the limitation of my own intellect that I cannot resolve this inconsistency. I might be able to do so in the time to come.' That is how

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he will plead with himself and with others.

A prayerful study and experience are essential for a correct interpretation of the scriptures. The injunction that a Shudra may not study the scriptures is not entirely without meaning. A Shudra means a spiritually uncultured ignorant man. He is more likely than not to misinterpret the Vedas and other scriptures. Everyone cannot solve an algebraical equation. Some preliminary study is a *sine qua non*. How ill would the grand truth 'I am Brahman' lie in the mouth of a man steeped in sin!

To what ignoble purposes would he turn it ! What a distortion it would suffer at his hands.

A man therefore who would interpret the scriptures must have the spiritual discipline. He must practise the Tamas and Niyams the eternal guides of conduct. A superficial practice thereof is useless. The Shastras have enjoined the necessity of a Guru. But a Guru being rare in these days a study of modern books inculcating Bhakti has been suggested by the sages. Those who are lacking in Bhakti, lacking in faith are ill-qualified to interpret the scriptures. The learned may draw an elaborately learned interpretation out of them, but that will not be true interpretation. Only the experienced will arrive at the true interpretation of the scriptures.

But even for the inexperienced there are certain canons. That interpretation is not true which conflicts with Truth. To one who doubts even Truth, the scriptures have no meaning. No one can contend with him. There is danger for the man who has failed to find Ahimsa in the scriptures, but he is not doomed. Truth is positive; Non-violence is negative. Truth stands for the fact. Non-violence negatives the fact. And yet Non-violence is the highest religion. Truth is self-evident; Non-violence is its maturest fruit. It is contained in Truth, but as it is not self-evident a man may seek to interpret the Shastras without accepting it. But his acceptance

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of Truth is sure to lead him to the acceptance of Non-violence.

Renunciation of the flesh is essential for realising Truth. The sage who realised Truth found Non-violence out of the

violence raging all around him and said : Violence is unreal, Non-violence is real. Realisation of Truth is impossible without Non-violence. Brahmacharya (celibacy)

Asetya (non-stealing), Aparigraha (non-possession) are means

to achieve Ahimsa. Ahimsa is the soul of truth. Man is mere animal without it. A seeker after Truth will realise all this in his search for truth and he will then

have no difficulty in the interpretation of the Shastras.

Another canon of interpretation is to scan not the latter but to examine the spirit. Tulsidas's Ramayana is a noble book because it is informed with the spirit of purity, pity and piety. There is a verse in it which brackets drums, shudras, fools and women together as fit

to be beaten. A man who cites that verse to beat his wife is doomed to perdition. Rama did not only beat his wife, but never even sought to displease her. Tulsidas simply inserted in his poem a proverb current in his days, little dreaming that there would be brutes justifying beating of their wives on the authority of the verse.

But assuming that Tulsidas himself followed a custom which was prevalent in his days and beat his wife, what then ? The beating was still wrong. But the Ramayana was not written to justify beating of their wives by their husbands. It was written to depict Rama, the perfect man, and Sita, the ideal wife, and Bharat, the ideal of a devoted brother. Any justification

incidentally met with therein of vicious customs should therefore be rejected. Tulsidas did not write his priceless

epic to teach geography, and any wrong geography that we happen to come across in Ramayana should be summarily rejected.

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Let us examine the Gita in the light of these observations. Self-realization and its means is the theme of the Gita, the fight between two armies being but

the occasion to expound the theme. You might if you like say that the poet himself was not against war or violence and hence he did not hesitate to press the occasion of a war into service. But a reading of the Mahabharata has given me an altogether different impress.

The poet Vyasa has demonstrated the futility of war by means of that epic of wonderful beauty. What he asks, if the Kauravas were vanquished ? And what if the Pandavas won ? How many were left of the victors and what was their lot ? What an end Mother Kunti came to ? And where are the Yadavas to-day ?

Where the description of the fight and justification of violence are not the subject-matter of the epic, it is quite wrong to emphasise those aspects. And if it is difficult to reconcile certain verses with the teaching of Non-violence, it is far more difficult to set the whole of the Gita in the framework of violence.

The poet when he writes is not conscious of all the interpretations his composition is capable of. The beauty of poetry is that the creation transcends the poet. The Truth that he reaches in the highest flights of his fancy is often not to be met within his life. The life story of many a poet thus belies his poetry. That the central teaching of the Gita is not Himsa but Ahimsa is amply demonstrated by the subject begun in the second chapter and summarised in the concluding (18th) chapter. The treatment in the other chapters also supports the position. Himsa is impossible without anger, without attachment without hatred, and the Gita strives to carry us to a state beyond Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas, a state that excludes anger, hatred, etc. But I can, even now picture to my mind Arjuna's eyes red with anger every time he drew the bow to the end of his ear.

It was not in a spirit of Ahimsa that Arjuna refused to go to battle. He had fought many a battle before. Only this time he was overcome with false pity. 'He fought shy of killing his own kith and kin. Arjuna never discussed the problem of killing as such. He did not say he would kill no one, even if he regarded him as wicked. Sri Krishna knows everyone's innermost thoughts and he saw through the temporary infatuation of Arjuna. He therefore told him : "Thou hast already done the killing. Thou canst not all at once argue thyself into Non-violence. Finish what thou hast already begun. 9 If a passenger going in a Scotch Express gets suddenly sick of travelling and jumps out of it, he is guilty of suicide. He has not learnt the futility of travelling or travelling by a railway train. Similar was the case with Arjuna. -Non-violent Krishna could give Arjuna no other advice. But to say that the Gita teaches violence or justifies war, because advice to kill was given on a particular occasion, is as wrong as to say that Himsa is the law of life, because a certain amount of it is inevitable in daily life. To one who reads the spirit of the Gita, it teaches the secret of Non-violence, the secret of realising the self through the physical body.

And who are Dhritrashtra and Yudhishtira, and Arjuna? Who is Krishna? Were they all historical characters ? And does the Gita describe them as such ? Is it true that Arjuna suddenly stops in the midst of the fight and puts the question to Krishna, and Krishna repeats the whole of the Gita before him ? And which that Gita that Arjuna

forgot
after having exclaimed that his infatuation was gone
and
which he requested Krishna to sing again, but which he
could not, and which therefore he gave in the form
Anugita ?

I regard Duryodhana and his party as the baser
impulses in man, and Arjuna and his party as the higher
impulses. The field of battle is our own body. An
eternal
battle is going on between the two camps and the poet
seer

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has vividly described it. Krishna is the Dweller
within, ever
wishpering in a pure heart. Like the watch the heart
needs the winding of purity ; or the Dweller ceases to
speak.

Not that actual physical battle is out of the question
To those who are innocent of Non-violence, the Gita
does
not teach a lesson of despair. He who fears, who saves
his
skin, who yields to his passions must light the
physical battle
whether he will or not ; but that is not his Dharma.
Dharma is one and one only. Ahimsa means Moksha and
Moksha is the realisation of Truth. There is no room
here
for cowardice. Himsa will go on eternally in this
strange
world. The Gita shows the way out of it. But it also
shows that escape out of cowardice and despair is not
the
way. Better far than cowardice is killing and being
killed
in battle.

If the meaning of the verses quoted by the
correspondent
is not still clear, I must confess my inability to make
it so.
Is it agreed that the Almighty God is the Creator,

Protector

and Destroyer and ought to be such ? And if He creates, He has undoubtedly the right to destroy. And yet He does not destroy because He does not create. His law is that whatever is born must die, and in that lies His mercy. His laws are immutable. Where should we all be if He changed them capriciously ? Young India : Nov. 12, 1925,

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I MUST tell you in all humility that Hinduism, as I know it, entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being, and I find a solace in the Bhagavad Gita and Upanishads that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount. Not that I do not prize the ideal presented therein, not that some of the precious teachings in the Sermon on the Mount have not left a deep impression upon me but I must confess to you that when doubts haunt me when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see no one ray of light on the horizon I turn to the Bhagavad Gita and find a verse to comfort me ; and I

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immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of external tragedies and, if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita.

(Form an address to the Missionaries in Calcutta).

Young India : Aug. 6, 1925.

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THE Gita is, in my opinion, a very easy book to under-

stand. It does present some fundamental problems which are no doubt difficult of solution. But the general trend of the Gita is, in my opinion, unmistakable. It is accepted by all Hindu sects as authoritative. It is free from any form of dogma. In a short compass it gives a complete reasoned moral code. It satisfies both the intellect and the heart. It is thus both philosophical and devotional. Its appeal is universal. The language is incredibly simple.

Young India : Aug. 5, 1927.

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I HAVE not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagavad Gita. What the Sermon describes in a graphic manner, the Bhagavad Gita reduces to a scientific formula. It may not be a scientific book in the accepted sense of the term, but it has argued out the law of love - the law of abandon as I would call it in a scientific manner. The Sermon on the Mount gives the same law in a wonderful language. The Jewish Testament gave me comfort and boundless joy, as it came after the repulsion that parts of the Old had given me. Today supposing I was deprived of the Gita, and forgot all its contents but had a copy of the Sermon, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the Gita.

Young India : Dec. 22, 1927,

<*> 3> ^>

Let the Gita be to you a mine of diamonds, as it has

been to me, let it be your constant guide and friend on life's way. Let it light your path and dignify your labour.

7 Young India : Feb. 2, 1928.

It has been my endeavour as also that of some companions to reduce to practice the teaching of the Gita as I have understood it. The Gita has become for us a spiritual reference book. I am aware that we ever fail to act in perfect accord with the teaching. The failure is not due to want of effort, but is in spite of it. Even through the failures we seem to see rays of hope. The accompanying rendering contains the meaning of the Gita message which this little band is trying to enforce in its daily conduct.

Again this rendering is designed for women, the commercial class, the so-called Shudras and the like, who have little or no literary equipment, who have neither the time nor the desire to read the Gita in the original^ and yet who stand in need of its support. In spite of my Gujarati being unscholarly, I must own 'o having the desire to leave to the Gujaratis, through the mother tongue, whatever knowledge I may possess, I do indeed wish that at a time when literary output of a questionable character is pouring in upon the Gujaratis, they should have before them a rendering the majority can understand of a book that is regarded as unrivalled for its spiritual merit and so with-stand the overwhelming flood of unclean literature.

This ' desire does not mean any disrespect to the other renderings. They have their own place. But I am not aware of the claim made by the translators of enforcing their meaning of the Gita in their own lives. At

the back of my reading there is the claim of an endeavour to enforce the meaning in my own conduct for an unbroken period of 40 years. For this reason I do indeed harbour the wish that all Gujarati men or women wishing to shape their conduct according to the faith, should digest and derive strength from the translation here presented.

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My co-workers, too, have worked at this translation. My knowledge of Sanskrit being very limited, I should not have full confidence in my literal translation. To that extent therefore the translation has passed before the eyes of Vinoba, Kaka Kalekar, Mahadev Desai and Kishori Lai Mashruvala.

II

Now about the message of the Gita.

Even in 1888-89, when I first became acquainted with the Gita, I felt that it was not a historical work but that under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind and that physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of the internal duel more alluring. This preliminary intuition became more confirmed on a closer study of religion and the Gita. A study of the Maha'/'iarta gave it added confirmation. I do not regard the Mahabharata as a historical work in the accepted sense. The Adiparva contains powerful evidence in support of my opinion. By ascribing to the chief actors superhuman or subhuman origins, the great Vyasa made short work of the history of kings and their

peoples. The persons their in described may be historical, but the author of the Mahabharta has used them merely to drive home his religious theme.

The author of the Mahabharta has not established the necessity of physical warfare , on the contrary he has proved its futility. He has made the victors shed tears of sorrow and repentance, and has left them nothing but a legacy of miseries.

In this great work the Gita is the crown. Its second chapter, instead of teaching the rules of physical warfare, tells us how a perfected man is to be known. In the characteristics of the man of the Gita, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare. Its whole design is inconsistent with the rules of conduct governing the relations

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between warring parties.

Krishna of the Gita is perfection and right knowledge personified, but the picture is imaginary. That does not mean that Krishna, the adored of his people, never lived. But perfection is imagined. The idea of a perfect incarnation is an aftergrowth.

In Hinduism, incarnation is ascribed to one who has performed some extraordinary service of mankind. All embodied life is in reality an incarnation of God, but it is not usual to consider every living being an incarnation. Future generations pay this homage to one who, in his own generation, has been extraordinarily religious in his conduct.

I can see nothing wrong in this procedure ; it takes nothing from God's greatness, and there is no violence done to truth.

There is an Urdu saying which means " Adam is not God but he is spark of the Divine ." And therefore he who is the most religiously behaved has most of divine spark in him. It is in accordance with this train of thought that Krishna enjoys in Hinduism, the status of the most perfect incarnation.

This belief in incarnation is a testimony of man's lofty spiritual ambition. Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God. The endeavour to reach this state is the supreme, the only ambition worth having. And this is self-realisation. This self-realisation is the subject of the Gita, as it is of all scriptures. But its author surely did not write it to establish that doctrine. The object of the Gita appears to me to be that of showing the most excellent way to attain self-realisation. That, which is to be found, more or less clearly, spread out here and there in Hindu religious books, has been brought out in the clearest possible language in the Gita even at the risk of repetition.

That matchless remedy is renunciation of fruits of action.

This is the centre round which the Gita is woven.

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This renunciation is the central sun, round which devotion,

knowledge and the rest revolve like planets. The body has been likened to a prison. There must be action where there is body. No one embodied being is exempted from labour. And yet all religions proclaim that it is possible for man, by treating the body as the temple of God, to attain freedom. Every action is tainted, be it ever so trivial. How can the body be made the temple of God ? In other words, how can one be free from action, i.e., from the taint of sin ? The Gita has answered the question in decisive language : " By desireless action ; by renouncing fruits of action ; by dedicating all activities to God, i.e., by surrendering oneself to Him body and

But desirelessness or renunciation does not come for the mere talking about it. It is not attained by an intellectual feat. It is attainable only by a constant heart-churn. Right knowledge is necessary for attaining renunciation. Learned men possess a knowledge of a kind. They may recite the Vedas from memory, yet they may be steeped in self-indulgence. In order that knowledge may not run riot, the author of the Gita has insisted on devotion accompanying it and has given it the first place. Knowledge, without devotion will be like a misfire. Therefore, says the Gita, " Have devotion, and knowledge will follow." 1 This devotion is not mere lip worship, it is wrestling with death. Hence the Gita's assessment of the devotee's qualities is similar to that of the sages.

Thus the devotion required by the Gita is no soft-hearted effusiveness. It certainly is not blind faith. The devotion of the Gita has the least to do with externals. A devotee may use, if he likes, rosaries, forehead marks, make offerings but these things are no test of his devotion. He is the devotee who is jealous of none, who is a fount of mercy, who is without egotism, who is selfless, who treats alike cold and heat, happiness and misery, who is ever forgiving, who is always contented, whose resolutions are firm, who has

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dedicated mind and soul to God, who causes no dread, who is not afraid of others, who is free from exultation, sorrow and fear, who is pure, who is versed in action and yet remains unaffected by it, who renounces all fruit, good or bad, who treats friend and foe alike, who is untouched by respect or disrespect, who is not puffed up by praise, who does not go under when people speak ill of him, who loves silence and solitude who has a disciplined reason. Such devotion is inconsistent with the existence at the same time of strong attachments 9

We thus see that to be a real devotee is to realise oneself. Self-realisation is not something apart. One can purchase for us poison or nectar, but knowledge or devotion cannot buy us either salvation or bondage. These are not media of exchange. They are themselves the thing we want. In other words, if the means and the end are

not identical, they are almost so. The extreme of means is salvation. Salvation of the Gita is perfect peace.

But such knowledge and devotion, to be true, have to stand the test of renunciation of fruits of action.

Mere knowledge of right and wrong will not make one fit for salvation. According to common notions a mere learned man will pass as a pandit. He need not perform any service.

He will regard it as bondage even to lift a little lota. Where one test of knowledge is non-liability for service, there is no room for such mundane work as the lifting of a lota.

Or 'take Bhakti. The popular notion of Bhakti is soft-heartedness; telling beads and the like and disdaining to do even a loving service, lest the telling of beads etc. might be interrupted. This Jbhakta therefore leaves the rosary only for eating, drinking and the like, never for grinding corn or nursing patients.

But the Gita says : "No one has attained his goal without action. Even men like Janaka attained salvation through action. If even I were lazily to cease working, the world would perish. How much more necessary then for the people at large is to

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engage in action ?"

While on the one hand it is beyond dispute that all action binds, on the other hand it is equally true that all living beings have to do some work whether they will or no. Here all activity, whether mental or physical, is to

be incited in the term action. Then how is one to be free from the bondage of action, even though he may be acting ?

The manner in which the Gita has solved the problem is, to my knowledge, unique. The Gita says : "Do your allotted, work but renounce its fruit be detached and work have no desire for reward and work."

This is the unmistakable teaching of the Gita. He who gives up action falls. He who gives up only the reward rises. But renunciation of fruit in no way means indifference to the result. In regard to every action one must know the result that is expected to follow, the means thereto, and the capacity for it. He, who, being thus equipped, is without desire for the result, and is yet wholly engrossed in the due fulfilment of the task before him, is said to have renounced the fruits of his action.

Again, let no one consider renunciation to mean want of fruit for the renouncer. The Gita reading does not warrant such a meaning. Renunciation means absence of hankering after fruit. "* As a matter of fact he who renounces reaps a thousandfold. The renunciation of the Gita is the acid test of faith. He who is ever brooding over result often loses nerve in the performance of his duty. He becomes impatient and then gives vent to anger and begins to do unworthy things; he jumps from action to action, never remaining faithful to any. He who broods over results is like a man given to objects of senses ; he is ever distracted, he says good-bye to all scruples, everything is right in his estimation and he therefore resorts to means fair and foul to attain his end.

From the bitter experiences of desire for fruit the

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author of the Gita discovered the path of renunciation of fruit, and put it before the world in a most convincing manner. The common belief is that religion is always opposed to material good. "One cannot act religiously in mercantile and such other matters. There is no place for religion in much pursuits in religion is only for attainment of salvation" we hear many worldly wise people say. In my opinion the author of the Gita has dispelled this delusion. He has drawn no line of demarcation between salvation and worldly pursuits. On the contrary, he has shown that religion must rule even our worldly pursuits. I have felt that the Gita teaches us that what cannot be followed out in day to day practice cannot be called religion. Thus, according to the Gita all acts that are incapable of being performed without attachment are taboo. This golden rule saves mankind from many a pitfall. According to this interpretation murder, lying, dissoluteness and the like must be regarded as sinful and therefore taboo. Man's life then becomes simple, and from that simpleness springs peace.

Thinking along these lines, I have felt that in trying to enforce in one's life the central teaching of the Gita, one is bound to follow Truth and Ahimsa. When there is no desire for fruit, there is no temptation for untruth or violence. Take any instance of untruth or violence, and it will be found that at its back was the desire to attain the cherished end. But it may be freely admitted that the

Gita

was not written to establish Ahimsa*. It was an accepted and primary duty even before the Gita age. The Gita had to deliver the message of renunciation of fruit. This is clearly brought out as early as the 2nd chapter.

But if the Gita believed in Ahimsa or it was included in desirelessness, Why did the author take a war like illustration? When the Gita was written, although people believed in Ahimsa, wars were not only not taboo but nobody observed the contradiction between them and Ahimsa.

In assessing the implications of renunciation of

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fruit, we are not required to probe the mind of the author of the Gita as to his limitations of Ahimsa and the like. Because a poet puts a particular truth before the world, it does not necessarily follow that he has known or worked out all its great consequences, or that having done so he is able always to express them fully. In this perhaps lies the greatness of the poem and the poet. A poet's meaning is limitless. Like man, the meaning of great writings suffers evolution. On examining the history of languages, we notice that the meaning of important words has changed or expanded. This is true of the Gita. The author has himself extended the meanings of some of the current words. We are able to discover this even on a superficial examination. It is possible that in the age prior to that of the Gita offering of animals in sacrifice was permissible. But there is not a trace of it in the sacrifice in the Gita sense.

In the Gita continuous concentration on God is the king of sacrifices. The third chapter seems to show that sacrifice chiefly means body labour for service. The third and the fourth chapters read together will give us other meanings for sacrifice but never animal sacrifice. Similarly has the meaning of the word sannyasa undergone in the Gita, a transformation. The sannyasa of the Gita will not tolerate complete cessation of .all activity. The sannyasa of the Gita is all work and yet no work. Thus the author of the Gita by extending meanings of words has taught us to imitate him. Let it be granted that, according to the letter of the Gita, it is possible to say that w rfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit. But after 40 years 1 unremitting endeavour fully to enforce the teaching of the Gita in my own life, I have, in all humility felt that perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of Ahirwa in every shape and form.

The Gita is not an aphoristic work, it is a great religious poerr. The deeper you dive into it, the richer the meanings you get. It being meant for the people at*

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large, there is pleasing repetition. With every age the important words will carry new and expanding meanings. But its central teaching will never vary. The seeker is at liberty to extract from fhis treasure any meaning he likes so as to enable him to enforce in his life the central teaching.

Nor is the Gita a collection of Do's and Don't s
What is lawful for one may be unlawful for another.
What
may be permissible at one time, or in one place, may
not
be so at another time, and in another place. Desire for
fruit is the only universal prohibition. Desirelessress
is
obligatory.

The Gita has sung the praises of knowledge, but
it is beyond the mere intellect, it is essentially
addressed to
the heart and capable of being understood by the heart.
Therefore the Gita is not for those who have no faith.
The
author makes Krishna say :

"Do not entrust this treasure to him who is without
sacrifice ,
without devotion, without the desire for this teaching
and who denies
Ate. On the other hand, those who will give this
precious treasure
to My devotees will by the fact of this service
assuredly reach Me.
And those who being free from malice, will* with faith,
absorb this
teaching^ shall, having attained freedom, live where
people of true
merit go after death''' Young India : Aug. 6, 193L

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TO-DAY the Gita is not only my Bible or my Qoran, it
is more than that it is my mother. I lost my earthly
mother
who gave me birth long ago ; but this eternal mother
has
completely filled her place by my side ever since. She
have never changed, she has never failed me. When I am
in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom.

Harijan : Aug. 24, 1939.

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I AM a devotee of the Gita and a firm believer in the
inexorable Law of Karma. Even the least little tripping
or

stumbling is not without its cause and I have wondered why

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one who has tried to follow the Gita in thought; word and deed should have any ailment. The doctors have assured me that this trouble of high blood pressure is entirely the result of mental strain and worry. If that is true, it is likely that I have been unnecessarily worrying myself, unnecessarily fretting and secretly harbouring passions like anger, lust, etc. The fact that any event or incident should disturb my mental equilibrium, in spite of my serious efforts, means not that the Gita ideal is defective but that my devotion to it is defective. The Gita ideal is true for all time, my understanding of it and observance of it is full of flaws. Harijan : Feb. 29, 1936,

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I VERILY believe that one who literally follows the prescription of the Eternal Mother need never grow old in mind. Such a one's body will wither in due course like leaves of a healthy tree, leaving the mind as young and as fresh as ever. Harijan : Feb. 29, 1936.

I HAVE called it my spiritual dictionary, for it has never failed me in any distress. It is, moreover, a book, which is free from sectarianism and dogma. Its appeal is universal. I do not regard the Gita as an abstruse

book.

No doubt learned men can see abstruseness in everything they come across. But in my opinion a man with ordinary intelligence should find no difficulty in gathering the simple message of the Gita. Harijan : Dec. 2, 1936.

I BELIEVE in the Bible as I believe in the Gita. I regard all the great faiths of the world as equally true with my own. It hurts me to see anyone of them caricatured as they are to-day by their own followers.

Harijan : Dec. 19, 1936.

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THE detachment prescribed by the Gita is the hardest thing 'to achieve, and yet it is so absolutely necessary for

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perfect peace and for the vision of both the little self and the greatest self. Harijan : Feb. 6, 1937.

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Qj IS the central teaching of the Gita selfless action or non-violence ?

A. I have no doubt that it is Anasakti, selfless action.

Indeed, I have called my little translation of the Gita Anasakti Yoga. And Anasakti transcends Ahimsa. He who would be anasakti (selfless) has necessarily to practise non-violence in order to attain the state of selflessness. Ahimsa is, therefore, a necessary preliminary, it is included in anasakti, it does not go beyond it*

Qj Then does the Gita teach Hima and Ahimsa both.

A, I do not read that meaning in the Gita. It is likely that the author did not write it to inculcate Ahimsa, but as a commentator draws innumerable interpretations from a poetic text, even so I interpret the Gita to mean that, if its central theme is Anasakti it also teaches Ahimsa. Whilst we are in the flesh and tread the solid earth, we have to practise Ahimsa. In the life beyond there is no Himsa or Ahimsa.

(. But Lord Krishna actually counters the doctrine o* Ahimsa. For Arjuna utters this pacifist resolve :

Better I deem it, if my kinsmen strike.

To face them weaponless, and bare my breast.

To shaft and spear, than answer blow with blow.

And Lord Krishna teaches him to answer " blow for blow."

A. There I join issue with you. Those words O Arjuna were words of pretentious wisdom. 'Until yesterday, says Krishna to him, 'you fought your kinsmen with deadly weapons without the slightest compunction. Even to-day you would strike if the enemy was a stranger and not your own kith and kin?

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The question before him was not of non-violence, but whether he should slay his nearest and dearest. (M. D.)

Harijan : Sept. 1, 1940.

God

A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself

plans campaigns and conducts battles A Dharma-Yuddha can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the Saiyagrahl feels quite helpless is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet. Only to the weak and helpless is divine succour vouchsafed.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 7.

THERE are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found Him, but I am seeking after him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life, I hope, I may be prepared to give it.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 4.

IN the march towards Truth, anger, selfishness, hatred, etc., naturally give way, for otherwise Truth would be impossible to attain. A man who is swayed by passions may have good enough intentions, may be truthful in word, but he will never find the Truth. A successful search of Truth means complete deliverance from the dual throng such as of love and hate, happiness and misery.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 47.

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IT may be said that God has never allowed any of my

own plans to stand. He has disposed them in His own way. My Experiments with Truth : Page 307.

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I THINK it is. wrong to expect certainties in this world where all else but God that is Truth is an uncertainty. All that appears and happens about and around us is uncertain and transient. But there is a supreme being hidden therein as a certainty, and one would be blessed if one would catch a glimpse of that certainty and hitch one's waggon to it. The quest for that Truth is the summum bonum of life. My Experiments with Truth : Page 308.

<\$> <s> <s>

GOD is witness above and He is just enough to chastise every double dealing. Young India : Feb. 9, 1922.

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IT is the quality of our work which will please God and not quantity. Young India : Jan. 19, 1922.

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A MAN who has the least faith in God and His mercy, which is His Justice cannot hate men, though, at the same time, he must hate their evil ways. But having abundant evil in himself and ever standing in need of charity, he must not hate those in whom he sees evil.

Young India : Jan. 26, 1922.

I WANT to see God face to face. God I know is Truth. For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence ahimsa love. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is a part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to

serve her
and she has a prior claim to my service. But my
patriotism

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is not exclusive ; it is calculated not only not to
hurt any
other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of
the
word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be
a menace to the world. Young India : April 3, 1924.

<^ ^s ^k

My trust is solely in God. And I trust men only be-
cause I trust God. If I had no God to rely upon, I
should
be like Timon, a hater of my species.

Young India : Dec. 4, 1924,

TO me God is Truth and Love ; God is ethics and
morality ; God is fearlessness, God is the source of
Light
and Life and yet He is above and beyond all these. God
is conscience. He is even the atheist of the atheist.
For
in His boundless love God permits the atheist to live.
He
is the searcher of hearts. He transcends speech and
reason.
He knows us and our hearts better than we do ourselves.
He does not take us at our word for he knows that we
often
do not mean it, some knowingly and others unknowingly.
He is a personal God to those who need His personal
pre-
sence. He is embodied to those who need His touch. He
is the purest essence. He simply is to those who have
faith*.
He is all things to all men. He is in us and yet above
and
beyond us : One may banish the word 'God' from the
Congress but one has no power to banish the thing
itself.
What is a solemn affirmation if it is not the same

thing as
in the name of God. And surely conscience is but a poor
and laborious paraphrase of the simple combination of
three letters called God. He cannot cease to be because
hideous immoralities or inhuman brutalities are
committed
in His name. He is long-suffering. He is patient but He
is also terrible. He is the most exacting personage in
the
world and the world to come. He metes out the same
measure to us that we mete but to our neighbours men-
and brutes. With him ignorance is no excuse. And withal
He is ever-forgiving for He always gives us the chance
to

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repent. 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 cover
of
free will 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
an illusion Maya. 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. Young India : Mar. 5, 1925.

^ ^ <\$>

THE divine guidance often corries when the horizon
is the blackest. Young India : Aug. 27, 1925.

PERFECTION is the exclusive attribute of God and
it is indescribable, untranslatable. I do believe that
it is
possible for human beings to become perfect even as God
is perfect. It is necessary for all of us to aspire

after that
perfection, but when that blessed state is attained, it
be-
comes indescribable, indefinable.

Yiung India : Sept. 22, 1927.

^^ ^^ ^y

MANKIND is notoriously too dense to read the signs
that God sends from time to time. We require drums to
be beaten into our ears, before we should wake from our
trance and hear the warning and see that to lose
oneself in
all is the only way to find oneself.

Young India : Aug. 25, 1927:

<*> <\$> <s>

THOUGH we may know Him by a thousand names,
He is one and the same to us all.

Young India : Nov. 25, 1926.

THERE is an indefinable mysterious Power that
pervades everything. I feel it, though I do not see it.

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It is this Unseen Power which makes itself felt and yet
defies all proof because it is so unlike all that I
perceive
through my senses. It transcends the senses.

But it is possible to reason out the existence of God
to
a limited extent. Even in ordinary affairs we know that
people do not know who rules or why and how he rules.
And yet they know that there is a power that certainly
rules. In my tour last year in Mysore I met many poor
villages and I found upon inquiry that they did not
know
who ruled Mysore. They simply said some god ruled it.
If the knowledge of these poor people was so limited
about
their ruler, I, who an infinitely lesser than God, than
they,

than their ruler, need not be surprised if I do not realise the presence of God, the King of kings. Nevertheless I do feel as the poor villagers felt about Mysore that there is orderliness in the universe, there is an unalterable Law governing everything and every being that exists or lives.

It is not a blind law ; for no blind law can govern the conduct of living beings; and thanks to the marvellous researches of Sir J. C. Bose, it can now be proved that even matter is life. That Law then which governs our life is God.

Law and the Law-giver are one. I may not deny the Law or the Law-giver, because I know so little about It or Him.

Even as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power will avail -me nothing, so will not my denial of God and His Law liberate me from its operation ; whereas humble and mute acceptance of divine authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly rule makes life under it easier.

I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever-changing, ever-dying there is underlying all that change a living power that is changeless, that holds altogether, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God. And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is.

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And is the power benevolent or malevolent ? I see if as purely benevolent. For I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God

is Life, Truth, Light. He is, Love. He is the Supreme God.

But He is no God who merely satisfies the intellect if, He ever does. God to be God must rule the heart and', transform it. He must express Himself in even the smallest act of His votary. This can only be done through a definite-realisation more real than the five senses can ever perceive.

Meanwhile I invite the correspondent to pray withi Newman who sang from experience :

Lead, kindly light amidst the encircling gloom,

Lead Tftou me on ;
The night is dark and I am jar from home,

Lead 1 hou me on ;
Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see

The distant scene ; one step enough for me.

Young India : Oct. 11, 1928.

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IF you would ask Him to help you, you would go to Him in all your nakedness, approach Him without reser-
vations, also without fear or doubts as to how He can help a fallen being like you. He Who has helped millions who have approached Him, is He going to desert you ? He makes no exception whatsoever, and you will find that every one of your prayers will be answered. The prayer of even the most impure will be answered. I am telling this out of my personal experience. I have gone through the purgatory. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and every-thing will be added unto you. Young India : March 1, 1929.

GOD never ordains that only things that we like should happen and things that we do not like should not happen, Young India : Oct. 11, 1928..

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THE following is taken from a letter from Bengal :

"I had the privilege to go through your article on birth control with the heading 'A youth's difficulty.'

"With the original theme of your article, I am in full agreement. But, in that article you have expressed in a line your sentiment of God. You have said that it is the fashion nowadays for young men to discard the idea of God and they have no living faith in a living God.

"But may I ask what proof (which must be positive and undisputed) can you put forth regarding the existence of God? Hindu philosophers or ancient Rishis, it seems to me, in their attempt to describe the Swntupa, or reality of Ishwara have at least come to the conclusion that He is indescribable and veiled in Maya and so on. In short, they have enveloped God in an impenetrable mist of obscurity and have further complicated, instead of simplifying the complicated question of God, I do not dare deny that a true Mahatma like you or Sri Aurobindo, or the Buddha and Shankaracharya of the past may well conceive and realise the existence of such a God Who is far beyond the reach of ordinary human intellect.

"But, what have we (the general mass), whose coarse intellect can never penetrate into the unfathomable deep, to do with such a God if we do not feel his presence in our midst? If He is the Creator and Father of us all, why do we not feel His presence or existence in every beat of our hearts? If He cannot make His presence felt, He is no God to me.

Further, I have the question if He is the Father of this universe, does He feel the sorrows of His children ? If He feels so, then why did He work havoc and inflict so much misery on His children by the devastating quakes of Bihar and Quetta ? Why did He humiliate an innocent nation the Abyssinians ? Are the Abyssinians not His sons ? If He not Almighty ? Then why could He not prevent these calamities. ? You carried on a non-violent truthful campaign for the independence of my poor Mother India and you implored the help of God, But, I think, that help has been denied to you and that strong force of materialism, which never depends on the help of God, got the better of you and you were humiliated and you have sunk into the background by forced retirement. If there was a God, He would certainly have helped you, for your cause was indeed a deserving one. I need not multiply such instances.

" So, it is not at all surprising that young men of the present day do not believe in God, because they do not want to make a supposition of God. They want a real living God. You have mentioned in your article of a living faith in a living God. I shall feel highly gratified and I think you will be rendering a great benefit to the young world, if you put forth some positive, undeniable proof of the existence of God. I have the confidence that you will not more mystify the already mystified problem, and will throw some definite light on the matter.'*

I very much fear that what I am about to write will not

remove the mist to which the correspondent alludes.

The writer supposes that I might have realised the existence of a living God. I can lay no such claim. But I do have a living faith in a living God even as I have a living faith in many things that scientists tell me.

It may be retorted that what the scientists say can be verified if one followed the prescription given for realising

the facts which are taken for granted. Precisely in that

manner speak the Rishis and the Prophets. They saw anybody following the path they have trodden can realise God.

The fact is we do not want to follow the path leading to

realisation and we won't take the testimony of eye-witnesses

about the one thing that really matters. Not all the achievements of physical sciences put together can compare

with that which gives us a living faith in God. Those who

do not want to believe in the existence of God do not believe in the existence of anything apart from the body.

Such a belief is held to be unnecessary or the progress of

humanity. For such persons the weightiest argument in proof of the existence of soul or God is of no avail.

You

cannot make a person who has stuffed his ears, listen to,

much less appreciate, the finest music. Even so can you not convince those about the existence of a living God who

do not want the conviction.

i

Fortunately the vast majority of people do have a living faith in a living God. They cannot, will not, argue

about it. For them "It is." Are all the scriptures of the

world old women's tales of superstition ? Is the testimony

of the Rishit, and the Prophets to be rejected ? Is the testimony of Chaitanya, Ramakrishna Parmahansa, Tukaram, Dhyandeva, Ramdas, Nanak, Kabir, Tulsidas of no value ? What about Rammohan Roy, Davendranath Tagore, Vivekanand all modern men as well educated as the tallest among the living ones ? I omit the living witnesses whose evidence would be considered unimpeachable. This belief in God has to be based on faith which transcends reason.

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Indeed even the so-called realisation has at bottom an element of faith without which it cannot be sustained. In the very nature of things it must be so. Who can transgress the limitations of His being? I hold that complete realisation is impossible in this embodied life. Nor is it necessary. A living immovable faith is all that is required for reaching the full spiritual height attainable by human beings. God is not outside this earthly case of ours. Therefore exterior proof is not of much avail, if any at all. We must ever fail to perceive Him through the senses, because He is beyond them. We can feel Him, if we will but withdraw ourselves, from the senses, the divine music is incessantly going on within ourselves, but the crude senses drown the delicate music which is unlike 'and infinitely superior to anything we can perceive or hear with our senses.

The writer wants to know why, if God is a God of mercy and justice. He allows all the miseries and sorrows we see around us. I can give no satisfactory explanation.

He imputes to me a sense of defeat and humiliation. I have no such sense of defeat, humiliation or despair. My retirement, such as it is, has nothing to do with any defeat. It is no more and no less than a course of self-purification and self-preparation. I state this to show that things are often not what they seem. It may be that what we mistake as sorrows, injustices and the like are not such in truth. If we could solve all the mysteries of the universe, we would be co-equals with God. Every drop of the ocean shares its glory but is not the ocean. Realising our littleness during this tiny span of life, we close every morning prayer with the recitation of a verse which means: Misery so-called is no misery nor riches so-called riches. Forgetting (or denying) God is the true misery, remembering (or faith in) God is true riches. - Barijan : June 13, 1940.

^S ^ <y

IF God was a capricious person instead of being the changeless and unchangeable living Law, He would in shee

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indignation wipe out all those who in the name of religion deny Him and His Law. Young India : July 11, 1929.

Q; HOW can we serve God when we do not know God?

A. We may not know God, but we know his creation Service of His creation is the service of God.

Q. But how can we serve the whole of God's creation?

A. We can but serve that part of God's creation which is nearest and best known to us. We can start with our next door neighbour. We should not be content with keep-
ing our courtyard clean, we should see that our neighbour's courtyard is also clean. We may serve our family, but may not sacrifice the village for the sake of the family. Our own honour lies in the preservation of that of our own village. But we must each of us understand our own limitations. Our capacity for service is automatically limited by our knowledge of the world in which we live. But let me put it in the simplest possible language. Let us think less of ourselves than our next door neighbour. Dumping the refuse of our courtyard into that of our neighbour is no service of humanity, but disservice. Let us start with the service of our neighbours. Harijan : Aug. 22, 1936.

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A FRIEND inquired if Gandhiji's aim was just humanitarian in sitting down in the village, just serving the villagers as best as he could.

"I am here to serve no one else but myself," said Gandhiji, "to find my own self-realisation through the service of these village folk. Man's ultimate aim is the realisation of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of , the endeavour simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This

can only be done through one's country. I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourceless so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity/ 9

Q. But some comforts may be necessary even from man's spiritual advancement. One could not advance himself by identifying himself with the discomfort and squalour of the villager.

"A certain degree of physical harmony and comfort is necessary, but above a certain level it becomes a hindrance instead of help. Therefore the ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be a delusion and a snare. The satisfaction of one's physical needs, even the intellectual needs of one's narrow self, must meet at a certain point a dead stop, before it degenerates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness. A man must arrange his physical and cultural circumstances so that they do not hinder him in his service of humanity, on which all his energies should be concentrated." Harijan : Aug. 29, 1936.

~ < ^

A PROFESSOR of Islamia College came with a question that was troubling him and troubling many of the present generation belief in God. What was the basis of his belief if, Gandhiji had it, as he knew he had it ? What was the experience ? "It can never be a matter for argument,"

said Gandhiji. If you would have me convince others by argument I am floored. But I can tell you this that I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. That I can also testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my

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belief in God, and I am dead. You may call this a superstition, but I confess it is a superstition that I hug even as I used to hug the name of Rama in my childhood when there was any cause of danger or alarm. That was what an old nurse had taught me."

"But you think that superstition was necessary for you ?"

"Yes, necessary to sustain me."

"That is all right. May I now ask if you had anything like a prophetic vision ?"

"I do not know what you call a vision and whom you will call prophetic. But let me give you an experience in my life. When I announced my fast of 21 days in jail I had not reasoned about it. On retiring to bed the previous night I had no notion that I was going to announce the next morning a fast of 21 days. But in the middle of the night a Voice woke me up and said : 'Go through a fast.' 'How many' ? I asked, '21 days' was the answer. Now let me tell you that my mind was unprepared for it, disinclined for it. But the thing came to me as clearly as anything could be. Let me tell you one thing more and I have done.

Whatever striking things I have done in life I have not done prompted by reason but prompted by instinct I would say God. Take the Dandi Salt March of 1930. I had not the ghost of a suspicion how the breach of the Salt Law would work itself out. Pandit Motilalji and other friends were fretting and did not know what I would do ; and I could tell them nothing, as I myself knew nothing about it. But like a flash it came, as you know it was enough to shake the country from one end to the other. One last thing. Until the last day I knew nothing about announcing the 6th of April 1919 as a day of fasting and prayer. But I dreamt about it there was no Voice or Vision as in 1930 And I felt it was just the thing to do. In the morning I shared it /vith G. R. and announced it to the country you know with

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what a wonderfully spontaneous response."

Harijan : May 14, 1938.

IF one wishes to walk in the fear of God, one should be indifferent about popular praise or blame.

Harijan: May 7, 1940.

EVERYONE has faith in God though everyone does not know it. For everyone has faith in himself and that multiplied to nth degree is God. The sum total of all that lives is God. We may not be God but we are of God even as a little drop of water is of the ocean. Imagine it torn away from the ocean and flung millions of miles away. It becomes helpless torn from its surroundings and cannot feel the might and majesty of the ocean. But if some one could

point out to it that it is of the ocean, its faith would revive, it would dance with joy and the whole of the might and majesty of the ocean would be reflected in it.

Harijan : } \we 3, 1939.

EVER since its commencement, the world, the wise and the foolish included, has proceeded upon the assumption that, if we are, God is and that, if God is not, we are not. And since belief in God is treated as a fact more definite than the fact that the Sun is. This living faith has solved the largest number of puzzles of life. It has alleviated our misery. It sustains us in life, it is our one solace in death. The very search for Truth becomes interesting, worth while because of this belief. But search for Truth is search for God. Truth is God. God is, because Truth is. We embark upon the search, because we believe that there is Truth and it can be found by diligent search and meticulous observance of the well-known and well-tried rules of the search. There is no record in history of the failure of such search. Even the athiests who have pretended to dfebelieve in God have believed in Truth. The trick they

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have performed is that of giving God another not a new name ; His name are Legion. Truth is the crown of them all.

What is true of God is true, though in a less degree,

of the 'assumption of the truth of some fundamental
moralities/ As a matter of fact they are implied in the
belief
in God or Truth. Departure from these has landed the
truants in endless misery. Difficulty of practice
should not
be confused with x disbelief. A Himalayan expedition
has
its prescribed conditions of success.

I do not regard God as a person. Truth for me is
God, and God's Law and God are not different things or
facts, in the sense that an earthly king and his law
are
different. God is an idea, Law Himseli. Therefore it is
impossible to conceive God as breaking the Law. He
therefore does not rule our actions and withdraw
Himself.

When we say He rules our actions, we are simply using
human language and we try to limit Him. Otherwise He
and His Law abide everywhere and govern everything.
Therefore I do not think that He answers in every
detail

every request of ours, but there is no doubt that He
rules
our actions, and I literally believe that not a blade
of grass
grows or moves without His will. This free will we
enjoy is
less than that of a passenger on a crowded deck.

Harijan : Dec. 2, 1939-

Q; Do y OU feel a sense 'of freedom in your communion
with God ?

A. I do. I do not feel cramped as I would on a
board full of passengers. Although I know that my
freedom
is less than that of a passenger, I appreciate that
freedom
as I have imbibed through and through the central
teaching
of the Gita that man is the maker of his own destiny in
the
sense that he has freedom of choice as to the manner in
which he uses that freedom. But he is no controller ol

results. The moment he thinks he is, he comes to grief.

Harijan : March 23, 1940

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NOT every person can know God's will. Proper training is necessary to attain the power to know God's will. Harijan : April 27, 1940,

IT is through Truth and Non-violence that I can have some glimpse of God. Truth and Non-violence are my God, They are the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

Harijan : July 29, 1940.

^^ ^S ^N

WITH God as our Commander and Infallible Guide where is there cause for any fear ?

Harijan : Aug. 25, 1940.

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MAN is nothing Napoleon planned much and found himself a prisoner in St. Helena. The mighty Kaiser aimed at the crown of Europe and is reduced to the status of a private gentleman. God had so ? willed it. Let us contemplate such examples and be humble.

Young India : Oct. 9, 1924

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RELIANCE upon the sword is wholly inconsistent with reliance upon God. Young India : Dec. 30, 1925-*

<3> <\$> <\$>

WITH men nothing may be possible, for God nothing is impossible. Young India : Feb. 9, 1926.

<s> < <\$>

WE are but straws in the hands of God. He alone

can blow us where He pleases. We cannot oppose His wish. He has made us all to unite, not to remain apart for ever. Young India : May 15, 1924.

GOD tries His votaries through and through, but never beyond endurance. He gives them strength enough

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to go through the ordeal He prescribes for them.

Young India : Feb. 19, 1925.

3> 3> 3>

IF we can but throw ourselves into His lap as our only Help, we shall come out scatheless through every ordeal that the Government may subject us to. If nothing happens without His permission, where is the difficulty in

believing that He is trying us even through this Govern-

ment ? I would take our complaints to Him and be angry with Him for so cruelly trying us. And He will soothe us

and forgive us, if we will but trust Him. The way to stand erect before the tyrant is not to hate him, not to

strike him, but to humble ourselves before God and cry out to Him in the hour of agony.

Young India : Dec. 15, 1921

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GOD sometimes does try to the uttermost those whom. He wishes to bless. Young India : June 21, 1931.

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OF all my Tamil lessons one proverb at least abides with me as an evergreen. Its literal meaning is, 'God is the only Help for the helpless. 7 The grand theory of Satyagraha is built upon a belief in that truth. Hindu religious literature is full of illustrations to prove

the truth.

Young India : Feb. 19, 1925.

3> <3> <S>

I CAN certainly say though every one else may forsake you, God never forsakes people in distress. When I studied Tamil many" years ago, I came across a proverb which I cannot forget. This is it : "Tikkattravannukka Daivamed-hune, 77 which means " for those who are helpless, God is the Help."

"" WE must learn, each one of us, to stand alone. God only is our infallible and eternal guide.

Young India : Sep. 29, 1921.

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GOD helps the Helpless, not those who believe they can do something. Young India : Feb. 28, 1922.

^^ ^^ ^^

A SCAVENGER who works in his service shares equal distinction with a king who uses his gifts in His name and as a mere trustee. Unlike as among us very imperfect beings, in His Durbar the motive rather than the act itself decides its quality. He knowing the intention as much as the act, judges the act according to the intention.

Young India : Nov. 25, 1926.

IN the divine account-books only our actions are noted not what we have read or what we have spoken.

Young India : Jan. 7, 1925.

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GOD keeps an accurate record of all things good and

bad. There is no better accountant on earth.

Harijan : Sept. 21, 1934.

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GOD requires the purest sacrifice.

Toung India : Feb. 9, 1927.

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BRAHMACHARI means searcher after God, one who conducts himself so as to bring himself nearest to God in the least possible time. And all the great religions of the world, however much they may differ, are absolutely one on this fundamental thing that no man or woman with an impure heart can possibly appear before the Great White Throne. Toung India : Sept. 8, 1927.

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GOD is a very hard taskmaster. He is never satisfied with fire-works display. His mills although they grind surely and incessantly, grind excruciatingly slow, and He

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is never satisfied with hasty forfeitures of life. It is a sacrifice of the purest that He demands, and so you and I have prayerfully to plod on, live out the life so long as it is vouchsafed to us to live it.

Young India : Sept. 22, 1927.

<S> 3> <S>

I AM inundated with letters from young men who write frankly about their evil habits and about the void that their unbelief has made in their lives. No mere medical advice can bring them relief. I can only tell them

that there is no way but that of surrender to and trust
in
God and His grace. Let us all utilise this occasion by
giving
the living religion in our lives the place it deserves.
Has
not Akhobhagat said

Live as you will, but so
As to realise God. x

Young India : Aug. 28, 1928.

RAMA-NAM is not for those who tempt God in every
way possible and ever expect it to save. It is for
those
who walk in fear of God, who want to restrain
themselves
and cannot in spite of themselves

Young India:] an. 30, 1925.

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NEVER-THELESS there are those who are struck with
doubt arid despair For them there is the Name of God.
It is God's covenant that whoever goes to Him in
weakness
and helplessness, him He will make strong. 'When I am
weak, then I am strong, 1 as the poet Surdas has sung.
Rama is the strength of the weak. This strength is not
to
be obtained by throwing oneself on His name. Rama is
but a synonym of God. You may say God or Allah or
whatever other name you like, but the moment you trust
naught but Him, you are strong, all disappointment dis-
appears. Young India : June 1, 1925.

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THOSE who put their implicit faith in Him cannot
but reach their aims. Young India : Nov. 1, 1925.

<\$> <\$> <S>

BUT as I am a believer in God, as I never for a moment lose faith in Him, as I content myself with the joy and sorrow that He wills for me, I may feel helpless, but I never lose hope. *Toung India* : Jan. 27, 1927.

Goondaism

EVEN the goondas are part of us and therefore they must be handled gently and sympathetically. People generally do not take to goondaism for the love of it. It is

a symptom of a deeper-seated disease in the body politic.

The same law should govern our relations with internal goondaism that we apply in our relations with the goondaism

in the system of Government. And if we have felt that we have the ability to deal with that highly organised goondaism in a non-violent manner how much more should we feel the ability to deal with the internal goondaism by

the same method ? *Toung India* : May 7, 1931

Government of India

NO conquest by force of arms is worth treasuring, if it is not followed by cultural conquest, if the conquered do not hug their chains and regard the conqueror as their benefactor, The different forts of India are no doubt a continuous reminder of the British might. But the silent conquest of the mind of educated India is a surer guarantee of British stability than the formidable forts.

Toung India : Aug. 12, 1926.

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WHEREAS, in truth a Government that is ideal governs the least. It is no self-government that leaves nothing for the people to do. That is pupillage our present stage. *Toung India* : Aug. 27, 1925,

WE have no King. We have a rule masquerading under the sacred name of law. Rulers are many. They come and go. The rule abides. But it is corrupt, mischievous, soul-destroying rule which has to be ended at any cost. Young India : Feb. 23, 1928.

<*><\$><\$>

THE logical outcome of the Government policy is to Europeanise India and immediately we have become Europeanised, our English masters will gladly hand over the reins of Government to us. We would be welcomed as their willing agents. I can have no interest in that deadly process save to put the whole of my humble weight against it. My Swaraj is to keep in tact the .genius of our civilisation. I want to write many new things but they must be all \\\ritten on the Indian slate. I would gladly borrow from the West when I can return the amount with decent interest.

The Councillors want their fares and extras, the ministers their salaries, the lawyers their fees, the suitors the decrees, the parents such education for their boys as would give them status in the present life, the millionaires want facilities for multiplying their millions and the rest their unmanly peace. The whole revolves beautifully round the central corpoiation. It is a giddy dance from which no one cares to free himself and so, as the speed increases > the exhilaration is the greater. But it is a death-dance and the exhilaration is induced by the rapid heart beat of a patient who is about to expire. Young India : Feb. 9, 1922*

<3> <\$> <S>

THE best use we can make of this Government is ta

ignore its existence and to isolate it as much as possible from our life, believing that contact with it is corrupting and degrading. Young India : Nov. 17, 1921.

Granth Sahib

I HOLD Granth Sahib in high reverence. Several parts

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of it have passed into our daily speech. So far as my reading of it goes, it inculcates faith, valour and invincible belief in the ultimate triumph of right and justice.

Young India : March 19, 1931.

Greed

TO take what is required may be profitable ; to have more given to you is highly likely to be a burden. To overload a stomach is to court slow death.

Harijan : July 13, 1940.

Guru

I SAY that it is not within me to be anybody's Guru. I have always and will always disclaim this title. I, who am in search of a spiritual Guru, how can I arrogate to myself the title of a Guru ? I cannot even think of being anybody's political guru in the sense that I applied the term to the late Mr. Gokhale, for I am but an infant in politics.

To be a guru I must be myself flawlessly perfect r which I can never claim to be. Young India : July 27, 1921.

<^ <\$> <>

IF I had a Guru, and I am looking for one, I should

surrender myself body and soul to him. But in this age of unbelief a true Guru is hard to find. A substitute will be worse than useless, often positively harmful. I must therefore warn all against accepting imperfect ones as Gurus. It is better to grope in the dark and wade through a million errors to Truth than to entrust oneself to one who "knows not that he knows not." Has a man ever learnt swimming by tying a stone to his neck ?

Young India : Dec. 3, 1925.

conception of a Guru is perhaps not of the ordinary. Nothing but perfection will satisfy me. I am in search of

GURU 285

one who, though in the flesh, is incorruptible and unmoved by passion, free from the pairs of opposites, who is Truth and Ahimsa incarnate and who will therefore fear none and be feared by none. Every one gets the Guru he deserves and strives for. The difficulty of finding the Guru I want is thus obvious. But it does not worry me : for it follows from what I have said, that I must try to perfect myself before I meet the Guru in the flesh. Till then I must contemplate him in the spirit. My success lies in my continuous, humble, truthful striving. 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. Though therefore from my weakness I fail a thousand times, I will not lose faith but hope

that
I shall see the Light when the flesh has been brought
under
perfect subjection as some day it must.

Young India : Jan. 3, 1928.

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I HAVE called Gokhale my political guru. But in
spiritual matters, I am sorry to say, I have not yet
found
any one to whom I could completely surrender myself and
whose opinion I could implicitly and unquestioningly
accept
as I could Gokhale's in politics. Perhaps I am not yet
ripe
for a spiritual guru because I believe that the
spiritual guru
comes to you of himself, in fact seeks you out when you
are
ready for him. Young India : Sept. 20, 1928.

I BELIEVE in the Hindu theory of Guru and his im-
portance in spiritual realization. I think there is a
great
deal of Truth in the doctrine that true knowledge is
im-
possible without a Guru. An imperfect teacher may be
tolerable in mundane matters, but not in spiritual
matters
only a perfect gnani deserves to be enthroned as Guru,
There must therefore be ceaseless striving after
perfection,

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For one gets the Guru that one deserves. Infinite
striving
after perfection is one's right. It is one's own
reward. The
rest is in the hands of God.

My Experiments With Truth : Page 114.

H

Habit

MAN'S destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. *Toung India* : Dec. 20, 1928.

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WE cannot, in a moment, get rid of habits of a lifetime* *Harijan*: Oct. 5, 1934*

Hartal

HARTAL is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and hartal is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion. *Toung India* : May 6, 1919.

3> 3> <3>

HARTAL forcibly brought about cannot be considered Satyagrahi hartal. In^ any thing Satyagrahi there should be purity of motive, means and end.

Young India: Jan. 12, 1920.

HARTAL must not be made cheap. It must be used only for rare occasions. *Toung India* : March 10, 1920.

Help

CONDITIONAL assistance is like adulterated cement that does not bind. *Toung India* : -Dec. 3, 1919.

^ ^ ^

HE would be a bad helper who, when hailed to bring a bucketful of water to quench a fire, brought it after even

the ashes had been removed.

Ymm* imj; . T o 1000

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WHERE I cannot help, I must resolutely refuse to hinder. Young India : June 25, 1925.

Helplessness

IT is only because we have created a vicious atmosphere of impotence round ourselves that we consider ourselves to be helpless even for the simplest possible things.

Young India : June 20, 1929.

Himalayas

IN these hills, nature's hospitality eclipses all that man can ever do. The enchanting beauty of the Himalayas, their bracing climate and the soothing green that envelopes you leaves nothing more to be desired. I wonder whether the scenery of these hills and the climate are to be surpassed, if equalled, by any of the beauty spot of the world. After having been for nearly three weeks in the Almora hills, I am more than ever amazed why our people need to go to Europe in search of health.

Young India : July 11, 1929.

Hinduism

In dealing with the problem of untouchability during the Mardar Tour I have asserted my claim to being a Sanatani Hindu with greater emphasis than hitherto, and yet there are things which are commonly done in the name of Hinduism, which I disregard. I have no desire to be called a Sanatani Hindu or any other, if I am not such. And I

have certainly no desire to steal in a reform or an abuse under cover of a great faith.

It is therefore necessary for me once for all distinctly to give my meaning of Sanatana Hinduism. The word Svnatana I use in its natural sense.

I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, because,

(1) I believe in the Vedav> the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures, and therefore in avataras and rebirth.

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(2) I believe in the Varnasharama dharma in a sense in my opinion strictly Vedic, but not in its present popular and crude sense.

(3) I believe in the protection of the cow in its much larger sense than the popular.

(4) I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.

The reader will note that I have purposely refrained from, using the word divine origin in reference to the Vedas or any other scriptures. For I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas. I believe the Bible, the Koran and the ZendAvesta to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired. Nor do I claim to have any first-hand knowledge of these wonderful books. But I do claim to know and feel the truths of the essential teaching of the scriptures. I decline to be bound by any interpretation, however learned it

may
be if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense. I do
most
emphatically repudiate the claim (if they advance any
such)
of the present Shankaracharyas and Shastris to give a
correct interpretation of the Hindu scriptures. On the
contrary, I believe that our present knowledge of these
books is in a most chaotic state. I believe implicitly
in the
Hindu aphorism, that no one truly knows the Shastras
who-
has nor attained perfection in Innocence (Ahimsa),
Truth
(Satya) and Self-control (Brahmacharya) and who has not
re-
nounced all acquisition or possession of wealth. I
believe
in the institution of Gurus, but in this age millions
must go
without a Guru, because it is a rare thing to find a combina-
tion of perfect purity and perfect learning. But one
need
not despair of ever knowing the truth of one's
religion*
because the fundamentals of Hinduism as of every great
religion are unchangeable, and easily understood. Every
Hindu believes in God and His Oneness, in rebirth and
salva-
tion. But that which distinguishes Hinduism from every
other
religion is its cow protection, more than its
Varnashrama.

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Varnashrama, is in my opinion, inherent in human
nature, and Hinduism has simply reduced it to a
science.
I - does attach to birth. A man cannot change his varna
by choice. Not to abide by one's varna is to disregard
the
law of heredity. The division, however, into
innumerable
castes is an unwarranted liberty taken with the
doctrine.

The four divisions are all-sufficing.

I do not believe that interdining or even intermarriage necessarily deprives a man of his status that his birth has given him. The four divisions define man's calling, they do not restrict or regulate social intercourse. The divisions define duties, they confer no privileges. It is, I hold, against the genius of Hinduism to arrogate to oneself a higher status or assign to another lower. All are born to serve God's creation, a Brahman with his knowlege, a Kshatriya with his power of protection, a Vaishya with his commercial ability and a Shudra with bodily labour. This, however, does not mean flat a Brahman, for instance, is absolved from bodily labour, or the duty of protecting himself and others. His birth makes a Brahman predominantly a man of knowlege, the fittest by heredity and training to impart i t to others. There is nothing, again, to prevent the Shudra from acquiring all the knowledge he wishes. Only, he will best serve with his body and need not envy others their special qualities for service. But a Brahman who claims superiority by right of knowledge falls and has no know- ledge. And so with the others who pride themselves upon their special qualities. Varnashrama is self-restraint and conservation and economy of energy.

Though therefore Varnashrama is not affected by interdining or intermarriage, Hinduism does most emphatically discourage interdining and intermarriage between divisions. Hinduism reached the highest limit of self restraint. It is undoubtedly a religion of renunciation of the flesh, so

that the spirit may be set free. It is no part of Hindu's duty to dine with his son. And by restricting his choice of

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a bride to a particular group, he exercises rare self-restraint*

Hinduism does not regard a married state as by any means essential for salvation. Marriage is a 'fall' even as birth is a 'fall.' Salvation is freedom from birth and hence death also. Prohibition against intermarriage and interdining is essential for a rapid evolution of the soul.

But this self-denial is no test of varna. A Brahman may remain a Brahman, though he may dine with his Shudra brother, if he has not left off his duty of service by know-

ledge. It follows from what I have said above, that restraint in matters of marriage and dining is not based upon notions of superiority. A Hindu who refuses to dine with another from a sense of superiority misrepresents his Dharma.

Unfortunately to-day, Hinduism seems to consist merely in eating and not eating. Once I horrified a pious Hindu by taking toast at a Mussalman's house. I saw that he was pained to see me pouring milk into a cup handed by a Mussalman friend, but his anguish knew no bounds when he saw me taking toast at the Mussalman's hands. Hinduism is in danger of losing its substance, if it resolves itself into a matter of elaborate rules as to what and with whom to eat. Abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs, and from all kinds of foods, especially meat, is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, but it

is by no means an end in itself. Many a man eating meat and with everybody, but living in the fear of God is nearer his freedom than a man religiously abstaining from meat and many other things, but blaspheming God in every one of his acts.

The central fact of Hinduism however is cow protection. Cow protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives. Why the cow was selected for apotheosis is obvious to me. The cow was in India the best companion. She was the giver of plenty. Not only

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did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. The cow is a poem of pity. One reads pity in the gentle animal. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind* Protection of the cow means protection of the whole dumb creation of God. The ancient seer, whoever he was, began with the cow. The appeal of the lower order of creation is all the more forcible because it is speechless. Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world., And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow.

The way to protect is to die for her. It is a denial of Hinduism and Ahimsa to kill a human being to protect a cow- Hindus are enjoined to protect the cow by their tapasya, by self-purification, by self-sacrifice. The present-day cow protection has degenerated into a perpetual feud with the Mussalmans, whereas cow protection means conquering the Mussalmans by our love. A Mussalman friend sent me

some time ago a book detailing the inhumanities practised by us on the cow and her progeny ; how we bleed her to take the last drop of milk from her, how we starve her to emaciation, how we ill-treat the calves, how we deprive them of their portion of milk, how cruelly we treat the oxen, how we castrate them, how we beat them, how we overload them. If they had speech, they would bear witness to our crimes against them which would stagger the world. * By every act of cruelty to our cattle, we disown God and Hinduism. I do not know that the condition of the cattle in any other part of the world is so bad as in unhappy India. We may not blame the Englishman for this. We may not plead poverty in our defence. Criminal negligence is the only cause of the miserable condition of our cattle. Our Panjrapolts, though they are an answer to our instinct of mercy, are a clumsy demonstration of its execution. Instead of being model dairy farms and great profitable national institutions, they are merely depots for receiving decrepit cattle.

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Hindus will be judged not by their tilaks. not by the correct chanting of mantras, not by their pilgrimages, not by their most punctilious observance of rules but by their ability to protect the cow. Whilst professing the religion of cow protection, we have enslaved the cow and her progeny, and have become slaves ourselves.

It will now be understood why I consider myself a Sanatani Hindu. I yield to none in my regard for the cow. I have made the Khilafat cause my own, because I see that

through its preservation full protection can be secured for the cow. I do not ask my Mussalman friends to save the cow in consideration of my service. My prayer ascends daily to God Almighty, that my service of a cause I hold to be just may appear so pleasing to Him, that he may change the hearts of the Mussalmans, and fill them with pity for their Hindu neighbours and make them save the animal the latter hold dear as life itself.

I can no more describe my feeling for Hinduism than for my own wife. She moves me as no other woman in the world can. Nor that she has no faults : I daresay, she has many more than I see myself. But the feeling of an indissoluble bond is there. Even so I feel for and about Hinduism with all its faults and limitations. Nothing elates me so much as* the music of the Gita or the Ramayana by Tulsidas, the only two books in Hinduism I may be said to know. When I fancied I was taking my last breath, the Gita was my solace*. I know the vice that is going on to-day in all the great Hindu shrines, but I love them in spite of their unspeakable failings. There is an interest which I take in them and which I take in no other. I am a reformer through and through. But my zeal never takes me to the rejection of any of the essential things of Hinduism. I have said I do not disbelieve in idol worship. An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me. But I think that idol worship is part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism. Why should one be more com-

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posed in a church than elsewhere ? Images are an aid to worship. No Hindu considers an image to be God. I do not consider idol worship a sin.

It is clear from the foregoing, that Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets of the world. It is not a missionary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been of an evolutionary, imperceptible character. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith or Dharma, and so it lives at peace with all the religions.

That being my conception of Hinduism, I have never been able to reconcile myself to untouchability. I have always regarded it as an excrescence. It is true that it has been handed down to us from generations, but so are many evil practices even to this day. I should be ashamed to think that dedication of girls to virtual prostitution was a part of Hinduism. Yet it is practised by Hindus in many parts of India. I consider it positive irreligion to sacrifice goats to Kali and do not consider it a part of Hinduism. Hinduism is a growth of ages. The very name, Hinduism, was given to the religion of the people of Hindustan by foreigners. There was no doubt at one time sacrifice of animals offered in the name of religion. But it is not religion," much less is it Hindu religion. And so also it seems to me that when cow protection became an article of faith with our ancestors, those who persisted in eating beef were ex-communicated. The civil strife must have been fierce. Social boycott was applied not only to the recalcitrants, but their sins were visited upon their children also. The practice which had probably its origin in good intentions hardened into usage, and even verses crept in

our sacred books giving the practice a permanence wholly undeserved and still less justified. Whether my theory is correct or not, untouchability is repugnant to reason and

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to the instinct of mercy, pity or love. A religion that establishes the worship of the cow cannot possibly countenance or warrant a cruel and inhuman boycott of human beings. And I should be content to be torn to pieces rather than disown the suppressed classes. Hindus will certainly never deserve freedom, nor get it if they allow their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability. And as I love Hinduism dearer than life itself the taint has become for me an intolerable burden. Let us not deny God by denying to a fifth of our race the right of association on an equal footing.

Young India : Sept. 29, 1920.

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LET me for a few moments consider what Hinduism consists of, and what it is that has fired so many saints about Vihom we have historical record. Why has it contributed so many philosophers to the world ? What is it in Hinduism that had so enthused its devotees for centuries ? Did they see untouchability in Hinduism and still enthuse over it? In the midst of my struggle against untouchability I have been asked by several workers as to the essence of Hinduism. We have no simple Kalema, they said, that we find in Islam, nor have we J hn, Chapters 3 16 of the Bible. Have we or have we not something that will answer the demands of the most philosophic among the Hindus or the most matter-of-fact among them ? Some have

said, and not without good reason, the Gayatri answers that purpose. I have perhaps recited the Gayatri Mantra a thousand times, having understood the meaning of it. But still it seems to me that it did not answer the whole of my aspirations. Then as you are aware I have, for years past, been swearing by the Bhagwad Gita, and have said that it answers all my difficulties and has been my Kamadhenu, my guide, my open sesame, on hundreds of moments of doubts and difficulty. I cannot recall a single occasion when it has failed me.

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But it is not a book that I can place before the whole of this audience. It requires a prayerful study before the Kamadhenu yields rich milk she holds in her udders.

But I have fixed upon one Mantra that I am going to recite to you as containing the whole essence of Hinduism. Many of you, I think, know the Ishopamshad. I read it years ago with translation and commentary. I learnt it by heart in Yervada Jail. But it did not then captivate me, as it has done during the past few months, and I have now come to the final conclusion that if all the Upanishads and all the other scriptures happened all of a sudden to be reduced to ashes, and if only the first verse in the Ishopanishads were left intact in the memory of Hindus, Hinduism would live for ever.

Now this Mantra divides itself in four parts. The first part is.

All this that we see in this great Universe is pervaded by God. Then come the second and third parts which read together, as I read them :

I divide these into two and translate them thus :
Renounce it and enjoy it. There is another rendering which means the same thing : Enjoy what He gives you. Even so you can divide it into two parts. Then follows

the final and most important part, which means : Do not covet anybody's wealth or possession. All the other Mantras of that ancient upanishad are a commentary or .an attempt to give us the full meaning of the first Mantra. As I read the Mantra in the light of the Gita or the Gita in the light of the Mantra I find that the Gita is a commentary on the Mantra. It seems to me to satisfy the cravings of the socialist and the communist. I venture to suggest to all who do not belong to the Hindu faith that it satisfies their cravings also. And if it is true and I hold it to be true- you need not

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take anything in Hinduism which is inconsistent with or contrary to the meaning of this Mantra. What more can a man in the street want to learn than this that the one God and Creator and Master of all that lives pervades the Universe ? The three other parts of the Mantra follow directly from the first. If you believe that God pervades everything that He has created you must believe that you cannot enjoy anything that is not given by Him. And seeing that he is the Creator of His numberless children, it follows that you cannot covet anybody's possession. If you think that you are one of His numerous creature, it behoves you to renounce everything and lay it at His feet. That means the act of renunciation of everything is not a mere physical renunciation but represents a second or new birth. It is a deliberate act, not done in ignorance. It is therefore a regeneration. And then since he who holds the body must eat and drink and clothe himself, he must naturally seek all that he needs from Him. And he gets it as a natural reward of that renunciation. As if this was not enough the Mantra closes with this magnificent thought : Do not covet anybody's possession. The moment you carry out

these
precepts you become a wise citizen of the world, living
at
peace with all that lives. It satisfies one's highest
aspirations
on this earth and hereafter. No doubt it will not
satisfy
the aspirations of him who does not believe in God and
His undisputed sovereignty. It is no idle thing that
the
Maharaja of Travancore is called Padmabhadas. It is a
great
thought we, know that God himself has taken the title
of Das-
anudas Servant of servants. If all the princes would
call them-
selves servants of God, they would be correctly
describing
themselves, but they cannot be servants of God unless
they are servants of the people. And if zamindar's and
moined men and all who have possessions would treat
themselves as trustees and perform the act of
renunciation
that I have described, this world would indeed be a
blessed
world to live in, Harijan : Jan. 30, 1937.

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God the Ruler pervades all there is in this Universe.
Therefore renounce and dedicate all to Him and then
enjoy or
use the portion that may fall to thy lot. Never covet
anybody^
possessions,

Hindu-Muslim Unity

IT consists in our having a common purpose, a common
goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-
operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one
another's sorrows and by mutual toleration.

Tarnf India : Feb. 25, 1920.

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DIVIDED, we must ever remain slaves. This unity, therefore, cannot be a mere policy to be discarded when it does not suit us. We can discard it only when we are tired of Swaraj. Hindu-Muslim unity must be our creed to last for all time and under all circumstances.

Nor must that unity be a menace to the minorities the Parsees, the Christians, the Jews or the powerful Sikhs. If we seek to crush any of them, we shall some day want to fight each other. Young India : Dec. 2, 1920.

Every body knows that without unity between Hindus and Mussalmans, no certain progress can be made by the nation. Young India : July 28, 1921.

<3> <S> <\$>

THAT unity is strength is not merely a copybook maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu-Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all

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those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong. Young India : May 11, 1921.

^N ^> ^^

WHAT can be more natural than that Hindus and Mussalmans born and bred in India having the same adversities, the same hopes, should be permanent friends, brothers born of the same Mother India ? The surprise is that we should fight, not that we should unite.

Young India : Aug. 21, 1924.

I AM striving to become the best cement between the two communities. My longing is to be able to cement the two with my blood, if necessary.

Toung India : Sept. 25, 1924.

<\$> 3> <S>

IF the Hindus and the Mussalmans rid themselves of mutual distrust and fear, there is no power that can stop their freedom. We are the makers of our own slavery.

Young India : Jan. 27, 1927.

<^ <\$> <*>

WE may think we are living, but disunited we are worse than dead. Tfre Hindu thinks that in quarrelling with the Mussalman he is benefiting Hinduism, and the Mussalman thinks that in fighting a Hindu he is benefiting Islam. But each is ruining his faith. Toung India : Jan. 27, 1927.

^ <J> <\$>

IT is a sign of weakness, not of fitness for Swaraj to go to the foreign ruling power to arbitrate between us or to enforce the peace between us at the point of the bayonet.

Toung India : June 16, 1927.

IF it could be achieved by giving my life, I have the will to give it and I hope I have the strength for it.
I

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY 299

should with the greatest joy undertake an indefinite fast,

as I very nearly did at Delhi, in 1924, if it would melt and change the stony hearts of Hindus and Mussalmans.

Toung India : June 16, 1927.

THIS unity among all is no new love with me. I have treasured it, acted up to it from my youth upward. When I went to London as a mere lad in 1889 I believed in it as passionately as I do now. When I went to South Africa in 1893 I worked it out in every detail of my life. Love so deep seated as it is in me will not be sacrificed even for the realm of the whole world,

Toung India : Feb. 20, 1930.

I HAVE never dreamt that I could win Swaraj merely through my effort or assisted only by the Hindus. I stand in need of the assistance of Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, Jews and all other Indians. I need the assistance even of Englishmen. But I know too that all this combined assistance is worthless if I have not one other assistance that is from God. All is vain without His help. And if He is with this struggle no other help is necessary. But to realise His help and guidance in this struggle, I need your blessings, the blessings of all communities.

Toung India April 3, 1930.

THE only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern their country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For under a free Government

the real power will be held by the people.

Young India : April 24, 1930.

300 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LET all of us Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians live amicably as Indians, pledged to live and die for our motherland. Let it be our ambition to live as the children of the same mother, retaining our individual faiths and yet being one, like the countless leaves of one tree. " Young India: April 23, 1931.

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THAT we have prepared the ground for Hindu-Muslim unity I have not the slightest doubt. During the Khilafat days it seemed to be near accomplishment, and then suddenly our hopes seemed to have been dashed to pieces. But was darkness ever an endless or permanent phenomenon of Nature ? Indeed can it exist without light ? The deeper the darkness the nearer, I think, is the dawn, the deeper the gloom the nearer is the approach of cheer-giving light. The severest illness is not without its end. If not recovery, death ends the agony. The present agony, for aught we know, is nearing its end. It is deeper because the problem is more keenly realised today than it was during the Khilafat agitation. That agitation had its origin, it may perhaps be truly said, in me. Today though the Hindu Muslim question wears an ugly face it belongs very largely to the people, and therein lies my hope for a permanent peace out of the present wanton violence. People must get tired of mutual slaughter. In 1920-21 we had just a passing glimpse of Hindu Muslim unity as it would be when completely achieved. The effect can

never vanish completely, though ugly elements which have come upon the surface may shake one's faith for the moment. Don't say to me that Hindu Muslim unity which was so near in 1921 has receded very far; you will then say the same thing about prohibition, khadi, Swaraj. But it is not correct to say so. All these things are nearer to-day for the work done in 1920-21.

Harijan : Dec. 15, 1936.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY 301

FOR good or for ill, the two communities are wedded to India, they are neighbours, sons of the soil. They are destined to die here as they are born here. Nature will force them to live in peace if they do not come together voluntarily. Harijan : Oct. 29, 1938.

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<c WOULD not the march to full responsible government be more rapid, if the Muslims were taken along?' 7 "Of course it would be," replied Gandhiji. " Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose. But I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle will come much sooner than most people expect. I claim to be able 'to look at the whole position with a detached mind. There is no substance in our quarrels. Points of difference are superficial, those of contact are deep and permanent. Political and economic subjection is common to us. The same climate, the same rivers, the same fields supply both with air, water and food. Whatever, therefore, leaders, Mahatmas and Maulanas may say or do, the masses, when they are fully awakened, will assert themselves and combine for the sake of combating common evils.

(i The effect of the Socialist and Communist propaganda

too is to bring the masses of both the communities together by emphasizing identity of interests. I have my differences with them, but I cannot withhold my admiration for their endeavaur to demolish the superstition that keeps the different communities apart." Harijan : Dec. 31, 1938.

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BRITAIN has hitherto held India by producing before the world Indians who want Britain to remain in India as ruler and arbiter between rival claimants. These will always exist. The question is whether it is right for Britain to plead these rivalries in defence of holding India under subjection, or whether she should now recognize the mistake and leave India to decide upon the method of her own government, Harijan : Oct. 21, 1939,

302 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

ABSOLUTE protection of the rights of minorities is a greater concern of the Congress than it ever can be of Great Britain. The Congress dare not seek and cannot get justice, if it is not prepared to do itself. To be above suspicion is the only way open to non-violent organisations. But British policy may make a just solution impossible at the present moment. Harijan : Oct. 28, 1939.

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WE must prove to the Muslim countrymen and to the world that the Congress docs not want independence at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest, be it Muslim or other. We may leave no stone unturned to carry the minorities with us. This meticulous care for the rights of

the least among us is the sine qua non of non-violence.

Harijan : Dec. 2, 1939,

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TIME is a merciless enemy, if it is also a n[^]erciful friend and healer. I claim to be amongst the oldest lovers of Hindu-Muslim unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every whole-hearted attempt made by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed as completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest enemy of Islam in India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately wishing it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India. Harijan : June 21, 1942.

Hindustani

WHAT is Hindustani ? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi Urdu has sometimes been called Hindustani. It means a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such written blend extant. But it is

HOPE 303

the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns tending to widen the difference by each running away from the other. Therefore the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu. Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

Honour

NO cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour, especially religious honour.

Young India : Aug. 11, 1920.

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I WOULD prefer total destruction of myself and my all to purchasing safety at the cost of my manhood.

Young India: May 25, 192L

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ONE who knows how to die need never fear any harm to her or his honour. Young India : Dec. 15, 1921.

<:>><\$>

IT is known by this time that I spare neither friend nor foe when it is a question of departing from the code of honour. Young India : March 2, 1922.

^> <\$> <\$>

IT is any day better to stand erect with a broken and bandaged- head than to crawl on one's belly, in order to be able to save one's head. Young India : April 2, 1925.

<s> <\$> <s>

IMPRISONMENTS, forfeitures deportation, aeath must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before everything else.

Young India : May 31, 1928.

Hope

I NEVER give up hope so long as there is the least chance. Young India : July 13, 192K

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IF we had no faith in the ultimate God, we would

lose all hope. Toung India : May 14, 1931.

Human Nature

THE most practical, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary. I refuse to believe that the tendency of the human nature is always downward. Toung India : Dec. 26, 1926.

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MEN like me cling to their faith in human nature and expect to bend even the haughty English spirit, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Toung India : Feb. 3, 1927.

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I AM more concerned in preventing the brutalisation of human nature than in preventing the sufferings of my own people. I have often gloated over the sufferings of my own people. I know that people who voluntarily undergo a course of suffering raise themselves and the whole of humanity, but I also know that people, who become brutalised in 'their desperate efforts to get victory over their opponents, or to exploit weaker nations or weaker men not only drag down themselves but mankind also. And, it cannot be a matter of pleasure to me or anyone else to see human nature dragged in the mire. If we are all sons of the same God, and partake of the same divine essence, we must partake of the sin of every person whether he belongs to us or to another race. You can understand how repugnant it must be to invoke the beast in any human being. ToungIndia : Oct. 29, 1931.

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I BELIEVE that the sum-total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious, working of

the

HUMILITY 305

law of love. The fact that mankind persists shows that the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, centripetal force greater than centrifugal. And inasmuch as I know only of the poetry of love, you should not be surprised that I trust the English people. I have often been bitter and I have often said to myself, u When will this camouflage end ? When will these people cease to exploit these poor people ? 1? But instinctively I get the reply : "That is the heritage that they have had from Rome. 7 ' I must conduct myself in accordance with the dictates of the Law of Love, hoping and expecting in the long run to affect the English nature.

Young India : Nov. 11, 1931.

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MAN'S nature is not essentially evil. Brute nature has been known to yield to the influence of love. You must never despair of human nature.

Young India : Nov. 5, 1938.

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HUMAN nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal. Though we have the human form, without the attainment of the virtue of non-violence we still share the qualities of our remote reputed ancestor the ourangoutang. * Harijan : Oct. 8, 1938.

3> 3> <\$>

MY belief in the capacity of non-violence rejects the

theory of permanent inelasticity of human nature.

Harijan : June 7, 1942.

Humility

TAKE water, which in its solid state remains on the earth; it cannot ascend until it is rarefied into steam.

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But once it is rarefied into steam it rises up in the sky where at last it is transformed into the clouds which drop down in the form of rain and fructify and bless the earth. We are like water, we have to strive so to rarefy ourselves that all the ego in us perishes and we merge in the infinite to the eternal good of all Young India : Jan, 12, 1928,

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THE first condition of humaneness is a little humanity and a little diffidence about the correctness of one's conduct and a little re-ceptiveness.

Toung India : Sept. 20, 1928.

^P ^o ^

HUMILITY cannot be an observance by itself- For it does not lend itself to being deliberately practised. It is, however, an indispensable test of ahimsa. In one who has ahimsa in him it becomes part of his very nature.

A preliminary draft of the rules and regulations of the Satyagraha Ashram was circulated among friends, including the late Sir Gurudas Banerji. He suggested that humility should be accorded a place among the observances. This suggestion could not then be accepted for the same reasons as I am mentioning here.

But although humility is not one of the observances, it

is certainly as essential as, and perhaps even more essential, than any one of them. Only it never came to any one by practice. Truth can be cultivated as well as love. But to cultivate humility is tantamount to cultivating hypocrisy. Humility must not be here confounded with mere manners or etiquette. One man will sometimes prostrate himself before another, although his heart is full of bitterness, against the latter. This is not humility, but cunning.

HUMILITY 307

A man may repeat Ramanana^ or ttll his btads all the day long, and move in society like a sagt; but if he is selfish at heart, he is not meek but o>niy hypocritical,

A humble person is not himself conscious of hi\$ humility. Truth and the like perhaps, admit of measurement, but not humility. Inborn humility can never remain hidden, and yet the possessor is unaware of itsf existence. Tbe story of Vasishtha and Vishvamitra furnishes a very good case in point Humility should make the possessor realise that he is as nothing. Directly one imagines oneself to be something, there is egotism. If a man who keeps observances, who is proud of keeping them, will lose much if not all of their value. And a man who is proud of his virtue often becomes a curse to society. Society will not appreciate it, and he himself will fail to reap any benefit from it. Only a little thought will suffice to convince us that all creatures are nothing more than a mere atom in this universe. Our existence as embodied beings is purely momentary; what are a hundred years in eternity ? But if we shatter the chains of egotism, and melt into the ocean of humanity, we share its dignity. To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves; to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious

of
it, but it is dried up as soon as it enters upon an
existence independent of the ocean. We do not
exaggerate
when we say that life on earth is a mere bubble.

A life of service must be one of humility. He who
would sacrifice his life for others has hardly time to
reserve for himself a place in the sun. Inertia must
not be mistaken for humility, as it has been in
Hinduism.
True humility means most strenuous and constant

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endeavour entirely directed towards the service of
humanity.
God is continuously in action without resting for a
single moment. If we would serve Him OF become
one with Him, our activity must be as unwearied as
His. There maybe momentary rest in store for the drop
which is separated from the ocean, but not for the drop
in the ocean, which knows no rest. The same is the
case with ourselves. As soon as we become one with the
ocean in the shape of God, there is no more rest for
us, nor indeed do we need rest any longer. Our very
sleep is action. For we sleep with the thought of God
in our
hearts. This is the true test. This
never
ceasing agitation holds the key to peace ineffable.
This
supreme state of total surrender is difficult to
describe
but not beyond the bounds of human experience. It
has been attained by many dedicated souls and may
be attained by ourselves as well. This is the goal
which
we of the Sayagraha Ashram have set before ourselves ;
all our observances and activities are calculated to
assist
us in reaching it. We shall reach it some day all
unawares
if we have truth in us. Teravda Mandir.

Humanitarianism

HUMANITARIANISM without knowledge is futile
and may even be harmful. Harijm : June 19, 1937.

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MERE learning, mere humanitarianism divorced
from actual experience may spell disaster to the cause
sought to be espoused. Harijan : July 1, 1939.

Humour

Q. DO you think a sense of humour is necessary in
life?

HUNGER-STRIKE 309

If I had no sense of humour, I would long ago
have committed suicide.

Harijan : Dec. 12, 1928.

Hunger-Strike

THERE should be no hunger-strike on any account.
Though there are circumstances conceivable in which
a hunger-strike may be justified, hunger-strike in
order
to secure release or redress of grievances is wrong.

Harjan : April 23, 1938.

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HUNGER-STRIKE has positively become a plague. On
the slightest pretext some people want to resort to
hunger-
strike. It is well, therefore, that the Working
Committee
has condemned the practice in unequivocal terms, so far
at
least as hunger-strike for discharge from imprisonment
is
concerned. The Committee should have gone further and
condemned also the practice of forcible feeding. I
regard
forcible feeding as an undue liberty with the human
body

which is too sacred to be trifled with, even though it belongs to a prisoner. No doubt the State has control over the bodies of its prisoners but never to the extent of killing their soul. That control has well-defined limits. If a prisoner decides to starve himself to death, he should, in my opinion, be allowed to do so. A hunger-strike loses its force and dignity, when it has any, if the striker is forcibly fed. It becomes a mockery if somehow or other sufficient nourishment is poured down the throat, whether through the mouth or nose. Of course, the mind instinctively revolts against feeding through the nose. But I understand that after a few days' practice the process ceases to offend the subject himself. Where a prisoner offers violent resistance the matter becomes difficult. But cases of such resistance are rare. It is not pos-

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sible to keep up effective resistance for any length of time. A determined resister will of course die at the very first attempt and thus frustrate it. But such resistance requires great daring and reckless defiance of death. In any case it is my firm conviction that the method of forcible feeding should be abandoned as a relic of barbarism. I know that some prisoners welcome forcible feeding for the empty glory of being regarded as hunger-strikers. Jailors have often told me that such prisoners would deplore stoppage of forcible feeding. I am told that under the existing law jail authori-

ties are bound to resort to forcible feeding if reasoning fails.

I would recommend amendments of such legislation if any.

Harijan : Aug. 19, 1939,

I

Ideal

WHEN a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible. Young India : July 28, 1920.

IDEALS must work in practice, otherwise they are not potent. Young India : Jan. 27, 192L

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THE virtue of an ideal consists in its boundlessness. But although religious ideals must thus from their very nature remain unattainable by imperfect human beings, although by virtue of their boundlessness they may seem ever to recede farther away from us, the nearer we go to them, still they are closer to us than our very hands and feet because we are more certain of their reality and truth than even of our own physical being. This faith in one's ideals alone constitutes true life, in fact it is man's all in all.

Harijan : Dec. 20, 1927.

IDOL- WORSHIP 311

IF I am to make an ever-increasing approach to my ideal, I must let the world see my weaknesses and failures so that I may be saved from hypocrisy and so that even for very shame I would try my utmost to realise the ideal.

The contradiction pointed out by the friend also shows that between the ideal and practice there always must be an

unbridgeable gulf. The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realise it. The pleasure lies in making the effort, not in its fulfilment. For, in our progress towards the goal we even see more and more enchanting scenery. Harijan : July 12, 1937.

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THE reality is always present before me, but my striving is always to reach the ideal. Euclid's straight line exists only in our conception, but we have always to postulate it. We have always to strive to draw a true line corresponding to Euclid's imaginary line.

Harijan : Sept. 8, 1940.

Idleness

PURITY of mind and idleness are incompatible.

Harijan : Oct. 22, 1938.

Idol-Worship

I DO not disbelieve in idol-worship. An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me. But I think that idol-worship is part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism. Why should one be more corfaposed in a church than elsewhere ? Images are an aid to worship. No Hindu considers an image to be God. I do not consider idol-worship a sin. Toung India : Sept. 29, 1920.

IDOLATRY is permissible in Hinduism when it sub*

312 TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

serves an ideal. It becomes a sinful fetish when the idol itself becomes the ideal. Toung India : June 21, 1923.

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I AM both an idolator and an iconoclast in what I

conceive to be the true sense of the terms. I value the spirit behind idol-worship. It plays a most important part in the uplift of the human race. And I would like to possess the ability to defend with my life the thousands of holy temples which sanctify this land of ours. My alliance with the Musalmans pre-supposes their perfect tolerance for my idols and my temples. I am an iconoclast in the sense that I break down the subtle form of idolatory in the shape of fanaticism that refuses to see any virtue in any other form of worshipping the Deity save one's own. This form of idolatry is more deadly for being more fine and evasive than the tangible and gross form of worship that identifies the Deity with a little bit of a stone or a golden image. *Toung India* : Aug. 28, 1924.

^ <>> <\$>

PROPER worship is not image worship, it is the worship of God in the image. *Harijan* : Feb. 16, 1935.

^N ^^ ^N

Q. I AM a Hindu student. I have been great friend with a Muslim, but we have fallen out over the question of idol-worship. I find solace in idolworship but I cannot give an answer to my Muslim friend in terms of what may be called convincing. Will you say anything on idolworship in *Harijan* ?

A. My sympathies are botti with you and your Muslim friend. I suggest your reading my writings on the question in *Toung India* and, if you feel at all satisfied, let your Muslim friend read them too. If your friend has real love for you, he will conquer his prejudice against idol-

worship. A friendship which exacts oneness of opinion and conduct is not worth much. Friends have to tolerate one another's ways of life and thought even though they may be different, except where the difference is fundamental. May be your friend has come to think that it is sinful to associate with you as you are an idolater. Idolatry is bad, not so idolworship. An idolater makes a fetish of his idol. An idolworshipper sees God even in a stone and therefore takes the help of an idol to establish his union "with God. Every Hindu child knows that the stone in the famous temple in Benares is not Kashi Vishwanath. But he believes that the Lord of the Universe does reside specially in that stone. This play of the imagination is permissible and healthy. Every edition of the Gita on a bookstall has not that sanctity which I ascribe to my own copy. Logic tells me there is no more sanctity in my copy than in any other. The sanctity is in my imagination. But that imagination brings about marvellous concrete results. It changes men's lives. I am of opinion that, whether we admit it or not, we are all idol-worshippers or idolaters, if the distinction I have drawn is not allowed. A book, a building, a picture, a carving are surely all images in which God does reside, but they are not God* He who says they are errs. . Harijan : March 9, 1940.

Imitation

IMITATION is the sheerest flattery.

Young India : Mar. 21, 1925.

Imprisonment

IF one has committed an offence, he must plead guilty and suffer the penalty. If he has not and is still

found guilty, imprisonment for him is no disgrace.

Young India: Mar. 12, 1919.

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FOR me, solitary confinement in a prison cell without any breach on my part of the code of Non-co-operation, or private or public morals, will be freedom. For me, the whole of India is a prison, even as the master's house is to his slave. A slave, to be free, must continuously rise against his slavery, and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom. I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the goals of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold. Young India : Jan. 12, 1920.

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IMPRISONMENTS must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust Government, imprisonments of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear Young India : May, 4, 1921.

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I AM convinced that it is not argument but suffering of the innocent that appeals both to the persecutor and the persecuted. Young India : Dec. 8, 1921.

<S> 3> <3>

WE seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery.

Young India: May 15, 1921.

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IMPRISONMENTS, forfeitures, deportations, death must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before any thing else.

Young India : May 31, 1928.

IMPRISONMENTS 315

IN my opinion, the ability to go to jail is of far less consequence than ability and the readiness to observe in their fulness the conditions about Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian unity, about untouchability and hand-spun khadi. Without a due fulfilment of those conditions, we shall find that all our going to jail is bravado and so much wasted effort. Self-purification is the main consideration in seeking the prison. Embarrassment of the Government is a secondary consideration. It is my unalterable conviction that, even though the Government may not feel embarrassed in any way whatsoever by the incarceration or even execution of an innocent, unknown but a purified person, such incarceration will be the end of that Government. Even a single lamp dispels the deepest darkness. Young India : Feb. 9, 1922.

<S> 3> <\$>

JAILS are no gate-way to liberty for the confirmed criminal. They are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified. The execution of Socrates made immortality a living reality for us, not so the execution of countless murderers. There is no warrant for supposing that we can steal Swaraj by the imprisonment of thousands of nominally non-violent men with hatred, ill-will and violence raging in their breasts,

Young India : Mar. 2, 1922*

<S> <s> <S>

IMPRISONMENTS, forfeitures, deportations, death must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before anything else.

Young India : May 31, 1928.

India

I HAVE recognised that the nation has the right,

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if it so wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual
1
violence. Only then India ceases to be the land of my love, though she be the land of my birth, even as I should take no pride in my mother if she went astray.

India : Jan. 12, 1920,

INDIA must learn to live before she can aspire ^to die for humanity. Young India : Oct. 13, 1921.

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INDIA of the near future stands for perfect toleration of all religions. Her spiritual heritage is simple living and high thinking. Young India : Dec. 12, 1922.

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AS it is, everything in India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest possible aspirations can want. Young India : Feb. 21, 1929.

<s> <\$> <\$>

AN India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world. Congress does not consider India to be a sickly child

requiring nursing, outside help, and other props.
4 - -Young India: Mar. 12, 1931.

Indian Civil Service

THE Indian Civil Service is the most highly paid service in the world, and that more than a third of the revenue is absorbed by the military service. Imagine the state of a family which has to devote a third of its income for paying its door-keepers.

Toung India : June 22, 1921.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE 317

THE LC.S. is not really the Indian Civil Service, it is the E.C S. the English Civil Service. I say this knowing that there are Indians in the service. Whilst India is a subject nation, they cannot but serve the interests of England. But supposing India secures freedom, and supposing able Englishmen are prepared to serve India, then, they would be truly national servants. At the present time, under the name of LC.S. , they serve the exploiting Government. In a free India, Englishmen will come out to India either in a spirit of adventure, or from penance, and willingly serve on a small salary and put up with the rigours of Indian climate instead of being a burden on p)or India, whilst they draw inordinately large salaries and try to live there in extra English extravagance, and reproduce even the English climate. We would have them as honoured comrades, but if there is even a lurking desire to lord ii over us, and behave as a superior race, they are not wanted.

Young India : Nov. 12, 1931.

luiaa Civilization

THE true Indian civilisation is in the Indian

villages. The modern city civilisation you find in Europe and America, and in a handful of our cities which are copies of the Western cities and which were built for the foreigner, and by him. But they cannot last. It is only the handicraft civilisation that will endure and stand the test of time But it can do so only if we can correlate the intellect with the hand. The late Madhusudan Das used to say that our peasants and workers had, by reason of working with bullocks, become like bullocks ; and he was right, We have to lift them from the state of the brute to the state of man, and that we can do only by correlating the intellect with the hand. Not until they learn to work

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intelligently and make something new every day, not until they are taught to know the joy of work, can we raise them from their low estate. Harijan ; March 30, 1940.

Indian States

THE imperial power has used them as pawns in its game of exploitation.

They are least able to resist the illegitimate and insidious pressure that is brought to bear upon them from time to time. They must therefore realize that the increase of peoples power means decrease of the humiliating influence described by me.

Young India : Nov. 17, 1921.

THAT Prince is acceptable to me who becomes a Prince among his people's servants. The subjects are the

real master. Young India : Jan. 8, 1925.

IF the states persist in their obstinacy and hug their ignorance of the awakening that has taken place throughout India, they are courting certain destruction. I claim to be a friend of the States. Their service has been an heirloom in my family for the past three generations, if not longer. I am no blind worshipper of antiquity. But I am not ashamed of the heirloom. All the States may not live. The biggest ones can live only if they will recognise their limitations, become servants of their people, trustees of their welfare and depend for their existence not on arms, whether their own or British, but solely on the goodwill of their people, Faithlessness will feed the fire of violence that one feels smouldering everywhere. If the States are badly advised and they rely

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upon organised violence for resisting the just demands of their people, ahimsa, so far generated in the country as a means of redressing social injustice, will not protect them. It had grown into a Himalayan oak, it would have passed any test however severe. But sad to confess, it has not gone deep enough into the Indian soil.

Harijan : Sept. 17, 1938.

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CONGRESS non-intervention in the affairs of the States was conceived in 1920 and has been more or less its policy since that time in spite of many on-slaughts made on it. But I see that it has become the fashion in the States to quote against the Congressmen the self-imposed restraint even when there is any attempt to criticise or

offer advice or help. It is therefore necessary to examine the implications of non-intervention. It was never regarded as a principle. It was a limitation imposed on itself by the Congress for its own sake and that of the people of the States. The Congress had no sanction behind its resolution regarding the States. Its advice might be ignored, its intervention resented and the people of the States might be harassed without gaining anything. There was certainly a friendly motive behind that policy. It was a wise recognition of the limited capacity of the Congress for doing good. The restraint exercised by the Congress in this and many other ways has given "it a prestige and power which it would be unwise for it not to use. Any hesitation in this respect would be like that of the foolish steward who would not use the talents which were placed at his disposal. Up to a point the , States are beginning to recognise the power of the Congress be it ever so reluctantly. It is becoming sufficiently clear that the people of the States are looking to the Congress for guidance and help. I think that it

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is the duty of the Congress to give them the guidance and help wherever it can. I wish I could convince every Congressman that the prestige and power of the Congress are in exact proportion to its inner purity, its sense of exact justice and its all-round goodwill. If the people of the States feel safe in entrusting their welfare to the Congress, the Princes should feel equally safe in trusting the" Congress. All the prestige built up by patient effort of years will certainly be undermined, if the warnings uttered by me to the Congressmen go unheeded.

Even at the risk of tiresome repetition let me say to the people of the States that they must not set much

store by the Congress help. It is not enough that they are truthful and non-violent. It is necessary also for them to know their own capacity for suffering. Liberty is a dame exacting a heavy price from her wooers. And unless there are many who are prepared to pay the price, the few enthusiasts that are to be found everywhere would do well to conserve their energy. They will do well to undertake constructive service of the people without having an ambitious political programme.

The ability to gain political ends will surely come from constructive service. Wisdom and patience will give them a power which in time will become irresistible.

6 Harijan : Oct. 1, 1938.

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People say that I have changed my view, that I say today something different from what I said years ago. The fact of the matter is that conditions have changed. I am the same. My words and deeds are dictated by prevailing conditions. There has been a gradual evolution in my environment and I react to it as a Satyagrahi. Harijan : Jan. 28, 1939.

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THE policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice where there is an all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene. Harijan : Jan. 28, 1939,

3> <\$><\$>

I VENTURE to suggest that the best guarantee of their status consists not in the treaties with the British but in the

goodwill, contentment and co-operation of their own people and the friendship of the people of non-State India.

Harijan : Aug. 4, 1940.

Individual Freedom

If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society ? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society.

If

it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a

denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very

nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his

own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own.

Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

Industrialization

A SOCIALIST holding a brief for machinery asked Gandhiji if the Village Industries Movement was not meant to oust all machinery.

" Is not this wheel a machine ?" was the counter question that Gandhiji, who was just then spinning, gave in reply.

" I do not mean this machine, but I mean bigger machinery."

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* c Do you mean Singer's sewing machine ? That too is protected by the Village Industries Movement, and for that matter any machinery which does not deprive masses

of men of the opportunity to labour, but which helps the individual and adds to his efficiency, and which a man can handle at will without being its slave.' 7

" But what about the great inventions ? You would have nothing to do with electricity ?"

" Who said so ? 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 power-houses, 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. There is a difference between invention and invention. I should not care for the esphixiating gases capable of killing masses of men at a time. The heavy machinery for work of public utility which cannot be undertaken by human labour has its inevitable place, but all that would be owned by the State and used entirely for the benefit of the people. I can have no consideration for machinery which is meant either to enrich the few at the expense of the many, or without cause to displace the useful labour of many.

" But even you as a socialist would not be in favour of an indiscriminate use of machinery. Take printing presses. They will go on. Take surgical instruments. How can one make them with one's hands ? Heavy machinery would be needed for them. But there is no machinery for the cure of idleness, but this," said Gandhiji pointing to his

spinning wheel. " I can work it whilst I am carrying on this conversation with you, and am adding a little to the

INDUSTRIALIZATION 323

wealth of the country* This machine no one can out."

Harijan : June 22, 1935.

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DEAD machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India, Machinery to be well-used has to help and ease human effort The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths. Harijan : Sept. 14, 1935.

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DON'T you see that if India becomes industrialized, we shall need a Nadirshah to find out other worlds to exploit, that we shall have to pit ourselves against the naval and military powers of Britain and Japan and America, of Russia and I day ? My head reels to think of these rivalries. No, I am clear that whilst this machine age aims at converting men into machines, I am aiming at reinstating man turned machine in his original estate.

Harijan : Nov. 30, 1935.

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A FACTORY employs a few hundreds and renders thousands unemployed. I may produce tons of oil from an oil-mill, but I also drive thousands of oil-men out of

employ-
ment. I call this destructive energy, whereas
production by
the labour of millions of hands is constructive and
conducive
to the common good. Mass production through power
driven
machinery, even when state-owned, will be of no avail.

But why not, it is asked, save the labour of millions,
and
give them more leisure for intellectual pursuits. ?
Leisure is
good and necessary upto a point only. God created man
to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, and I dread
the
prospect of our being able to produce all that we want,
in-
cluding our food-stuffs out of a conjurer's hat.

Harijan : May 16, 1936

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"Are you against large scale production ?" Gandhiji
answered, "I never said that. This belief is one of the
many
superstitions about me. Half of my time goes in
answering
such things. But from scientists I accept better
knowledge.
Your question is based on loose newspaper reports and
the
like. What I am against is large scale production of
things
villagers can produce without difficulty/ 7

Q. Do you think that cottage industries and big industries can be harmonized.

A. Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages.
Key industries, industries which the nation needs, may
be
centralized. But then I would not choose anything as a
'key industry' that can be taken up by the villages
with a
little organizing. For instance, I did not know the

possibili-
ties of handmade paper. Now I am so hopeful that I
believe
that every village can produce its own paper, though
not for
newspapers, etc. Supposing the State controlled paper-
making and centralized it, I would expect it to protect
all
the paper that villages can make.

Q, . What is meant by protecting the villages ?

A. Protecting them against the inroads of the cities.
At one time cities were dependent on the villages. Now
it is
the reverse. There is no interdependence. Villages are
being exploited and drained by the cities.

Q Don't the villages need a lot of things that the
cities produce ?

A. I wonder. In any case, under my scheme, nothing
will be allowed to be produced by cities which can be
equally well produced by the villages. The proper
function
of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village
products.

Q. Can we harmonize cloth-mill activity with hand-
loom production ?

A. So far as I know, my answer is an emphatic 'no'.
All the cloth we need can easily be produced in the
villages.

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Q. But the number of mills is increasing,

A. That is a misfortune.

Harijan : June 28, 1939.

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God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism
after the manner of the West. The economic imperial-

ism of a single tiny island kingdom (England) is to-day keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts. Unless the capitalists of India help to avert that tragedy by becoming trustees of the welfare of the masses and by devoting their talents not to amassing wealth for themselves but to the service of the masses in an altruistic spirit, they will end either by destroying the masses or being destroyed by them.

Harijan : Jan. 28, 1939.

Inertia

STRANGE as it may appear, the fact remains that people find the easiest of things often times to be the most difficult to follow. The reason, to borrow a term from the science of physics, lies in our inertia. Physicists tell us that inertia is an essential, and in its own place a most useful quality of matter. It is that alone which steadies the universe and prevents it from flying off at a tangent. But for it the latter would be a chaos of motion. But inertia becomes an incubus and a vice when it ties the mind down to old ruts. Harijan : July 21, 1940.

Inner Voice

THIS ability to hear and obey that Voice gives me what ever power I may have and, has enabled me to render some little service to the country. You will not have me at this time of my life to change my course and listen to any other voice but the Inner. Young India : Jan. 23, 1930*

Q. DOES the Inner Voice mean the 'message of God?'

A The Inner Voice may mean a message from God or from the Devil, for both or wrestling in the human breasts.

Acts determine the nature of the Voice.

Young India : Feb. 13, 1930.

Instinct

MY instinct has not betrayed me even once.

Harijan : July 20, 1940.

Inter- dependence

SELF-dependence is a necessary ideal so long as and to the extent that it is an aid to one's self-respect and spiritual discipline. It becomes an obsession and a hinderance when it is pushed beyond that limit, On the other hand inter-dependence when it is not inconsistent with one's self-respect is necessary to bring home to man the lesson of humility and the omnipotence of God. One must strike a golden mean between these two extremes. A fanaticism that refuses to discriminate is the negation of all ideal.

. Young India : March. 21, 1929.

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Inter-dependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realise his oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism. His social inter-

depen-
dence enables him to test his faith and to prove
himself on
the touchstone of reality. If man were so placed or
could
so place himself as to be absolutely above all
dependence on
his fellow-beings he would become so proud and arrogant
as
to be a veritable burden and nuisance to the world. De-
pendence on society teaches him the lesson of humility.
That a man ought to be able to satisfy most of his
essential

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needs himself is obvious ; but it is no less obvious to
me that
when self-sufficiency is carried to the length of
isolating
oneself from society it almost amounts to sin. A man
can-
not become self-sufficient even in respect of all the
various
operations from the growing of cotton to the spinning
of the
yarn. He has at some stage or other to take the aid of
the
members of his family. And if one may take help from
one's
own family why not from one's neighbours ? Or otherwise
what is the significance of the great saying : c The
world is
my family ?' Young India : Mar. 21, 1929

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IT is man's social nature which distinguishes him from
the brute creation. If it is his privilege to be
independ-
ent it is equally his duty to be inter-dependent. Only
an
arrogant man will claim to be independent of every body
else and be self-contained. Young India : April 25,
1929.

Insurance

I DID insure my life in 1901 and a short time after I gave up the policy because I felt that I was distrusting God and making my relatives in whose behalf the policy was taken dependent upon me or the money I might leave them rather than upon God and themselves. The opinion arrived at when I gave up the policy has been confirmed by subsequent experience. Young India : Mar. 14, 1929.

Intentions

BEFORE the throne of the Almighty, man will be judged not by his acts but by his intentions. For God alone reads our hearts. Harijan : Mar. 16, 1940.

Inter-dining

INTERDRINKING, inter-dining, inter-marrying, I hold are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy.

I do not contemplate under a most democratic constitution.

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universality of manners and customs about eating, drinking and marrying. We shall ever have to seek unity in diversity, and I decline to consider it a sin for a man not to drink or eat with any and every-body. In Hinduism, children of brothers may not intermarry. The prohibition does not interfere with cordiality of relations, probably it promotes healthiness of relationships. In Viashnava households, I have known mothers not dining in the common kitchen, nor drinking from the same pot, without their becoming exclusive, arrogant, or less loving. These are disciplinary

restraints
which are not in themselves bad. Carried to ridiculous
extremes, they may become harmful, and if the motive is
one
of arrogation of superiority the restraint beco ones an
indul-
gence, therefore hurtful. But as time goes forward, and
new
necessities arid occasions arise, the custom regarding
inter-
drinking, inter-dining, and inter-marrying will require
cautious modifications or rearrangement.

Toung India : Aug. 12, 1920.

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THIS question of inter-dining is a vexed one and in my
opinion no hard and fast rules can be laid down. Per-
sonally, I am not sure that inter-dining is a necessary
reform. At the same time , I recognise the tendency to-
wards breaking down the restriction altogether. I can
find
reasons for and against the restriction. I would not
force
the pace. I do not regard it as a sin for a person not
to dine
with another nor do I regard it as sinful if one
advocates and
practises inter-dining. I should, however, resist the
attempt
to break down the restriction in disregard of the
feelings of
others. On the contrary, I would respect their scruples
in
the matter. Toung India : April 30, 1925.

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INTER-DINING and inter-caste marriage are in no
way essential for the promotion of the spirit of
brotherhood
or for the removal of untouchability. At the same time,
a

super-imposed restriction would undoubtedly stunt the growth of any society, and to link these restrictions to Varna Dharma or caste is undoubtedly prejudicial to the freedom of the spirit and would make Varna a drag upon religion.

Harijan : April 29, 38.

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RESTRICTIONS on inter-dining have no vital connection with Varma Dharma. They were, in my opinion hygienic rules in origin. Given a proper confirmation with the rules of cleanliness there should be no scruple about dining with anybody. Harijan : Feb. 13, 1937.

Islam

IF I understand the spirit of Islam properly, it is essentially republican in the truest sense of the term.

Young India : July 21, 1920.

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ISLAM is a noble faith. Trust it and its followers,

Young India: Aug. 4, 1920.

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I DO regard Islam to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are. No

doubt there are differences in degree, but the object of these religions is ^p pace. I know the passages that can be quoted from the Koran to the contrary. But so is it possible to quote passages from the Vedas to the contrary.

What is the meaning of imprecations pronounced against the Anryas ? Of course, these passages bear to-day a different meaning, but at one time they did wear a dreadful aspect. What is the meaning of the treatment of untouch-

ables by us Hindus ? Let not the pot call the kettle black.
The fact is that we are all growing. I have given my opinion that the followers of Islam are too free with the sword. But that is not due to the teaching of the Koran. That is due in

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my opinion to the environment in which Islam was born* Christianity has a bloody record against it, not because Jesus was found wanting, but because the environment in which it spread was not responsive to his lofty teaching.

These two, Christianity and Islam, are, after all, religions of but yesterday. They are yet in the course of being interpreted. I reject the claim of Maulvis to give a final interpretation to the message of Mahomed, as I reject that of the Christian clergy to give a final interpretation to the message of Jesus. Both are being interpreted in the lives of those who are giving these messages in silence and in perfect self-dedication. Bluster is no religion, nor is vast learning stored in capacious brains. The Seat of religion is in the heart. We Hindus, Christians, Musalmans and others have to write the interpretation of our respective faiths with our own blood and not otherwise. Young India : July 10, 1924.

<*><\$> <\$>

MY association with the noblest of Mussalmans has taught me to see that Islam has spread not by the power of

the sword, but by the prayerful love of an unbroken line of its saints and fakirs. Warrant there is in Islam for drawing the sword : but the conditions laid down are so strict that they are not capable of being fulfilled by everybody. Where is the unerring general urorder Jihad ? Where is the suffering, the love and the purification that must precede the very idea of drawing the sword ? Hindus are at least as much bound by similar restrictions as the Musalmans of India. The Sikhs have their recent proud history to warn them against the use of force. We are too imperfect, too impure and too selfish, as yet to resort to an armed conflict in the cause of God as Shaukat Ali would say. Will a purified India ever need to draw the sword ? Young India : Aug. 14, 1924.

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ISLAM is not a denial of God. It is a passionate avowal of one Supreme Deity. Not even its worst detractors have accused Islam of atheism. Young India : Aug. 21, 1924.

ISLAM 331

In my writings about Islam I take the same care of its prestige that I do of Hinduism. I apply the same method of interpretation to it that I apply to Hinduism.

I no more defend on the mere ground of authority a single text in the Hindu scriptures than I can defend one from the Quran. Every thing has to submit to the test of reason. Islam appeals to people because it appeals also to reason. And in the long run it will be found that any other method would land one in trouble. There are undoubtedly things in the world which transcend reason. We do not refuse to bring them on the anvil of reason but they will not come

themselves. By their very nature they defy reason. Such is the mystery of the Deity. It is not inconsistent with reason, it is beyond it.

Toung India: March 4>6, 1925.

3> <>

I CERTAINLY regard Islam as one of the inspired religions, and therefore the Holy Quarn as an inspired book and Muhammad as one of the prophets. But even so I regard Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrinism as inspired religions. The names of many of them have been already forgotten, for the simple reason that those religions and those prophets related to the particular ages for which and peoples for whom they flourished. Some principal religions are still extant. After a study of those religious to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions, a master-key is needed. That master-key is that of truth and non-violence. When I unlock the chest of a religion with this master-key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and untill we realize this fundamental unity,

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wars in the name of religion will not cease. These are not confined to Hindus and Mussalmans alone. The pages of world history are soiled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religion can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faiths.

Harijanijuly 13, 1940.

Institutions

IT is not that I harbour disloyalty towards anything

whatsoever, but I do so against all untruth, all that is unjust, all that is evil. This I want to make clear as I do not want to sail under false colours. I remain loyal to an institution so long as that institution conduces to my growth, to the growth of the nation. Immediately I find t|j3t the institution instead of conducting to its growth impedes it, I hold it to be my bounden duty to be disloyal to it. Young India : Aug. 13, 1925.

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ALL public institutions are public trust and, those who are in charge of them have often times to harden their hearts and rigorously collect all debts owing to the trust and their charge. Leniency in the management of public trust is a misplaced virtue and may often amount to an unpardonable breach.

Young India : Oct. 8, 1925.

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BUT as I have so often pointed out laws are made by institutions for self preservation not for suicide. When therefore, they hamper their growth they are worse than useless, and must be set aside.

Young India : Oct. 8, 1925.

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EVERYONE joining an institution owes it to obey the rules framed by the management from time to time. When any new rule is found irksome, it is open

JAILS 333

to the objector to leave the institution in accordance with the provisions made for resignation. But he may not disobey them whilst he is in.

Harijan : July 13, 1940.

Jails

JAILS are no gate-way to liberty for the confirmed criminal. They are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified. The execution of Socrates made immortality a living reality for us, not so the execution of countless murderers. There is no warrant for supposing that we can steal Swaraj by the imprisonment of thousands of nominally non-violent men with hatred, ill-will and violence raging in their breasts.

Young India : Mar. 2, 1922.

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IT is now therefore clear that a civil resister's resistance ceases and his obedience is resumed as soon as he is under confinement. In confinement he claims no privileges because of the civility of his disobedience. Inside the jail by his evemplary conduct he reforms even the criminals surrounding him, he softens the hearts of jailers and others in authority. Such meek behaviour springing from strength and knowledge ultimately dissolves the tyranny of the tyrant. It is for this reason that I claim that voluntary suffering is the quickest and the best remedy for the removal of abuses and injustices. Young India : Dec. 29, 1921,

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GAOL discipline must be submitted to, until gaol government itself becomes or is felt to be corrupt and immoral. But deprivation of comfort, imposition of restriction and such other inconveniences do not make gaol government corrupt. It becomes that, when prisoners are humiliated or treated with inhumanity as when they

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are kept in filthy dens or are given food unfit for human consumption. Indeed, I hope that the conduct of Non-co-operators in the goal will be strictly

correct,
dignified and yet submissive. We must not regard
gaolers and warders as our enemies, but as fellow human
beings, not utterly devoid of the human touch. Our
gentlemanly behaviour is bound to disarm all suspicion
or bitterness. I know that this path of discipline, on
the one hand, and fierce defiance, on the other, is a
very difficult path, but there is no royal road to
Swaraj.

The country has deliberately chosen the narrow and
the straight path. Like a straight line, it is the short-
est distance. But even as you require a steady and
experienced hand to draw a straight line, so are
steadiness of discipline and firmness of purpose absolutely
necessary, if we are to walk along the chosen path
with an unerring step. Young India : Dec. 15, 1921.

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MERE fillings of the jails would not bring India
freedom. Even thieves and criminals go to prison,
but their prison going has no merit. It is the suffer-
ing of the pure and innocent that tells. It is only
when the authorities are compelled to put into prison
the poorest and the most innocent citizens that a
change
of heart is forced upon them. A Satyagrahi goes to
prison, not to embarrass the authorities but to convert
them by demonstrating to them his innocence. You
should realize that unless you have developed the moral
fitness to go to prison which the law of Satyagraha de-
mands, your jail going will be useless and will bring
you nothing but disappointment in the end. A votary
of non-violence must have the capacity to put up with
the indignities and hardships of prison life not only
without retaliation or anger but with pity in his heart
for the perpetrator of those hardships and indignities.

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PRISONERS must be treated as defectives and not as
criminals to be looked down upon. Warders should cease
to be the terrors of prisoners, and the jail officials
should
be their friends and instructors. Harijan: July 31,

1937.

Jesus Christ

Q. I SHOULD be obliged to hear from you your attitude to the personality of Jesus.

A. I have often made it clear. I regard Jesus as a great teacher of humanity, but I do not regard him as the only begotten son of God. That epithet in its material interpretation is quite unacceptable.

Metaphori-

cally we are all begotten sons of God, but for each of us there may be different begotten sons of God in a special sense. Thus for me Ghaitanya may be the only begotten son of God.

Q, . But don't you believe in the perfection of human nature, and don't you believe that Jesus had attained perfection ?

A. I believe in the perfectibility of human nature. Jesus came as near to perfection as possible. To say that he was perfect is to deny God's superiority to man.

And then in this matter I have a 'theory of my own. Being necessarily limited by the bonds of flesh, we can attain perfection only after dissolution of the body. Therefore -God alone is absolutely perfect. When he descends to earth, He of His own accord limits himself. Jesus died on the Cross because he was limited by the flesh. I do not need either the prophecies or the miracles to establish Jesus' greatness as a teacher. Nothing

can be more miraculous than the three years of his ministry. There is no miracle in the story of the multitude being fed on a handful of loaves. A magician can create that illusion. But woe wroth the day on which a magician would be hailed as the Saviour

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of humanity. As for Jesus raising the dead to life, well I doubt if the men he raised were really dead. I raised a relative's child from supposed death to life, but that was because the child was not dead, and

but for my presence there she might have been cremated. But I saw that life was not extinct. I gave her an enema and she was restored to life. There was no miracle about it, I do not deny that Jesus had certain psychic powers and he was undoubtedly filled with the love of humanity. But he brought to life not people who were dead but who were believed to be dead. The laws of nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of Nature's laws. But we limited beings fancy all kinds of things and impute our limitations to God. We may copy God, but not He us. We may not divide Time for Him. Time for Him is eternity. For us there is past, present and future. And what is human life of a hundred years but less than a mere speck in the eternity of Time ? Harijan : April 17, 1937.

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I say in one sentence that for many years I have regarded Jesus of Nazareth as one amongst the mighty teachers that the world has had, and I say this in all humility. I claim humility for this expression for the simple reason that this is exactly what I feel. Of course, Christians claim a higher place for Jesus of Nazareth than as a non-Christian and as a Hindu I have been able to feel. I purposely use the word 'feel' instead of give, because I consider that neither I, nor anybody else can possibly arrogate to himself the claim of giving place to a great man. The great teachers of mankind have had the places not given to them, but the place has belonged to them as a matter of right, a matter of service that they have rendered; but it is given to the lowest and humblest amongst us to feel certain things ahead certain people.

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The relation between great teachers and ourselves is somewhat after the style of relation between a husband and wife. It would be a most terrible thing, a tragic

thing, if I was to argue out intellectually for myself what place I was to give to my wife in my heart. It is not in my giving, but she takes the place that belongs to her as a matter of right in my heart. It is a matter purely for feeling. Then, I can say that Jesus occupies in my heart the place of one of the great teachers who have made a considerable influence on my life. Gandhiji in Ceylon : Page 146.

Jewellery

I WILL far rather see the race of man extinct than that we should become less than beasts by making the noblest of God's creation the object of our lust.

Young India July 21, 1921.

<3> <S> <\$>

SURELY, it is easy enough to realise that so long as there are millions of men and women in the country starving for want of food because of want of work, the sisters have no warrant for possessing costly jewels for adorning their bodies, or often for the mere satisfaction of possessing them.

Young India : April 5, 1928.

<\$><\$><\$>

IN this country of semi-starvation and insufficient nutrition of practically eight per cent, of the people, the wearing of jewellery is an offence to the eye.

-Harijan: Dec. 22, 1933.

<S> <\$> <j>

The real ornament of woman is her character, her purity. Metal and stones can never be real ornaments. The names of women like Sita and Damyanti have become sacred to us for their unsullied virtue, never for their jewellery, if they wore any, Harijan : June 12, 1934.

Journalism

IN the very first month of Indian Opinion, I realized that the sole aim of Journalism should be service. The newspaper press, is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole country-sides and devas-
tates crops, even so an uncontrolled \ en serves but to destroy.
If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within. If this line of reasoning is correct, how many of the journals in the world would stand the test? But who would stop those that are useless ? And who should be the judge ? The useful and the useless must, like good and evil generally, go on together, and man must make his choice.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 349.

Trial by Juries

I AM unconvinced of the advantages of jury trials over those by judges. Incoming to a correct decision, we must not be obsessed by our unfortunate experience of the judiciary here, which in political trials has been found to be notoriously partial to the Government. At the right moment juries have been found to fail even in England. When passions are roused, juries are affected by them and give perverse verdicts. Nor need we a.ssume that they are always on the side of leniency. I have known juries finding prisoners guilty in the face of evidence and even judge's summing up to the contrary. We must not slavishly copy all that is

English. In matters where absolute impartiality,
calmness
and ability to sift evidence and understand human
nature
are required, we may not replace trained judges by un-
trained men bought together by chance. What we must
aim at is an incorruptible, impartial and able judiciary
right
from the bottom. I regard village panchayats as an in-
stitution by itself. But thanks to the degradation of
the
caste system and the evil influence of the present
system

JUSTICE 339

of Government and the growing illiteracy of the
masses this ancient and noble institution has fallen
into
desuetude, and where it has not, it has lost its former
purity
and hold. It must, however, be revived at any cost, if
the
villages are not to be ruined. Young India : Aug. 27,
1930

Justice

ALL the world over a true peace depends not upon
gun-powder but upon pure justice. When Government
perpetrate injustice and fortify it by the use of arms,
such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice
to injustice. If people also become angry by reason
of such acts on the part of Government, they resort to
violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill-
will
increases. But whenever people regard particular acts
of Government as unjust and express their strong dis-
approval by self-suffering, Government cannot help
grant-
ing redress. This is the way of Satyagraha*

Young India : May 9, 1919,

^S ^S ^S

JUSTICE as between Europeans and Indians is a

rare commodity. Young India : August 14, 1924.

I HAVE said enough in these columns to show that justice is practically unobtainable in the so-called courts of justice in India. Young India Sept. 19, 1929

<\$> <\$> <s>

TODAY it is the luxury of the rich and the joy of the gambler. Harijin : Aug. 21, 1937.

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MY experience has shown me that we win justice quickest by rendering justice to the other party.

My Experiments with Truth : Page 225.

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K

Law of Karma

Q. IF you believe in the Law of Karma then your killing of the calf was a vain attempt to interfere with the operation of that law.

I firmly believe in the law of Karma, but I believe too in human endeavour. I regard as the summum bonum of life the attainment of salvation through Karma by annihilating its effects by detachment. If it is a violation of the Law of Karma to cut short the agony of an ailing animal by putting an end to its life, it is no less so to minister to the sick or try to nurse them back to life. And yet if a man were to refuse to give medicine to a patient or to nurse him on the ground of Karma, we would hold him to be guilty of inhumanity and himsa. Without therefore entering into a discussion about the eternal controversy regarding pre-destination and free-will, I will simply say here that I deem it to be the highest duty of man to render what

(little service he can). (The calf was poisoned at the instruction of Gandhiji when it was in agony and could not be saved from suffering.) - Young India: Oct. 18, 1928

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Now to come to the question of renunciation versus action : I believe in the doctrine of renunciation but I hold that renunciation should be sought for in and through action. That action is the sine qua non of life in the body, that the Wheel of Life cannot go on ever for a second without involving some sort of action goes without saying Renunciation can therefore in these circumstances only mean detachment or freedom of the spirit from action, even while the body is engaged in action. A follower of the path of renunciation seeks to attain it not by refraining from all activity but by carrying i

LAW OF KARMA 341

on in a perfect spirit of detachment and altruism as a pure trust. Thus a man may engage in farming, spinning, or any other activity without departing from the path of renunciation provided one does so merely for selfless service and remains free from the taint of egoism or attachment. It remains for those therefore who like myself hold this view of renunciation to discover for themselves how far the principle of ahimsa is compatible with life in the body and how it can be applied to acts of every day life. The very virtue of a dharma is that it is universal, that its practice is not the monopoly of the few, but must be the privilege of all. And it is my firm belief that the scope of Truth and Ahimsa is world-wide. That is why I find an ineffable joy in dedicating my life to researches in Truth and Ahimsa and I invite others to share it with me by doing like-wise. Young India : Oct. 25, 1928.

I AM a believer in previous births and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the umkars we carry from our previous births. God's laws are inscrutable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them, Harijan : Aug. 18, 1940.

<\$> <3> <S>

SO many things have happened in my life for which I had intense longing, but which I could never have achieved myself. And I have always said to my co-workers that it was in answer to my prayer. I did not say to them it was in answer to my intellectual effort

to lose myself in the Divinity in me ! The easiest and the correct thing for me was to say " God has seen me through my difficulty/'

"But that you deserved by your Karma. God is Justice and not Mercy. You are a good man and good things happen to you, 11 contended Dr. Fabri.

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No fear. I am not good enough for things to happen like that. If I went about with that philosophical conception of Karma, I should often come a cropper. My Karma would not come to my help. Although I believe in the inexorable Law of Karma I am striving to do so many things, every moment of my life is a strenuous endeavour, which is an attempt to build up more Karma> to undo the past and add to the present. It is, therefore, wrong to say that because my past is good, good is, happening at present. The past would be soon exhausted and I have to build up the future with prayer. I tell you Karma alone is powerless. ifc !gnite this match," I say to myself, and yet I cannot

if there is no co-operation from without. Before I strike

the match my hand is paralysed or I have only one match and the wind blows it out. Is it an accident or God or Higher power ? Well I prefer to use the language of my ancestors or of children. I am no better than a child. We may try to talk learnedly and of books, but when it comes to brass tacks when we are face to face with a calamity we behave like children

and begin to cry and pray and our intellectual belief gives no satisfaction ! Harijan : Aug. 19, 1939,

Kisan Sabhas

MY opinion is clear-out, having worked among the kisans and labourers all my life. There is nothing constitutionally wrong in the Congress allowing the Kisan Sabhas to work independently nor in allowing the office-bearers of the Kisan Sabhas to be office-bearers of the Congress, for they will come in the usual way. But my study of separate kisan organizations has led me definitely to the Conclusion that they are not working for the interests of the kisans but are organized only with a view to capturing the Congress organization. They can do even this by leading the kisans along

KHADDAR 343

the right channels, but I am afraid they are misleading them. If the kisans and their leaders will capture the Congress by doing nothing but authorised Congress work, there is no harm. But if they do so by making false registers, storming meetings and so on, it would be something like Fascism.

"But the main question is whether you want the Kisan Sabhas to strengthen the Congress or to weaken it, to use the kisan organization to capture the Congress or to serve the kisans, whether the Sabha is to be a rival organization working apparently in the name of the Congress or one carrying out the Congress programme and policy. If it is really a rival organization and Congress organization only in name, its strength and energy will be utilized in resisting the Congress and those of the Congress will be utilized in resisting the Kisan Sabha, with the result that the poor kisans will be ground between the two mill-stones.

Harijan : April 23, 1938.

Khaddar

SO long as the taste persists, so long is complete renunciation impossible. And boycott means complete renuncia-

tion. We must be prepared to be satisfied with such cloth as India can produce, even as we are thankfully content with such children as God gives us. I have not known a mother throwing away her baby even though it may appear ugly to an outsider. So should it be with the patriotic women of India about Indian manufactures.

Young India : July 6, 1921.

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Q. WHY do you emphasise Khaddar and not Swadeshi ?

Is not Swadeshi the principle and Khaddar a mere detail?

A. I do not regard Khaddar to be a detail. Swadeshi is a theoretical term. Khaddar is the concrete and central fact

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of Swadeshi. Swadeshi without Khaddar is like the body without life, fit only to receive a decent burial or cremation. The only Swadeshi cloth is Khaddar. If one is to interpret Swadeshi in the language of and in terms of the millions of this country, Khaddar is a substantial thing in Swadeshi like the air we breathe. The test of Swadeshi is not the universality of the use of an article which goes under the name of Swadeshi, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such article. Thus considered mill-made cloth is Swadeshi only in a restricted sense. For, in its manufacture only an infinitesimal number of India's millions can take part. But in the manufacture of

Khaddar
millions can take part. The more the merrier. With
Khaddar, in my opinion, is bound up the welfare of
millions
of human beings. Khaddar is therefore the largest part
of
Swadeshi and it is the only true demonstration of it.
All else
follows from it. India can live, even if we do not use
brass
buttons or tooth picks made in India. But India cannot
live if we refuse to manufacture and wear Khaddar.
Khaddar
will cease to have this paramount importance when a
more
profitable employment is discovered for the idle hours
of
India's millions.

Q. Good Khaddar is costly and the ordinary variety is
ugly.

A. I deny that any Khaddar is ugly. Want of the dead-
sameness of a machine-made article is not a sign of
ugliness*
but, it is a sign of life, even as absence of sameness
in the
millions of leaves of a tree is no sign of its
ugliness. As a
matter of fact, it is the variety about the leaves
which gives
a tree its life-like beauty. I can picture a machine-
made
tree whose every leaf would be absolutely the same
size. It
would look a ghastly thing, because we have not yet
ceased
to love the living tree. And, why should the cost of
Khaddar, good or bad, worry us if every penny we pay
for
it goes directly into the pockets of the starving
millions ?
My experience is that in the majority of cases where
people

have taken to Khaddar they have revised their tastes about dress. Though Khaddar may be dearer per yard than the same quality of Manchester calico, the rejection of superfluous clothing more than balances the extra cost.

Young India : June 17, 1926.

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Khaddar delivers the poor from the bonds of the rich and creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses. It restores to the poor somewhat of what the rich have taken from them.

Young India : March 17, 1927.

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KHADDAR economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor* The former wholly concerns itself with the human. The latter is frankly selfish, the former necessarily unselfish.

Competition and therefore prices are eliminated from the conception of Khaddar. There is no competition between hotels and domestic kitchens. It never enters into the head of the queen of the house to calculate the cost of her labour, the floor space, etc. She simply knows that to conduct the domestic kitchen is as much her duty as it is to bring up children. If she were to count the cost, the logic of facts will irresistibly drive her to the destruction of her kitchen as well as her children. Some have done both. But thank God the cult makes no promise of appreciable increase. It is our innate laziness which prevents us from seeing that we sinned against Indian humanity when we destroyed the domestic wheel. Let us repent of our sin and return to the

peace-giving wheel. Young India : July 16, 1931.,

Language

IN one respect all languages are incomplete. Man's reason is limited and language fails him when he begins to

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talk of God and Eternity. Human reason controls human speech. It is, therefore, limited, to the extent that reason itself is limited, and in that sense all languages are incomplete. The ordinary rule regarding language is that a language takes shape in accordance with the thoughts of its wielders. If they are sensible, their language is full of sense, and it becomes nonsense when foolish people speak it. There is an English proverb, "A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools." Those who quarrel with a language are often like the bad carpenter. Young India : Oct. 20, 1917.

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A LANGUAGE that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowing. Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

<3> <\$> <3>

A LANGUAGE becomes what its speakers and writers make it. English had no merit apart from what Englishmen made it. In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators. Every language is capable of infinite expansion. Harijan : Feb. 8, 1942.

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I DO not want my-house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a .slave. Young India :June 1, 1921.

^o ^^ ^o

THERE never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or of expressing abstruse or scientific ideas. A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

Young India : June 5, 1928-

LAW 347

MAN is neither mere intellect, nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone. A proper and harmonious combination of all the three is required for the making of the whole man and constitutes the true economics and education.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 213.

Law

JUSTICE that love gives is a surrender, Justice that law gives is a punishment. Young India : Jan, 9, 1925.

PEOPLE seem to think, that when a law is passed against any evil, it will die without any further effort. There never was a grosser self-deception. Legislation is intended and is effective against an ignorant or a small evil-minded minority ; but 110 legislation which is

opposed
by an intelligent and organised public opinion, or
under
cover of religion by a fanatical minority, can ever
succeed.

Young India : July 7, 1927.

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ONCE a law is enacted, many difficulties must be en-
countered before it can be reversed. It is only when
public
opinion is highly educated that the laws in force in a
country
can be repealed. A constitution under which laws are
modified or repealed every now and then cannot be said
to be stable or well organised.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 140.

Lawyers

IN England, in South Africa, almost everywhere I
have found that in the practice of their profession,
lawyers
are consciously or unconsciously led into untruth for
the
sake of their clients. An eminent English lawyer has
gone
far as to say that it may even be the duty of a lawyer

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to defend a client whom he knows to be guilty. There I
disagree. The duty of a lawyer is always to place
before
the judges and to help them to arrive at the truth,
never
to prove the guilty as innocent.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : Page 85.

o> <s> <s>

A TRUE lawyer is one who places truth and service in
the first place and the emoluments of the profession in

the
next place only. Harijan : Nov. 26, 1938.

Law Courts

TRULY speaking I am in no love with fighting in law courts. Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case. Any experienced vakil will bear me out that it depends more on the judge, the counsel, and the venue of the court. In English there is a proverb that it is always the man with the longest purse that wins. And there is a good deal of truth in this, as there is exaggeration in it.

Young India : June 17, 1919.

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I HAVE not a shadow of doubt that society will be much cleaner and healthier if there was less resort to law courts than there is. The rush after the best council is undignified.

If one has committed an offence, he must plead guilty and suffer the penalty. If he has not and is still found guilty, imprisonment for him is no disgrace.

Young India : Dec. 3, 1919.

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IF we were not under the spell of lawyers and law courts and if there were no touts to tempt us into the quagmire of the courts and to appeal to our basest passions, we would be leading a much happier life than we do today. Let those who frequent the law-courtsr the best of them-

bear witness to the fact that the atmosphere about them is foetid. Perjured witnesses are ranged on either side, ready to sell their very souls for money or for friendship's sake. But that is not the worst of these courts. The worst is that they support the authority of a government. They are supposed to dispense justice and are therefore called the palladile of a nation's liberty. But when they support the authority of an unrighteous Government, they are no longer palladile of liberty, they are crushing houses to crush a nation's spirit. Such were the martial law tribunals and the summary courts in the Punjab. We had them in their nakedness. Such they are even in normal time when it is a matter of dispensing justice between a superior race and its helots. This is so all the world over Look at the trial of an English officer and the f.ircical punishment he received for having deliberately tortured inoffensive negroes at Nairobi. Has a single Englishman suffered the extreme penalty of the law or anything like it for brutal murders in India ? Let no one suppose that these things would be changed when Indian judges and Indian prosecutors take the place of Englishmen. Englishmen are not by nature corrupt. Indians are not necessarily angels. Both succumb to their environment. There were Indian judges and Indian prosecutors during the martial law regime, who were generally guilty or just as bad as the Englishmen. Those, who tortured the innocent women in Amritsar, were Indians, if it was a Bosworth Smith in Manianwala who insulted its women.

Young India : Oct. 6, 1920,
<\$> <\$ <3>

If we will cease to be slaves we must cease to rely for protection upon the British bayonet or the slippery justice

of law courts. Young India : April 2, 1925.

Leaders

COURAGE, endurance, fearlessness and above all self-sacrifice are the qualities required of our leaders. A

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person belonging to the suppressed classes exhibiting these qualities in their fulness would certainly be able to lead the nation; whereas the most finished orator, if he has not these qualities, must fail.

Young India : Sept. 29, 1921.

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ALL cannot become leaders, but all can be bearers.

Young India : Sept. 29, 1921.

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IN well ordered organisations leaders are elected for convenience of work, not for extra ordinary merit. A leader is only first among equals. Some one may be put first, but he is and should be no stronger than the weakest link in the chain.

Young India : Dec 8, 1921.

^> ^^ ^^

A LEADER is useless when he acts against the promptings of his own conscience. Harijan : Dec. 12, 1937.

Liberty

WHERE a choice has to be made between liberty and learning, who will not say that the former has to be preferred a thousand times to the latter.

The youths whom -I called in 1920 from citatels. of slavery their schools and colleges and whom I

advised
that it was far better to remain unlettered and break
stones for the sake of liberty than to go in for a
literary education in the chains of slaves will
probably
be able now to trace my advice to its source

My Expcrimmts with Truth : Page 248*

4 <\$><\$>

Death in the fight is a deliverencce, and prison, a
gateway to liberty.

Religious freedom, like liberty, becomes licence when
it is indulged in at the expense of the health and
salety
of others, or in contravention of the principles of
decency

LOVE 351

or moral ity. If you want to claim unrestricted and
absolute liberty for yourselves, you must choose to
retire
from society and take to solitude.

Harijan : Feb. 18, 1939.

Life

TO enjoy life one should give up the lure of life:

Harijan : March 1, 194%

<*><\$><\$>

TO deprive a man of his natural liberty and to
deny to him the ordinary amenities of life is worse
than
starving the body. It is starvation of the soul the
dweller
in the body. Harijans are a powerful illustration of
this
process of starvation of the soul.

Harijan : Oct. 26, 1934;

Love

WHERE love is, there God is also.

Saiyagraha in South Africa : Page 360

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WHAT barrier is there that love cannot break ?

My Experiments with Truth : Page 222;

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THE only way love punishes is by suffering.

Young India : Feb. 16, 1922,

<*><?><\$>

AFFECTION cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or system one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite violence. Young India : Mar. 15, 1922.

<\$> 3> <\$>

IT is perfectly true, I must admit it in all humility, that however indifferently it may be, I endeavour to represent love in every fibre of my being. I am impatient

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to realise the presence of my Maker, who to me embodies truth, and in the early part of my career I discovered that if I was to realise Truth I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the Law of Love.

Young India: Nov. 16, 1931.

<\$> <> <\$>

HATRED ever kills. Love never dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by

love is retained for all time. What is obtained by
hatred
proves a burden in reality, for it increases hatred.

Toung India : May 10, 1919.
< <\$> <\$>

IT may be long before the law of love will be
recognized in international affairs. The machineries of
governments stand between and hide the hearts of one
people from those of another.

Toung India : June 23, 1919.
<*><\$> <\$>

THE test of love is tapasya and tapasya means
self- suffering. Toung India : June 12, 1922.

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WITHOUT truth there is no love, without truth
it may be affection, as for one's country to the injury
of others; or infatuation, as of a young man for a
girl*
or love may be unreasoning and blind, as of ignorant
parents for their children. Love transcends all
animality
.and is never patrial.

True love is boundless like the ocean and rising
and swelling within one spreads itself out and crossing
all
boundaries and frontiers envelops the whole world.

Toung India : Sept. 20, 1928.
<\$><\$><\$>

LOVE never claims, it ever gives. Love ever suffers,
never resents, never revenges itself.

Toung India: July 9, 1925.

LOVE 353

TO surrender is not to confer favour. Justice that
love gives is a surrender, justice that law gives is a
punishment. What a lover gives transcends justice. And

yet it is always less than he wishes to give because he is anxious to give more and frets that he has nothing left. Young Mia : July 9, 1925.

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HAVING flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I accept to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man, and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that if not in this birth, in some other birth, I shall be able to hug all humanity in friendly embrace.

Young India : April 2, 1931.

I AM quite conscious of the fact that blind surrender to love is often more mischievous than a forced surrender to the lash of the tyrant. There is hope for the slave of the brute, none for that of love. Love is needed to strengthen the weak, love becomes tyrannical when it exacts obedience from an unbeliever.

--Young India : Oct. 13, 1921.

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A LOVE that is based on the goodness of those whom you love is a mercenary affair, whereas, true love is self-suffering and demands no consideration. It is like that a model Hindu wife, Sita for instance, who loved her Rama even whilst he bid her pass through a raging fire. It was well with Sita, for she knew what she was doing. She sacrificed herself out of her strength, not out of her weakness. Love is the strongest force the world possesses and yet it is the humblest imaginable. Young India : Aug. 20, 1925.

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TRUTH quenches untruth. Love quenches anger, suffering quenches violence. This eternal rule is a

rule not for saints only but for all.

Harijan : Feb. 1, 1942.

<\$><\$> <S>

IT is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is Truth.

It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that \ve can conquer the world by truth and love.

The root of Non-co-operation is in Satyagraha, which is love. The Law of Love, call it attraction, affinity, cohesion, if you like, governs the world. Life persists in the face of death. The universe continues in spite of destruction incessantly going on. Truth triumphs over untruth* Love conquers hate. God eternally triumphs over Satan. Young India : Oct. 23, 1924.

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THE more efficient a force is, the more silent and the more subtle it is. Love is the subtlest force in the world. Young India : Oct. 4, 1924.

M

Mahatmaship

MY Mahatmaship is worthless. It is due to my outward activities, due to my politics which is the least part of me and is therefore evanescent. What is of abiding worth is my insistence on truth, non-violence and Brahmacharya which is the real part of me. That permanent part of me, however, small is not to be despised. It is my all. I prize even the failures and disillusionments which are but steps towards success. Young India : Dec. 2, 1921.

MAHATMASHIP 355

THE Mahatma I must leave to his fate. Though a non-co-operater I shall gladly subscribe to a bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me Mahatma and to touch ray feet. Where I can impose the law myself, i.e., at the Ashram^ the practice is criminal.

Toting India : March 17, 1927.

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THANK God my much vaunted Mahatmaship has never fooled me. Toug India : Jan. 12, 1930.

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Q. Are you really a Mahatma ?

A. I do not feel like being one. But I do know that I am among the humblest of God's creatures.

Q. If so, will you define the word Mahatma ?

A. Not being acquainted with one I cannot give any definition.

Q. If not, did you ever tell your followers that you aie not one ?

A. The more I repudiate, the more it is used.

- Toug India : Oct. 27, 1931.

Man

I HAVE found by experience that man makes his plans to be often upset by God, but, at the same time where the ultimate goal is .the search of Truth, no matter how a man's plans aie frustrated the issue is never injurious and

often

better than anticipated.

My Exf,erimtnts with Truth : Page 37J?.

<3> <S> <

ALL men are imperfect, and when imperfection is observed in some one in a larger measure than in others, people are apt to blame him. But that is not feir. Man can change his temperament, can control it, but cannot eradicate it. God has not given him so much liberty. If the leopard can change his spots then only can man modify the peculiarities of his spiritual constitution.

Satjagrah in South Africa : Page 212.

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MAN is a fallible being. He can never be sure of his steps. Young India : Sept. 25. 1924.

<s> <*> <\$>

PROGRESS is man's distinction, man's alone, not beasts. Man has dicrimination and reason. Man does not live by bread alone, as the brute does. He uses his reason to worship God and to know Him, and regards the attainment of that knowledge as the sumnun bonum of life.

The brute, if he can be said to worship God, does so in- voluntarily. The desire to worship God is inconceivable in the brute, while man can voluntarily worship even Satan.

It must therefore, be and is, man's nature to know and find God. When he worships Satan, he acts contrary to his nature. Of course, I will not carry conviction to one who makes no distinction between man and the brute. To him virtue and vice are convertible terms. While to the man whose end and aim is realisation of God, even the functions of eating and drinking can be natural only within

certain
limits. For having knowledge of God as his end, he will
not eat or drink for the sake of enjoyment, but solely
for
sustaining the body. Restraint and renunciation will
therefore always be his watch-words even in respect of
these
functions.

And if it is man's nature to know and find God,
sexual indulgence should be contrary to his nature, and
complete renunciation of it will accord best with his
mission.

For realisation of God is impossible without complete
re-
nunciation of the sexual desire. It is not man's duty
to
develop all his faculties to perfection ; his duty is
to develop
all his God-ward faculties to perfection and to
suppress
completely those of contrary tendencies.

Young Mia : June 26, 1926^

> <*> 3>

MAN has reason, discrimination, and free-will such as
it is. The brute has no such thing. It is not a free
agent,

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and knows no distinction between virtue and vice, good
and
evil. Man, being a free agent, knows these
distinctions,
and when he follows his higher nature shows himself far
superior to the brute, but when he follows his baser
nature
can show himself lower than the brute.

Young India : June 3, 1926.

<\$><\$><*>

MAN is not all body but he is something infinitely
higher. Young India : April 14, 1927

<3> <> <S>

OF all the animal creation of God, man is the only animal who has been created in order that he may know his maker. Man's aim in life is not therefore to add from day to day to his material prospects and to his material possessions but his predominant calling is from day to day to come nearer his own Maker. Young India : Oct. 20 1927

<\$><\$><*>

Q. IS man a special creation of God ?

A. Man is a special creation of God precisely to the extent that he is distinct from the rest of His creation

Young India : Feb 13, '1930
<\$><\$><\$>

MAN is, undoubtedly, an artist and create Undoubtedly he must have beauty and, therefore, colour His artistic and creative nature at its best taught him to discriminate, and to know that any conglomeration of was no mark of beauty, nor every sense of enim, in iueir. His eye for it taught him usefulness Thus, he learnt at an early stage of his life that he was to eat not for its own sake as some still do, but he should eat to enable him to live, later stage he learnt further that there was neither pleasure nor joy in living for its own sake, but that he must serve his fellow creatures and through them his Maker

Harijan : April 4, '1936.

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MAN'S estate is one of probation. During that period he is played upon by evil forces, as well as good. He is

ever prey to temptations. He has to prove his manliness by resisting and fighting temptations. He is no warrior who fights outside foes of his imagination, and is powerless to lift his little finger against the innumerable foes within, or what is worse, mistakes them for friends.

Harijm : April 4, 1936.

<S> <J> <\$>

THE main purpose of life is to live rightly, think rightly tact rightly : the soul must languish when we give all our, hought to the body. Haryan : Feb. 27, 1936.

<3> <S> <*>

IT is man's special privilege and pride to be gifted with the faculties of head and heart both, that he is a think-
ing no less than a feeling animal as the very derivation of the word shows ; and to renounce the sovereignty of reason over the blind instincts is, therefore, to renounce a man's estate. In man reason quickens and guides the fetluig, in brute the soul lies ever dormant. To awaken the heart is to awaken the dormant soul, to awaken reason, and to inculcate discrimination between good and evil.

Haryan : Nov. 21, 1936.

<\$><\$><*>

MAN'S destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to over-come the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. If religion does not teach us how to achieve this conquest, it teaches us nothing. But there is no royal road to success in this, the truest enterprise in life. Cowardice is perhaps the greatest vice from which we suffer and is also possibly the greatest violence, certainly far greater

than
bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name
of violence. For it comes from want of faith in God and
ignorance of His attribute. Harijan : Dec. 12, 1937.

Manliness

MANLINESS consists not in bluff, bravado or lordi-
ness. It consists in daring to do the right and facing

MANLINESS 359

consequences, whether it is in matters social,
political or
other. It consists in deeds, not in words.

Young India : Jan. 24, 1929.

MANLINESS consists in making circumstances sub-
serve to ourselves. These who will not heed themselves
perish. To understand this principle is not to be impa-
tient, not to reproach fate, not to blame others. He
who
understands the doctrine of self-help blames himself
for
failure. Harijan : June 25, 1936.

Manners

AFTER all, manners and methods change with the
times. We must grow with our years. What was good
enough for our babyhood cannot be good enough for
manhood. Young India : July 14, 1920.

Marriage

IN India, it must be held to be a crime to spend
money on dinner and marriage parties, tamashas and
other
luxuries as long as millions of people are starving. We
would not have a feast in a family if a member was
about
to die of starvation. If India is one family, we should
have the same feeling as we would have in a private
family.

Young India : Dec. 22, 1920.

<3> 3> <:>

THOSE who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life, no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but, brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter.

Young India: Dec. 2, 1921.

Every girl, every Indian girl, is not born to marry. I can show many girls who are to-day dedicating themselves

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to service instead of serving one man. It is high time that Hindu girls produce or reproduce an edition and, if possible, a glorified edition of Parvati and Sita.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : Page 146.

Q. ARE you against the institution of marriage ?

* I shall have to answer this question at some length, said Bapu, ' The aim of human life is Moksha. As a Hindu, I believe that Moksha is frcedem from birth, by breaking the bonds of the flesh, by becoming one with God. Now marriage is a kindrance in the attainment of this supreme object, in as much as it only tightens the bonds of flesh. Celibacy is a great help, inasmuch as it enables one to lead a life of full surrender to God. What is the object generally understood of marriage, except a repetition of one's own kind ? And why need you advocate marriage ?

It propagates itself. It requires no agency to promote its growth.'

* But must you advocate celibacy and preach it to one and all ?'

4 Yes,' said Gandhiji. Ramachandran looked perplexed, 'Then you fear there will be an end of creation ?'

4 No. The extreme logical result would be not extinction of the human species, but the transference of it to a higher plane.'

6 But may not an artist or a great genius leave a legacy of his genius to posterity through his own children ?'

* Certainly not,' said Bapu, with emphasis, 'He will have more disciples than he can ever have children ; and through those disciples all his gifts to the world will be handed down in a way that nothing else can do it. It will be the soul's marriage with the spirit : the progeny being the disciple, a sort of divine procreation. No. ! You must leave marriage to take care of itself. Repetition and not

MARRIAGE 36V

growth would be the result ; for lust has come to play the most important part in marriage.'

'Mr. Andrews' said Ramachandran, ' does not like your emphasis on celibacy.'

' Yes, I know,' said Gandhiji, ' that is the legacy of Protestantism. Protestantism did many good things, but one of its few evils was that it ridiculed celibacy.'

' That ' rejoined Ramachandran, ' was because it had ;

to fight the deep abuses in which the clergy of the age had sunk.'

c But all that was not due to any inherent evil of celibacy,' said Bapu, 'It is celibacy that has kept Catholicism green up to the present day. 7 (M. D.)

Young India : Nov. 13, 1924*
<\$><\$><*>

Married life would be intolerable, as it does become, when one partner breaks through all bonds of restraint. Marriage confirms the right of union between two partners to the exclusion of all the others when in their joint opinion they consider such union to be desirable but it confers no right upon one partner to demand obedience of the other to one's wish for union. What should be done when one partner on moral or other grounds cannot conform to the wishes of the other is a separate question. Personally, if divorce was the only alternative I should not hesitate to accept it, rather than interrupt my moral progress, assuming that I want to restrain myself on purely moral grounds.

Young India : Oct. 8, 1925i

<^ <S> <3>

A correspondent, whom I know well, raises an issue I take it, for purely academic interest because I know the views he has set out are not his. * Is not our present day morality unnatural ?> he asks. If it was natural it should have been the same everywhere in all ages, but every race and community seems to have its own peculiar marriage

laws and in enforcing them men have made themselves worse than beasts. For diseases which are unknown amongst animals are quite common amongst men ; infanticide, abortions, child-marriages, which are impossible in the brute creation, are the curse of the society that holds up marriage as a sacrament, and no end of evil results have sprung from what we uphold as laws of morality. And the miserable condition of Hindu widows what is it due to, but to the existing marriage laws ? Why not go back to nature, and take a leaf out of the book of the brute creation ?

I do not know whether the advocates of free love in the West resort to the argument summarised above or have any stronger reasons to put forth, but I am sure that the tendency to regard the marriage-bond as barbarous is distinctly Western. If the argument is also borrowed from the West, there is no difficulty about meeting it.

It is a mistake to institute a comparison between man and the brute and it is this comparison that vititates the whole argument. For man is higher than the brute in his moral instincts and moral institutions. The law of nature as applied to the one is different from the law of nature as applied to the other. Man has reason, discrimination, and free will such as it is. The brute has no such thing. It is not a free agent, and knows no distinction between virtue and vice, good and evil. Man, being a free agent, knows these distinctions, and when he follows his higher nature shows himself far superior to the brute, but when he follows his baser nature can show himself lower than the brute. Even the races regarded as the most uncivilised on

earth
accept some restriction on sexual relations. If it be
said
that the restriction is itself barbarous, then freedom
from
all restraints should be the law of man. If all men
were to
act according to this lawless law, there would be
perfect
chaos withra twenty four hours. Man being by nature
more passionate than the brute, the moment all
restraint
is withdrawn, the lava of unbridled passion would over-

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spread the whole earth and destroy mankind. Man is
superior to the brute inasmuch as he is capable of
self-
restraint and sacrifice of which the brute is
incapable.

Some of the diseases that are so common at the present
day are the result of infringement of marriage laws. I
should like to know a single instance of a man strictly
observing the restraint of the marriage bond having
suffered
from the diseases the correspondent has in mind.
Infanti-
cide, child-marriages and the like, are also the result
of the
breach of marriage laws. For the law lays down that a
man or woman shall choose a mate only when he or she
bas come <rf age, is healthy, and capable of restraint,
and
desires to have progeny. Those who strictly obey this
law,
and regard the marriage bond as a sacrament, have never
in occasion to be unhappy or miserable. Where marriage
s a sacrament, the union is not the union of bodies but
the
mion of souls indissoluble even by the death of either
party. Where there is a true union of souls, the re-
marriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper
and wrong. Marriages, where the true law of marriage is
ignored, do not deserve the name. If we have very few
true ^ marriages now-a-days it is not the institution

of
marriage that is to blame, but the prevailing form of
it,
which should be reformed.

The correspondent contends that marriage is no mora'
>r religious bond but a custom, and a custom which i 5
*
>pposed to religion and morality and hence deserves to
be
Abolished. I submit that marriage is a fence that
protects
religion. If <the fence were to be destroyed religion
would
?o to pieces. The foundation of religion is restraint
and
marriage is nothing but restraint. The man who knows
no restraint has no hope of self-realisation. I confess
it may
be difficult to prove the necessity of restraint to an
atheist
or a materialist. But he who knows the perishable
nature
of flesh from the imperishable nature of the spirit,
instinc-
tively knows that self-realisation is impossible
without self-

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discipline and self-restraint. The body may either be a
play-ground of passion, or temple of self-realisation.
If it

is the latter, there is no room there for libertinism.
The
spirit needs must curb the flesh every moment.

Woman will be the apple of discord where the marriage
bond is loose, where there k no observance of the law
of
restraint. If men were as unrestrained as the brutes
they
would straightway take the road to destruction. I am
firmly of opinion that all the evils that the
correspondent

complaints of can be eradicated not by abolishing marriage but by a systematic understanding and observance of the law of marriage.

I agree that whereas amongst some communities marriage is permitted amongst very near relations, it is prohibited among other communities, that whereas some communities forbid polygamy some permit it. Whilst one would wish that there was a uniform moral law accepted by all communities, the diversity does not point to the necessity of abolishing all restraint. As we grow wise in experience our morality will gain in uniformity. Even today the moral sense of the world holds up monogamy as the highest ideal and no religion makes polygamy obligatory. The ideal remains unaffected by the relaxation of practice according to time and place.

I need not reiterate my views regarding re-marriage of widows, as I consider re-marriage of virgin widows not only desirable but the bounden duty of all parents who happen to have such widowed daughters.

Toting India : June 3, 1926.

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MY ideal of a wife is Sita, and of a husband' Rama. But Sita was no slave of Rama, Or, each was- slave of the other The wife has a perfect right to take her own course, and meekly brave the consequences when she knows herself to be ia thje right, and when

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her resistance is for a nobler purpose.

Young India: Oct. 21, 1926.

<\$><\$> <3>

FOR rn^, the married state is as much a state of discipline as any other. Life is duty, a probation.

Married

life is intended to promote mutual good, both here and hereafter. It is meant also to serve humanity. When one partner breaks the law of discipline, the right accrues to the other of breaking the bond. The breach here is moral and not physical. It precludes divorce. The wife or the husband separates but to serve the end for which they had united. Hinduism regards each as absolute equal of the other. No doubt a different practice has grown up, no one knows since when. But s~j have many other evils crept into it. This, however, I do not know that Hinduism leaves the individual absolutely free to do what he or she likes for the sake of self-realisation, for which and which

alone he or she is born. Young India : Oct. 21, 1926.

<\$><\$><

MARRIAGE, for the satisfaction of sexual appetite is no marriage. It is vyabhichara concupisence. Today's ceremony, therefore, means that the sexual act is permitted only when there is a clear desire by both for a child. The whole conception is sacred. The act has, therefore, to be performed prayerfully. It is not preceded

by the usual courtship, designed to provide sexual excite-

ment and pleasure. Such union may only be once in a life-time, if no other child is desired. Those who are not morally and physically healthy have no business to unite, and if they do, it is vyabhichara concupisence.

You must unlearn the lesson, if you have learnt it before, that marriage is for the satisfaction of animal appetite. It is <a superstition.

Young India : April 24, 1927.

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THE very purpose of marriage is restraint and sublimation of the sexual passion. If there is any

other

purpose: marriage is no consecration, but marriage for other purposes besides having progeny.

Toung India : April 24, 1927.

MARRIAGE outside one's religion stands on a different footing. Even here, so long each is free to observe his or her religion, I can see no moral objection to such unions. But, I do not believe that these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace. I can see nothing but disaster following any attempt to advocate Hindu-Muslim unions, so long as the relations between the two remain strained. That such union may be happy in exceptional circumstances can be no reason for their general advocacy. Inter-dining between Hindus and Mussalmans does take place even now on a large scale. But that again has not resulted in promoting peace. It is my settled conviction that intermarriage and inter-dining have no bearing on communal unity. The causes of discord are economic and political and it is these that have to be removed. There is -inter-marriage and inter-dining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Mussalmans have never fought in all history. Our masses have stood aside,

Toung India : June 4, 1931.

I DO not envisage the wife, as a rule, following an avocation independently of her husband. The care of the children and the upkeep of the household are quite enough to fully engage all her energy. In a well-ordered society, the additional burden of maintaining the family ought not to fall on her. The man should look

to the maintenance of the family, the woman to household management; the two thus supplementing and complimenting each other's labours. Harijan : Oct. 12, 1934.

BETWEEN husband and wife there should be no secrets from one another. I have a very high opinion of the marriage tie. I hold that husband and wife merge in each other. They are one in two or two in one. Harijan : March 9, 1940.

MARRIAGE is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong. The ideal is to look upon marriage as a sacrament and therefore to lead a life of self-restraint in the married state. Marriage in Hinduism is one of the four Ashramas*

In fact the other three are based on it. But in modern times marriage has unfortunately come to be regarded purely as a physical union. The other three Ashramas are all but non-existent. Harijan : March 22, 1942

Masses

THE educated class, lovers of Swaraj, must freely mix with the masses. We dare not reject* * single member of the community. We shall make progress only if we carry all with us.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 212*

WE regard them (masses) as our main-stay, for it is they who have to attain Swaraj. It is neither the sole concern of the monied men or that of the educated-class. Both must subserve their interest in any scheme of Swaraj. Young Mia : April 20, 1920.

MY faith in the people is boundless. Theirs is an amazingly responsive nature. Let not the leaders distrust them. Young India : Sept. 8, 1920

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THE masses are by no means so foolish, or unintelligent as we sometimes imagine. They often perceive things with their intuition, which we ourselves fail to see with our intellect. But whilst the masses know what they want, they often do not know how to express their wants and, less often, how to get what they want. Herein comes the use of leadership, and disastrous results can easily follow a bad, hasty, or what is worse, selfish lead. Young India : Nov. 3, 1920.

<3> <*>

THE Congress must progressively represent the masses. They are as yet untouched by politics. They have no political consciousness of the type our politicians desire.

Their politics are confined to bread and salt I dare not say butter, for millions do not know the taste of ghee or even oil. Their politics are confined to communal

adjustments. It is right however to say that we the politicians do represent the masses in opposition to Government. But if we begin to use them before they are ready we shall cease to represent them. We must first come in living touch with them by working for them and in their midst. We must share their sorrows, understand their difficulties and anticipate their wants.

'With the pariahas must be pariaha and see how *we feel to clean the closets of the upper classes and have the remains of their table thrown at us. We must see how we like being in the boxes, miscalled houses, of the labourers of Bombay. We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their clothes and pots and in which their cattle drink

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and roll Then and not till then shall we truly
represent
the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing
this, respond to every call.

We cannot all do this, and if we are to do this, good-
bye to
Vwaraj for a thousand years and more," some will say. I
shall
sympathise with the objection. But I do claim that
some of us at least will have to go through the agony
and out of it only will a nation full, vigorous and
free
be born. I suggest to all that they should give their
mental co-operation and that they should mentally
iridentify
themselves with the masses, and as a visible and
tangible
token thereof, they should earnestly spin for at least
thirty
minutes per day in their name and for their sake. It
will be a mighty prayer from the intelligentsia among
the
Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and others of
India, rising up to Heaven for their, that is, India's
deliverance.

Young India : Sept. 11, 1924.

<3> 3> <\$>

I CLAIM to know my millions. All the 24 hours
of the day I am with them. 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.
They do not recognise His presence; I do. And I wor-
ship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God
through the service of these millions.

Harijan: March H, 1939.

Means And End

WE are merely the instruments of the Almighty's

will and are therefore ignorant of what helps us forward and what acts as an impediment. We must thus rest satisfied with a knowledge only of the means and if these are pure, we can fearlessly leave the end to take care of itself. Saiyagraha in South Africa : Page 480.

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FOR me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.

Young India : Dec. 26, 1924.
<\$> 3> <S>

THEY say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. Violent means will give violent Swaraj. That would be a menace to the world and to India herself. There is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited; over means none over the end. Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception.

Harijan : Feb. 28, 1937.

<\$> 3> <3>

FOR over 50 years I have trained myself never to be concerned about the result. What I should be concerned about is the means, and when I am sure of the purity of the means, faith is enough to lead me on. All fear and trembling melt away before that faith.

Harijan : Sept. 22, 1940

Measures Before Men

MEASURES must always in a progressive society be held superior to men, who are after all imperfect instruments, working for their fulfilment.

Young India : July 18, 1921.

<\$> <\$> <>

If we want to serve India we must put measures before men. The latter come and go, but causes must survive even the greatest of them.

Young India : June 5, 1924.

THE cause is everything. Those even who are

MINORITY AND MAJORITY 371

dearest to us must be shunted for the sake of the cause. Young India June 12, 1924.

Meetings

IF we confine our activities for advancing Swaraj only to holding meetings, the nation is likely to suffer harm. Meetings and speeches have their own place and time. But they cannot make a nation.

Young India : Nov. 3, 1921.

Minority and Majority

IT will be the duty of the majority to see to it that minorities receive proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults. Swaraj will be an absurdity if individuals have to surrender their judgment to majority. Young India : Dec. 8, 1921.

<3> <?> <3>

THE reader does not know that in South Africa I started with practical unanimity, reached a minority of sixty-four and even sixteen, and went up again to a huge majority. The best and the most solid work was done in the wilderness of the minority.

Young India : March 2, 1922-

<s> <s> <>

A LIVING faith cannot be manufactured by majority.

Toung India : March 16, 1922.

CORRUPTION is the bane of governments by majority. Toung India : Sept. 4, 1924.

<S> ^> <:>

POWER that is sought in the name of service and can only be obtained by a majority of votes is a delusion and snare to be avoided, especially at the present moment. Toung India: Sept. 11, 1924.

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THERE is at the present moment a note of des-
|x>ndency in the air over the number of Congress members. The complaint is that the members have been never so few as today. The complaint would be reasonable if the franchise being the same the response was less than before. It would also be reasonable, if the influence of the Congress was to be measured by the number of members. Opinions would undoubtedly differ as to the measure to be applied for gauging the Congress influence. For me there is one measure. I attach the highest importance to quality irrespective almost of quantity, the more so for Indian conditions. In the midst of suspicion, discord, antagonistic interests super-
stition, fear, distrust and the like there is not only no safety in numbers but there may be event danger in them. Who does not know how often numbers have embarrassed us during the past four years ? Numbers become irresistible when they act as one man under exact discipline. They are a self-destroying force when each pulls his own way or when no one knows which way to pull.

I am convinced that there is safety in fewness so long as we have not evolved cohesion, exactness and intelligent CQ-operation and responsiveness. One virtuous son is better

than one hundred loafers. Five Pandavas were more than a match for one hundred Kauravas. A disciplined army of a few hundred picked men has time without number routed countless undisciplined hordes. A few members fully satisfying the Congress test can give a good account of themselves, whereas one million members nominally on the Congress register may not be worth the register itself. Young India : April 30, 1925.

<S> <S> <S>

IN a popular institution, it must be opinion of the majority that must count. But I have always held that when a respectable minority objects to any rule of

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conduct, it would be dignified for the majority, and would conduce to the good of the Congress, for the majority to yield to the minority. Numerical strength savours of violence when it acts in total disregard of any strongly felt opinion or a minority. The rule of majority is perfectly sound, only where there is no rigid insistence on the part of the dissenters upon their dissent and where there is on their behalf a sportsmanlike obedience to the opinion of the majority. No organisation can run smoothly when it is divided into camps, each growling at the other and each determined to have its own way by hook or by crook.

Young India : Nov, 9, 1929,

Mobs

PERSONALLY I do not mind Governmental fury as I mind mob fury. The latter is a sign of national discontent and therefore more difficult to deal with than the former which is confined to a small corporation. It is easier to oust a Government that has rendered itself unfit to govern than it is to cure unknown people in a mob of their madness. But great movements cannot be stopped

altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures. No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing,
made mistakes. Young India : July 28, 1920.

<S> <S> <\$>

THE greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the mobocratic stage. But my consolation lies in the fact that nothing is so easy as to train mobs, for the simple reason that they have no mind, no premeditation. They act in a frenzy.

They repent quickly. Our organised Government does not repent of its fiendish crimes at Jallianwala, Lahore,

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Kasur, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, etc. But I have drawn tears from repentant mobs at Gujranwala and everywhere a frank acknowledgment of repentance from those who formed the mob during that eventful month of April. Non-co-operation I am therefore now using in order to evolve democracy. Young India : Sept. 8, 1920.

Modern Civilization

I AM no indiscriminate superstitious worshipper of all that goes under the name of ancient ! I never hesitated to endeavour to demolish all that is evil or immoral, no matter how ancient it may be, but with that reservation I must confess to you that I am an adorer of ancient institutions, and it hurts me to think that a people in their rush for everything modern despise all their ancient traditions and ignore them in their lives.

We of the East, very often, hastily consider that all that our ancestors laid down for us was nothing but a

bundle of superstitions, but my own experience, extending now over a fairly long period, of the inestimable treasures of the East has led me to the conclusion that, whilst there may be much that was superstitious, there is infinitely more which is not only not supersititious, but if we understand it correctly and reduce it to practice, gives life and enobles one. Let us not, therefore, be blinded by the hypnotic dazzle of the West.

Again, I wish to utter a word of caution against your believing that I am an indiscriminate despiser of everything that comes from the West. There are many things which I have myself assimilated from the West. There is a very great and effective Sanskrit word for that particular faculty which enables a man always to distinguish between what is desirable, and what is undesirable, what is right and what is wrong, that word is known as viveka.

Gandhiji in Ceylon : Page 105

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Moksha

WHAT I want to achieve, what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years, is self-realisation, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end.

From the introduction to The Story of My Experiments with Truth.

A friend inquired if Gandhi's aim was most humanitarian in sitting down in the village, just serving the villagers as best as he could.

" I am here to serve no one else but myself," said Gandiji, " to find my own self-realisation through the service of these village-folk. Man's ultimate aim is the realisation of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This cannot be done except through one's country. I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen * are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity.'*

Qj But some comforts may be necessary even for man's spiritual advancement. One could not advance himself by identifying himself with the discomfort and squalor of the villager.

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A. A certain degree of physical harmony and comfort is necessary, but above a certain level it becomes a hindrance instead of help. Therefore the ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be

a delusion and a snare. The satisfaction of one's physical needs, even the intellectual needs of one's narrow self, must meet at a certain point a dead stop before it degenerates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness. A man must arrange his physical and cultural circumstances so that they do not hinder him in his service of humanity, on which all his energies should be concentrated.

Harijan : Aug. 29, 1936.

I WANT to see God face to face. God I know is Truth. For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence ahimsa love. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive : it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world. Young India \ April 3, 1924.

<\$><\$><\$>

I do not consider myself worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the race of prophets. I am a humble seeker after Truth. I am impatient to realise myself, to attain Moksha in this very existence. My national service is part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage

of flesh. Thus considered, my service may be regarded as purely selfish. I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth. I am striving for the Kingdom of Heaven which is Moksha. To attain my end it is not necessary for me to

MOKSHA 377

seek the shelter of a cave. I carry one about me, if I would but know it. A cave-dweller can build castles in the air whereas a dweller in a palace like Janak has no castles to-build. The cave-dweller who hovers round the world on the wings of thought has no peace. A Janak though living in the midst of (pomp and circumstance ' may have peace that passeth understanding. For me the road to salvation lies through an incessant toil in the service of my country and there through of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives. In the language of the Gita I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. Though therefore a Musalman or a Christian or a Hindu may despise me and hate me, I want to love him and serve him even as I would love my wife or son though they hate me. So my patriotism is for me a stage in my journey to the land of eternal freedom and peace. Thus it will be seen that for me there are no politics devoid of religion. They subserve religion. Politics bereft of religion are a death-trap because they kill the soul.

Young India : April 3, 1924.

The aim of human life is Moksha. As a Hindu I believe that Moksha is freedom from birth by breaking

the
bonds of the flesh, by becoming one with God. Now
marriage is a hindrance in the attainment of this
supreme
object, inasmuch as it only tightens the bonds of
flesh.
Celibacy is a great help inasmuch as it enables one to
lead
a life full of surrender to God.

Young India : Nov. 20, 1924.

Moksha is liberation from impure thought. Complete
extinction of impure thought is impossible without
ceaseless
penance. There is only one way to achieve this. The
moment an impure thought arises, confront it with a
pure
one. This is possible only with God's grace,, and.
God's

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grace comes through ceaseless communion with Him and
complete self-surrender. This communion with Him in
the beginning be just a lip repetition of His name even
disturbed by impure thoughts. But ultimately what is on
the lips will possess the heart. And there is another
thing to
bear in mind. The mind may wander, but let not the
senses
wander with it. If the senses wander where the mind
takes
them, one is done for. But he who keeps control of the
physical senses will some day be able to bring impure
thoughts under control Impure thoughts need not dis-
may you. We are monarchs of the domain of effort. God
is the sole Monarch of the domain of Result You know
what to do to create a pure atmosphere about you. Spare
diet, sight fixed on the earth below, and impatience
with
oneself to the extent of plucking the eye out if c it
offends

thee.'

(From a letter written to Jamanalal Bajaj by Gandhiji)

Harijan : Feb. 22, 1942.

Money

I HAVE seen from experience that money cannot go as far as fellow-feeling, kind words and kind looks can. If a man, who is eager to get riches gets the riches from another but without sympathy, he will give him up in the long run. On the other hand, one who has been conquered by love is ready to encounter no end of difficulties with him wha ^as given him his love.

Satyagraha in South Africa : Page 340.

<\$><\$><\$>

I HAVE never known a good cause backed by good men ever to have died for want of funds, only we often mistake a bad cause for good and bad men for good and then complain that the cause fails for want of funds.

Young India : Feb. 21, 1929.

MORALITY 379

Money-Gifts

MONEY-GIFTS are hardly ever a sure indication of love. In fact in our epics we have the story often told of God refusing the richest presents from those having great possessions, and preferring to eat the coarse morsel lovingly given by a devotee.

Young India : April 18, 1929.

Monotony

MONOTONY is the law of nature. Look at the monotonous manner in which the sun rises. And imagine the catastrophe that would befall the universe, if the sun became capricious and went in for a variety of pastime. But there is a monotony that sustains and a monotony that kills. The monotony of necessary occupation is exhilarating and life-giving. An artist never tires of his art. A spinner who has mastered his art will certainly be able to do sustained work without fatigue. There is a music about the thread which the practised spinner catches without fail.

Young India : Jai Hind, 1921.

Morality

AS soon as we lose the moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man, for instance, cannot be untruthful, nor incontinent and claim to have God on his side.

Young India : Nov. 2, 1921,

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THE morals, ethics and religion are convertible terms. A moral life, without reference to religion, is like a house built upon sand. And religion, divorced from morality, is like 'sounding brass, good only for making a noise and breaking heads. 7 Morality includes truth, ahimsa and continence. Every virtue that mankind has ever practised is referable to, and derived from, these three

fundamental virtues. Non-violence and continence are again derivable from Truth, which for me is God.

Harijan : Oct. 3, 1936.

<3> <\$><\$>

THAT which is opposed to the fundamental maxims of morality, that which is opposed to trained reason cannot be claimed as Shastra no matter how ancient it may be.

Harijan: Dec. 16, 1937.

<\$><\$><\$>

MORALITY which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has not much to recommend it. Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

Harijan : June 8, 1940.

Moral Authority

MORAL authority is never retained by any attempt to hold on to : It comes without seeking and is retained without cF Young India : Jan. 29, 1925,

Motivr

PU *^otives can never justify impure or violent ' ; on ' Toting India : Dec. 18, 1924.

<\$> <S> <S>

T) come now to the question of motive, whilst it is true mental attitude is the crucial test of Ahimsa, it is

no* ,ole test. To kill any living being or thing save for his
o .1\$ own interest is himsa, however noble the motive may
oti. ^wise be. And a ma ^ who harbours ill-will towards another is no less guilty of himib because for fear of society
or want of opportunity, he is unable to translate his ill-will
into action. A reference to both intent and deed is thus

necessary in order finally to decide whether a particular act or abstention can be classed as ahimsa. After all intent has to be inferred from a bunch of correlated acts.

Young India : Oct. 18, 1928.

MUNICIPALITIES 381

THE moment there is suspicion about a person's motives, everything he does becomes tainted.

Young India : Mar. 12, 1920.

Municipalities

NATIONAL Government is dependent upon purity of the Government of our cities.

Young India : Nov. 3, 1921.

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Municipalities are perhaps the greatest fraud palmed off upon India. The Government has hitherto used them for consolidating its power. But where the citizens are united, they can attain the municipal home-rule in a moment. Young India ; Jan. 26, 1922.

<s> <\$> <s>

I consider myself a lover of Municipal life. I think that it is a rare privilege for a person to find himself in the position of Municipal Councillor, but let me note down for you as a man of some experience in public life that one indispensable condition of that privilege is that Municipal Councillors dare not approach their office from interested or selfish motives. They must approach their sacred task in a spirit of service.

Young India : March 28, 1929.

<3> <3> <S>

THE one thing which we can and must learn from the West is the science of Municipal sanitation. By instinct and habit we are used to village life, where the need for corporate sanitation is not much felt. But as the Western civilisation is materialistic and therefore tends towards the development of the cities to the neglect of villages the people of the West have evolved a science of corporate sanitation and hygiene from which we have much to learn. Our narrow and tortuous lanes, our congested ill-ventilated houses, our criminal neglect of sources of drinking water

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require remedying. Every Municipality can render the greatest service by insisting on people observing the law of sanitation. It is a superstition to consider that vast sums of money are required for effecting sanitary reform. We must modify western methods of sanitation to suit our requirements. And as my patriotism is inclusive and admits of no enmity or ill-will, I do not hesitate, in spite of my horror of Western materialism to take from the West what is beneficial for me. And as I know Englishmen to be resourceful, I gratefully seek their assistance in such matters. For instance, I owe to Poore my knowledge of the cheapest and the most effective method of disposal of human excreta. He has shown how by our ignorance or prejudice we waste this precious manure Excreta are not dirt in their proper

place and when they are properly handled. Dirt, as the English say, is * matter misplaced. '

Toung India : Dec. 26, 1924.

N

Nation

BEFORE we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a thousand murders of innocent men and worsen but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. Toung India : April 7, 1920.

NATIONS are born out of travail and suffering.

Toung India: Nov. 19, 1920.

WHAT is true of the individual will be tomorrow true of the whole nation if individuals will but refuse to lose heart and hope. Young India : April 7, 1927.

Nationalism vs. Internationalism

IN my opinion, it is impossible for one to b- internationalist without being a nationalist.
Internationalism

NATIONAL FLAG 383

is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e., when people belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act as one man. It is not nationalism that is evil, it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations, which is evil. Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on, the ruin of the other. Indian nationalism has, I hope, struck a different path. It wants to organise itself or

to
find full self-expression for the benefit and service
of huma-
nity at large. Any way, there is no uncertainty about
my
patriotism or nationalism. God having cast my lot in
the
midst of the people of India, I should be untrue to my
Maker if I failed to serve them. If I do not know how
to serve them I shall never know how to serve humanity.
And I cannot possibly go wrong so long as I do not harm
other nations in the act of serving my country.

Young India : June 18, 1925.

National Dress

I WEAR the national dress because it is the most
natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe
that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our
degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we
are committing a national sin in discarding a dress
which
is best suited to the Indian climate and which, for its
simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on
the
face of the earth and which answers hygienic require-
ments. Had it not been for a false pride and equally
false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long
ago
have adopted the Indian costume.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi : Page 117.

National Flag

A FLAG is a necessity for all nations. Millions have
died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it
would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an
ideal

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The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English
breast sentiments whose strength it is difficult to
measure.
The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans.

The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best
bravery
in Islam. Young India : April 13, 1921.

<*><\$><\$>

IT was reserved for a Punjabee to make a suggestion
that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hansraj of
Jullunder who, in discussing the possibilities of the
spinning
wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our
Swaraj Flag. Young India : April 13, 1921.

<*><*><\$>

I AM the author of the flag. It is dear to me as life.
But I do not believe in flag waving. This flag
represents
unity, non-violence, and identification through the
charkha
of the highest with the lowliest in the land. Any
insult
,to the flag must leave a deep scar on an Indian
breast.

Harijan : April 17, 1938.

National Service.

WE want an army of whole-time workers. In a poor
.country like India, it is not possible to get such
workers
without pay. I see not only no shame, but I see credit
in
accepting pay for national work honestly and well done.
We shall have to engage many paid whole -time worker
when Swaraj is established. Shall we then feel less
pride in
belonging to the Swaraj service than Englishmen do in
belonging to the India Civil Service ?

Young India : July 10, 1924.

<\$> <s> <\$>

LET there be no shame about accepting remuneration*
A labourer is worthy of his hire. And he is no less
selfless
because he accepts remuneration. As a matter of fact, a

most selfless man has to give his all to the nation
body,
mind and soul. And he has still to feed himself. The
nation gladly feeds such men and women and yet regards

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them as selfless. The difference between a voluntary
worker
and a hireling lies in the fact that whereas a hireling
gives
his service to whosoever pays his price, a national
voluntary
worker gives his service only to the nation for the
cause he
believes in and he serves it even though he might have
to
starve. Young India : May 19, 1929.

Nature

NATURE abhors a vacuum. Therefore, construction
must keep pace with destruction.

Young India : May 8, 1924,
<\$><\$><\$>

NATURE abhors weakness

Young India : Jan. 13, 1927,

Nobility

LIGHT brings light, not darkness, and nobility done
with a noble purpose will be twice rewarded.

Young India : Oct. 13, 1920.

Non-co-operation

THE primary object of Non-co-operation is nowhere
stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary
object is self-purification. Its direct result must be
paralysis
of a Government which lives on our vices and
weaknesses.

Young India : April 20, 1920.

, 3> <\$> <\$>

< THE movement,' says Sir William, ' is purely destruc-
tive, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain,
con-
tains no element of constructive ability. 7 It is
undoubtedly
destructive in the knse that a surgeon who applies the
knife to a diseased part may be said to make a
destructive
movement. This destructive movement bears in it the
surest seed of construction as the surgeon's knife
contains
the seed of health. Is temperance destructive ? Are
national schools springing up everywhere destructive ?
Arc
the thousands of spinning wheels destructive of a
nation'*

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prosperity ? They will destroy foreign domination
whether
it hails from Lancashire or is threatened from Japan.

Young India : April 20, 1920.

<\$> <s> <\$>

NON-CO-OPERATORS are to be blessed for turning the
fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the
system they
are called upon to administer. Young India : April 20,
1920.

<\$> <\$><\$>

MY friend objects to my statement that Non-co-opera-
tion is not anti-Government, because he considers that
refusal to serve it and pay its taxes is actually anti-
Govern-
ment. I respectfully dissent from the view. If a
brother
has fundamental differences with his brother, and
association

with the latter involves his partaking of what in his opinion is an injustice, I hold that it is his brotherly duty to refrain from serving his brother and sharing his earnings with him. This happens in everyday life. Prahlad did not act against his father when he declined to associate himself with the latter's blasphemies. Nor was Jesus anti-Jewish when he declaimed against the Pharisees and the hypocrites, and would have none of them. In such matters, is it not the intention that determines the character of a particular act ? It is hardly correct as the friend suggests that withdrawal of association under general circumstances would make all government impossible.** But it is true that such withdrawal would make, all injustice impossible.

Taunt India : May 19, 1920.

<\$><\$>>

I CONSIDER Non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure instrument that, if it is enforced in an earnest spirit, it will be like seeking first the Kingdom of God and everything else following as a matter of course. People will then have realized their true power. They would have learnt the value of discipline, self-control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

Young India : June 2, 1920.

NON-CO-OPERATION 387

NON-CO-OPERATION in itself is more harmless than Civil Disobedience, but in its effect it is far more

dangerous
for the Government than Civil Disobedience.

Toting India : July 28, 1920.

^s ^s ^s

THERE is no instrument so clean, so harmless and yet so effective as Non-co-operation. Judiciously hauled it need not produce any evil consequences. And its intensity will depend on the capacity of the people for sacrifice.

Young Mia : June 30, 1920.

<S> <\$> <3>

I HAVE most carefully read the manifesto addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others dissuading the people from joining the Non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against Non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found in it nothing but distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religions and history. The manifesto says that * Non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland, nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated, the human race. I venture to submit that the Bhagwad Gita is a gospel of Non-co-operation between the forces of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjun representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Tulsidas advises the Sant (the good) to shun the Asant (the evil-doer). The Zendavesta represents a perpetual duel between Oriruzd and Ahriman, between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it taboos Non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, a Prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees and for the sak* of truth

did not hesitate to divide sons from their parents. And what did the Prophet of Islam do ? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet when he found that he and his followers might have

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uselessly to perish, and fled to Medina and returned when he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of Non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as is the duty of Co-operation with just men and Kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond Non-co-operation and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious tradition of which the manifesto speaks clearly proves the duty of Non-co-operation. Prahalad dissociated himself from his father Meerabai from her husband. Bibi Shahan from her brutal brother.

Young India : Aug. 4, 1920.
<\$> <3> <\$>

THE movement of Non-co-operation is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-European. It is a struggle between religion and irreligion, powers of light and powers of darkness. Young India : Sept. 8, 1920.

ENLIGHTENED Non-co-operation is the expression of anguished love. Young India : Nov. 20, 1920.

NON-VIOLENT Non-co-operation will and must remain the creed of the nation that has grown weary of camouflage, humbug, and honeyed words.

India : Nov. 17, 1920.

YOU cannot raise this great nation to its full height by the unclean methods of secrecy. We must, by boldly carrying on our campaign in the light of the blazing sun of openness, disarm the secret and demoralising police department. Non-co-operation is nothing if it does not strike at the root. And you strike at the root when you cease to water this deadly tree of the British Government by means of open and honourable Non-cooperation.

Young India : Dec. 1, 1920.

NON-CO-OPERATION 389

NON-CO-OPERATION is an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and power. This can only be by enabling them to realize that they need not fear brute force, if they would but know the soul within.

Young India : Dec. 1, 1920.

HITHERTO we have looked up to the Government to do everything for us, and we have found it almost wholly irresponsible in everything that matters. We have therefore been filled with blank despair. We have ceased to believe in ourselves or the Government. The present movement is an attempt to change this winter of our despair into the summer of hope and confidence. When we begin to believe in ourselves, Englishmen will, I promise, begin to believe in us. Then, and not till then, is there any hope of co-operation between the Government and us. The existing system of government, it will be found upon analysis, is based upon a scientific study of our weaknesses, which

have
rather been promoted by it than reduced. Non-co-operation is, therefore, as much a protest against our own weakness, as against the inherent corruption of the existing system, British and Indian, we become impure by belonging to it.
The withdrawal from it of one party purifies both. I invite even the sceptics to follow the programme of Non-co-operation as a trial, and I promise that there will be Swaraj in India during the year, if the programme is carried out in its fulness. Young India : Dec. 15, 1920.

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NON-CO-OPERATION is not a movement of brag, bluster, or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that much more must be done than we had expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble. * Young India : Jan. 12, 1921.

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THE movement of self-government cannot must not be made to depend upon one man. I have but presented India with a new and matchless weapon, or rather an extended application of an ancient and tried weapon. She must reject or accept it for her own use. I cannot use it for her, I can use, have used it, for myself and feel free. Others have done, and feel likewise. If the nation uses the weapon, she becomes free. Young India : April 6, 1921.

^> 3> <\$>

I[^]HAVE said repeatedly that I am acting towards the Government as I have acted towards my own dearest relatives. Non-co-operation on the political field is an extension of the doctrine as it is practised on the domestic field.

Toung India : April 20, 1921.

IT is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against the Governors, but against the system they administer. The roofs of Non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice, if not in love.

Toung India : May 25, 1921.

WE had lost the power of saying 'no'. It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious to say 'no' to the Government. This deliberate refusal to co-operate is like the necessary weeding process that a cultivater has to resort before he sows. Weeding is as necessary to agriculture as sowing. Indeed, even whilst the crops are growing, the weeding fork, as every husbandman knows, is an instrument almost of daily use. The nation's Non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms as is every nation's right and every good government's duty. Non-co-operation is the nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage. Toung India : June 1, 1921.

IN my humble opinion, rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth. All religions te[^]ch that two

opposite forces act upon us and that the human endeavour consists in a series of eternal rejections and acceptances.

Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good. Young India : June 1, 1921

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THIS campaign of Non-co-operation has no reference to diplomacy, secret or open. The only diplomacy it admits of is the statement and pursuance of truth at any cost.

. Young India : June 8, 1921.

<S> <\$> <\$>

NON-CO-OPERATION is beyond the reach of the bayonet. It has found an abiding place in the Indian heart. Workers like me will go when the hour has struck, but Non-co-operation will remain.

Young India : June 8, 1921.

<S> 3> <\$>

THE movement of Non-co-operation, is nothing, if it does not purify us and restrain our evil passions.

Young India : Sept. 15, 1921.

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THE secret of Non-violence and Non-co-operation lies in our realizing that it is through suffering that we are to attain our goal. What is the renunciation of titles, councils, law courts, schools but a measure (very slight indeed) of suffering ? The preliminary renunciation is a prelude to the larger suffering the hardships of a goal life, and even the final consummation on the gallows, if need be. The more we suffer and the more of us suffer, the nearer we are to our cherished goal.

The earlier and the more clearly we recognise that it is not big meetings and demonstrations that would give us victory, but quiet suffering, the earlier and more certain will our victory be. Young India : Sept. 29, 1921.

INTOLERANCE is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit. Arro-

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gant assumption of superiority on the part of a Non-co-operator who has undergone a little bit of sacrifice or put on Khadi is the greatest danger to the movement. A Non-co-operator is nothing if he is not humble. When self-satisfaction creeps over a man, he has ceased to grow and therefore has become unfit for freedom. He who offers a little sacrifice from a lowly and religious spirit quickly realises the miserable littleness of it. Once on the path of sacrifice, we find out the measure of our selfishness, and must continually wish to give more and not be satisfied till there is a complete self-surrender.

And this knowledge of so little attempted and still less done must keep us humble and tolerant. It is our exclusive-ness and the easy self-satisfaction that have certainly kept many a waverer away from us. Our motto must ever be conversion by gentle persuasion and a constant appeal to the head and the heart. We must therefore be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. We must resolutely refuse to consider our opponents as

enemies
of the country. Young India : Sept. 29, 1921.

<s> <\$> <s>

THE scheme of Non-co-operation or Swtdeshi is not an exclusive doctrine. My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house-top that the message of Non-co-operation, Non-violence and Swedeshi, is a message to the world. It must fall flat, if it does not bear fruit in the soil where it has been delivered. At the present moment India has nothing to share with the world save her degradation, pauperism and plagues. Is it her ancient Shastras that we should send to the world ? Well they are printed in many editions, and an incredulous and idolatrous world refuses to-look at them, because we, the heirs and custodians, do not live them. Before, therefore, I can think of sharing with the world, I must possess. Our Non-co-operation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our Non-co-operation is with the system the English have established, with the

NON-CO-OPERATION 39\$

material civilisation and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Our Non-co-operation is a retirement within ourselves. Our Non-co-operation is a refusal to co-operate with the English administrators on their own terms. We say to them, 'Come and co-operate with us on our terms, and it will be well for us, for you and the world/ We must refuse to be lifted off our feet. A drowning man cannot

sam
others. In order to be Jit to save others, we must try
to save our-
selves. Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor
aggressive,
nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious and
"therefore
humanitarian. India must learn to live before she can
aspire to die for humanity. The mice which helplessly
find
themselves between the cat's teeth acquire no merit
from
their enforced sacrifice. Young India : Oct. 13, 1921.

^ ^> \$>

HITHERTO the people have been the football of
officials or so-called representatives. Non-co-
operation en-
ables the people to become the players in the game. Re-
presentatives must represent or they perish.

Young India : Oct. 27, 1921.
<\$><\$><\$>

I HAVE said repeatedly that this movement is not in-
tended to drive out the English; it is intended to end
or mend
the system they have forced upon us.

Young India : Nov. 17, 1921,

<*> <s> <\$>

NON-CO-OPERATION is not a passive state, it is an
intensely active state, more active than physical
resistance 01
violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-
opera-
tion in the sense used by me must be non-violent and
there-
fore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on
malice, ill-
will or hatred. It follows therefore that it would be
sin foi
nie to serve General Dyer and co-operate with him to
shoo
innocent men. But it will be an exercise of forgiveness
0]

love for me to nurse him back to life, if he was suffering from physical malady. I would co-operate a thousand times, with]

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this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrong-doing if I retained a title from it or " a service under it or supported its law courts or schools." Better for me a begger's bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwala. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than honeyed words from those who have wantonly wounded the religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers. Young India : July 24, 1924.

NO big or swift movement can be carried on without bold risks, and life will not be worth living, if it is not attended with large risks. Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life, if there had been no risks ? It is the clearest proof of a degenerate atmosphere that one finds respectable people, leaders of society, raising their hands in horror and indignation at the slightest approach of danger or upon an outbreak of any violent commotion. We do want to drive out the beast in man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him. And in the process of finding his own status, the beast in him is bound, now and again, to put up his ugly appearance. As I have often stated in these pages, what

strikes me
down is not the sight of blood under every conceivable
cir-
cumstance. It is blood split by the Non-co-operator or
his
supporters in breach of his declared pledge, which
paralyses
me as I know it ought to paralyse every honest Non-co-
operator. Young India : Dec. 15, 1921.

<\$> <\$> <S>

OUR present Non-co-operation refers not so much to the
paralysis of a wicked government as to our being proof
against wickedness. It aims therefore not at
destruction but
at construction. It deals with causes rather than with
symptoms. *Young India : Dec. 22, 1921.

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IT is unlawful for a Non-co-operator even to wish ill
to
his enemies. Young India : Dec. 22, 1921.

NON-CO-OPERATION is a method of cultivating
public opinion, Young India : Dec. 29, 1921.

^N <^ ^N

OURS is a struggle in which we are pledged to
make all sacrifice and exact none. We must voluntarily
though temporarily, embrace poverty, if we will banish
pauperism and pariahdom from the land. The sacrifice
of the ease by a few of us is nothing compared to the
reward which is in store for us, viz, the restoration
of the honour and prosperity of this holy land.

Young India: Jan. 12, 1922.
& <S>

ONE true and perfect Non-co-operator is any day
better than a million No-co-operator so-called.

Young India : Jan. 19, 1922.
^N ^^ ^^

CO-OPERATORS do not see that the action of the Govt. is like that of a man, who refuses to give food to a hungry man and then threatens to shoot him whilst he is attempting to help himself.

Young India : Jan. 26, 1922.

^ <^ Q

NON-CO-OPERATION and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha

It is my Kalpadara my Jam-i-jfam the Universal Provider.

Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth.

Young India : Dec. 26, 1924.

BEHIND my non-co-operation there is always the keenest desire to co-operate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of opponents. To me, a very imperfect

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mortal, ever in need of God's grace, no one is beyond redemption. Young India : Jan. 4, 1925.

<\$><\$><\$>

I HAVE said that I am a non-co-operator. I call myself a civil-resister and both words have come to possess a bad odour in the English language like so many other English words but I non-co-operate in order that I may be able to co-operate. I cannot satisfy myself with false co-operation, anything inferior to 24 carats gold.

My non-co-operation does not prevent me from being friendly even to Sir Michael O'Flaherty and General Dyer. It harms no one, it is non-co-operation with evil, with an evil system and not with the evil doer. My religion teaches me to love even an evil doer, and my non-co-operation is but part of that religion

Young India. : Aug. 20, 1925.

<\$> <\$> <\$>

NON-CO-OPERATION is not only my political

but it is also my domestic and social religion.

Voluntary

and health giving co-operation is impossible without
the

possibility of non-co-operation at a certain stage and
under certain conditions. Young India : Oct. 8, 1925.

<3> <S> <S>

REASONED and willing obedience to the laws of
the state is the first ICSSOH in Non-co-operation.

The second is that of tolerance. We must tolerate
many laws of the State, even when they are incon-
venient. A son may not approve of some orders of the
father and yet he obeys them. It is only when they
are unworthy of tolerance and immoral that he dis-
obeys them. The father will at once understand such
respectful disobedience. In the same way it is only
when

a people have proved their active loyalty by obeying
the many laws of the State that they acquire the right
of Civil Disobedience.

The third lesson is that of suffering. He who has

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not the capacity of suffering cannot non-co-operate. He
who has not learnt to sacrifice his property and even
his family when necessary can never non-co-operate. It
is possible that a prince enraged by non-co-operation
will inflict all manner of punishments. There lies the
test of love, patience, and strength. He who is not
ready to undergo the fiery ordeal cannot non-co-
operate.

Toung India : Jan. 8, 1925.

<S> <\$> <\$>

THE movement of Non-violent Non-co-operation has nothing in common with the historical struggles for freedom in the West. It is not based on brute force or hatred. It does not aim at destroying the tyrant. It is a movement of self-purification. It therefore seeks to convert the tyrant. It may fail because India may not be ready for mass non-violence. But it would be wrong to judge the movement by false standards. My own opinion is that the movement has in no wise failed. Non-violence has found an abiding place in India's struggle for freedom. That the programme could not be finished in a year's time merely shows that the people could not cope with a mighty upheaval during such a short time. But it is a leaven which is silently but surely working its way among the masses. Young India : Feb. 11, 1926.

<s> <\$> <s>

THERE is no doubt about it that whenever freedom comes, it will come through some application of Non-co-operation including Civil Disobedience.

Young India : March 18, 1926.

<\$> <s> <s>

Q,. IT has been suggested in Bombay that you went to the Government uninvited, in fact you forced yourself upon his attention. If so, was it not co-operation even without response ? What could you have to do with the Governor, I wonder ?

A. My answer that I am quite capable even of forcing myself upon the attention of my opponent when I

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have strength. I did so in South Africa. I sought inter-views after interviews with General Smuts when I knew that I was ready for battle. I pleaded with him, to avoid the un-

told hardships that the Indian settlers must suffer, if the great historic march had to be undertaken. It is true that he in his haughtiness turned a deaf ear, but I lost nothing. I gained added strength by my humility. So would I do in India when we are strong enough to put up a real fight for freedom. Remember that ours is a non-violent struggle. It pre-supposes humility.

It is a truthful struggle and consciousness of truth should

give us firmness. We are not out to destroy men. We own no enemy. We have no ill-will against a single soul on earth. We mean to convert by our suffering. I do not despair of converting the hardest-hearted or the most selfish Englishman. Every opportunity of meeting him is therefore welcome to me.

Let me distinguish. Non-violent Non-co-operation means renunciation of the benefits of a system with which we non-co-operate. We therefore renounce the benefits of schools, courts, titles, legislatures and offices

set up under the system. The most extensive and permanent part of our Non-co-operation consists in the renunciation of foreign cloth which is the foundation for the vicious system that is crushing us to dust. It is possible to think of other items of Non-co-operation.

But owing to our weakness or want of ability we have restricted ourselves to these items only.

If then I go to any official for the purpose of seeking the benefits above named I co-operate.

Where as if I go to the meanest official for the purpose of converting him, say to Khaddar, or weaning him from his service or persuading him to withdraw his children from Govt. schools, I fulfill my duty as a non-

co-operator. I should fail if I did not go to him with that

definite and direct purpose. Young India : May. 27, 1926-

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It is my humble opinion that within the last two generations our country has not gained as much as it has

gained since the advent of Non-violent Non-co-operation.

I entertain no doubt whatever as to the verdict of history upon Non-violent Non-co-operation. It is also my certain belief, that every student who left his school

or college or every Government servant who left what passes as public services has gained immeasurably and lost nothing by having done so. That public services in spite of non-co-operation have not been abandoned, that Government schools have not been abandoned by our boys is no demonstration whatsoever of the failure of my doctrine, even as because men and women are not all votaries of truth, truth cannot be challenged as

to its efficacy or soundness. Young India Oct. 20 1927.

<s> <?> <s>

IF co-operation is a duty, I hold that non-co-operation also under certain conditions is equally a duty,

Young India : Oct. 27, 1927,

<\$><\$><*>

THE many years that have passed have left me utterly unrepentant for having asked those boys to come out of those institutions, and I am firmly of opinion that those who responded to the call served their land, and I am sure the future historian of India will record their sacrifice with approval. Young India : Nov. 10, 1927,

<\$><\$><\$>

THE mass awakening that took place in 1920 all of a sudden was perhaps the greatest demonstration of the efficacy of non-violence. The Government has lost prestige never to be regained. Titles, law-courts, educational institutions no longer inspire the awe they did in 1920.

Young India : Nov. 10, 1927.

^S <^^ ^S

NON-CO-OPERATION is not allopathic treatment,

it is homeopathic. The patient does not taste the drops given to him. He is sometimes even incredulous, but if the homeo-

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paths are to be trusted, the tasteless drops or the tiny pills of homeopathy are far more potent than ounce doses or choking pills of allopathy. I assure the reader that the effect of purifying Non-co-operation is more certain than the effect of homeopathic medicine.

Toung India : Feb. 9, 1928.
<\$><\$> <\$>

THE following is from a God-fearing political friend whom everybody knows :

"You must have shouldered the responsibility of making difficult decisions many a time in your life, but the responsibility which the Ramgarh Congress Resolution has entrusted you with is the gravest of all. The future of India, nay of the world, depends upon it.

"You are far above me in wisdom and experience. But I feel you are very hard upon yourself. The experiments that you sometimes carry on in your search of Truth, involving yourself and thousands of others, make me gasp.

"I have been closely following your experiments in Ahimsa and Satyagraha and read carefully every word that you write. You feel that these weapons are effective for establishing the right and putting down the wrong in the world. But I tell you these weapons of yours have been and are being abused in the world. The reason for it, I think, is this that once the people begin to feel the strength

of these weapons the latent hatred in their hearts comes to the surface and, armed with these, becomes ten times, even a hundred times, more potent for mischief. That is bound to do great harm to the country, and it may take ages to undo it. Non-co-operation has become a curse in every-day life. Its ill effects are seen in family circles, in associations, in business, in factories and in Government offices.

"The most unfortunate part is this that those who are in the wrong are using this weapon against those who are in

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the right. An unworthy son or an unworthy daughter, a father on the wrong path, a miserly businessman or mill-owner, a dishonest worker, all these resort to non-co-operation to defend their indefensible conduct. My experience is that those who are in the right are perplexed and paralysed by your weapon. Non-co-operation hits one from behind and in a manner more deadly than the deadliest weapon. Twice I have seen it used in connection with political movements in India, and it brings tears to my eyes whenever I see you about to resort to it. Having learnt its use from you, selfish people use it in your name in order to gain their selfish ends, and bring misery upon thousands of people. Therefore I beg of you not to employ this weapon in politics. It may get us some rights, but it spreads hatred among mankind, not love. We are too imperfect. You are a wise man, you

are a man of God. Pray God that He may show you another way.

U I request you not to embarrass the British in any way while they are engaged in this life and death struggle.

But

I know, by itself the Congress will not have the patience to

do so, though it may under your advice. The ill-will and

the hatred that would be let loose if non-co-operation is

started and the communal bitterness to which it may give

rise, would have an adverse effect upon the war and expose

India to greater danger.

u lf Congressmen must embarrass the British, I feel they

should go back to offices in the provinces and should face the

British Government with a dilemma at every step in the Provincial and the Central Assemblies. This is the only right course and it tells upon the British public.

"Again we have to solve the Hindu- Muslim problem.

For that we should call a conference of all the communal

leaders and party leaders. If we make an effort beforehand,

we might become united by the time the Government is willing to call the Constituent Assembly. No time

should be

lost. J The demands of the Mussalmans will mount up as

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time goes on. I am certain God will help us to attain unity if we try for it in right earnest and without

delay. God has put the reins of the country in your hands ;

you alone can make or or mar her fate/*

The writer is one of the most earnest among us. He has presented one side of the picture, but like all

one-sided
picture, this also is misleading.

Every powerful thing is liable to misuse. Opium and arsenic are most potent and useful drugs. And they lend themselves to great abuse. No one has for that reason suggested the stopping of their good use. If Non-co-operation has lent itself to abuse in some cases, in many cases its wise use has proved absolutely efficacious. A thing has to be judged by its net effect. The net effect of Non-violent Non-co-operation has been of the greatest benefit to India. It has brought about an awakening among the masses which would probably have taken generations otherwise. It has prevented bloodshed and anarchy and on the whole improved the relations between the Britishers and ourselves. There is a better mutual understanding because there is better mutual respect than ever before. And yet our Non-co-operation has been indifferently non-violent. I hold that Non-co-operation is of universal use. Well applied, its use in politics can wholly displace the use of barbarous weapons of mutual destruction. The thing to do, therefore, is not to restrict its use but to extend it care being taken that it is used in accordance with the known laws regulating its use. Risk of misuse has undoubtedly to be run. But with the increase in the knowledge of its right use, the risk can be minimised.

One safe thing about non-co-operation is that in the end its abuse recoils more upon the users than upon those against whom it is used. Its abuse is the greatest in domestic relations because those against whom it is used are not strong

enough to resist the abuse. It becomes a case of
misapplied
affection. Doting parents or wives are the greatest
victims.

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These will learn wisdom when they realise that
affection does
not demand yielding to extortion in any form. On the
contra-
rary true affection will resist it.

The writer suggests the usual parliamentary progimm^
with obstruction. Its futility, when it is not backed
by readi-
ness for Non-co-operation and Civil disobedience, has
been;
fully demonstrated.

So far as the British are concerned I have already said
that I will do nothing to embarrass them. I am
straining
every nerve to avoid a conflict. But they may make it
inevitable. Even so, I am praying for a mode of
application
which will be effective and still not embarrassing in
the
sense of violent outbreaks throughout the country.

Here I must say that, whilst it is true that active co-
operation on the part of Congressmen is not yet much in
evidence, of passive co-operation on their part there
is. The
lack. Violent, sporadic eruptions on the part of the
people
would have paralysed my effort to gather together
forces of
non-violence in an effective manner. As it is, the
restraint
which they have exercised fills me with hope for the
future.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is a morsel by itself. But my
friend is on the wrong track when he suggests that
unity
should be hastened for fear of Muslims raising their

demand^.

Demands against whom ? India is as much theirs as anybody else's. The way to unity lies through just demands once 'for all, not through ever-increasing demands whether just or unjust. The demand for partition puts an end to all effort for unity for the time being. I hold that communal understanding is not a pre-requisite to the British . doing justice, on their part. When they feel that they want .to recognise 'India's right of self-determination, all the difficulties that they put forth as obstacles in their path will melt away like ice before the sun's rays. The right of self-determination means the right of determination by every

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group and ultimately every individual. The demand for a Constituent Assembly presumes that the determinations of the groups and individuals will coincide. Should it happen otherwise and partition become the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule* or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war. Anyway the present suspense cannot continue. It has to end one way or the other. I am an optimist. I have every hope that when we come to grips, Hindus, Muslims, and all others will throw in their weight in favour of India which all will claim as their own.

Harijan : Aug. 18. 1940.

Non-violence

AHIMSA is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of ahimsa.

But it is its least expression. The principle of Ahimsa is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by one's holding on to what the world needs. But the world needs even what we eat day by day. In the place where we stand there are millions of micro-organisms to whom the place belongs, and who are hurt by our presence there. What should we do then ? Should we commit suicide ? Even that is no solution, if we believe, as we do, that so long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, on every destruction of the body it weaves for itself another. The body will cease to be only when we give up all attachment to it. This freedom from all attachment is the realisation of God as Truth. Such realisation cannot be attained in a hurry. The body does not belong to us. While it lasts, we must use it as a trust handed over our charge. Treating in this way the things of the flesh, we may one day expect to become free from the burden of the body. Realising the limitations

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of the flesh, we must day by day strive towards the ideal with what strength we have in us.

It is perhaps clear from the foregoing, that without Ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth. Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to

disentan-
gle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a
coin,
or rather of a smooth, unstamped metallic disc. Who can
say, which is the obverse and which is the reverse ?
Never-
theless Ahimsa is ths means ; Truth is the end. Means
to be
means must always be within our reach, and so Ahimsa is
our
supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are
bound
to reach the end sooner or later. When once we have
grasped this point, final victory is beyond question.
What-
ever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent
reverses
we sustain, we may not give up the quest for Truth
which
alone is being God Himself. From Yeravda Mandir.

<S> <\$> <\$>

LITERALLY speaking, Ahimsa means non-killing,
But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into
realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm
to
which I would go, if I merely understood by Ahimsa,
non-
killing. Ahimsa really means that you may not offend
anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought
even in connection with one who may consider himself to
be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this
thought ; I do not say " whom you consider to be your
enemy ", but " who may consider himself to be your
enemy." For one who follows the doctrine of Ahimsa
there
is no room for an enemy ; he denies the existence of an
enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to
be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance.
So, it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought
even
in connection with such persons. If we return blow for
blow, we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsa. But I go
further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-
called
enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine.
But

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when I say, we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce : but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by Divine agency. If we harbour even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of Ahimsa. Those who join the Ashram have to literally accept that meaning. That does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this very moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry to be learnt by heart ; it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics ; it is infinitely more difficult than solving those problems. Many of you have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. If you want to follow out this doctrine, you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture and agony before you can reach, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal and nothing less than that, you and I have to reach, if we want to understand what a religious life means. I will not say much more on this doctrine than this : that a man who believes in -the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet, not that he wants the whole world at his feet, but it must be so. If you express your love Ahimsa in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that

love. Another thought which comes out of this is that, Under this rule, there is no room for organised assassinations, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for any violence even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After ally that would be a poor defence of the honour.

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This doctrine of A kirns a tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power, I do not say courage and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens ? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his : and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens ? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness to-day in Europe.

(From an address to the T. M. C. A. Madras) : Feb. 16, 1916

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IN this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for any one to believe that any one else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force. And so I receive anonymous letters advising me that I must not interfere with the progress of Non-co-

operation, even though popular violence may break out. Others come to me and, assuming that secretly I must be plotting violence, inquire when the happy moment for declaring open violence is to arrive. They assure me that the English will never yield to anything but violence secret or open. Yet others, I am informed, believe that I am the most rascally person living in India, because I never give out my real intention and that they have not a shadow of a doubt that I believe in violence just as much as most people do.

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Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as success of Non-co-operation depends principally on absence of violence during its pendency and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908, whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the late War. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is

forgiveness
only when there is the power to punish ; it is
meaningless
when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A
prouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to
be torn
to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment
of
those who cry out for the condign punishment of General
Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces if they
could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do
not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I
want
to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come
from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable
will. An average Zulu is any way more than a match

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for an average Englishman in bodily capacity. But he
flees from an English boy, because he fears the boy's
revolver or those who will use it for him. He fears
death and is nerveless in spite of his burly figure./
We
in India may in a moment realise that one hiindred
thousand Englishmen need not frighten three hundred
million human beings. A definite forgiveness would
therefore mean a definite recognition of our strength.
With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave
of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a
Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront upon India's
devoted head. It matters little to me that for the
moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too
down-trodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I
must not refrain from saying that India can gain more
by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work
to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical
idealist.
The 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.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its off-shoots, Non-co-operation and Civil Resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious

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suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

And so I am not pleading for India to practise non-violence, because she is weak. I want her to practise non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realisation of her strength. We seem to need it, because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognise that she

has a soul that cannot perish and that . can rise
triumph-
hant above every physical weakness and defy the
physical
combination of a whole world.* What is the meaning
of Rama, a mere human being, with his host of mon-
keys, pitying himself against the insolent strength of
ten-headed Ravan surrounded in supposed safety by the
raging waters on all sides of Lanka ? Does it not mean
the conquest of physical might by spiritual strength ?
However, being a practical man, I do not wait till
India
recognises the practicability of the spiritual life in
the
political world. India considers herself to be
powerless
and paralysed before ~the machine-guns, the tanks and
the
aeroplanes of the English. And she takes up Non-co-
operation out of her weakness. It must still serve the
same purpose, namely, bring her delivery from the
crush-
ing weight of British injustice, if a sufficient number
of
people practise it.

I isolate this Non-co-operation from Sinn Feinism, for,
it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered
side by side with violence. But I invite even the
school
of violence to give this peaceful Non-co-operation a
trial.
It will not fail through its inherent weakness. It may
fail because of poverty of response. Then will be the

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time for real danger. The high-souled men, who are
unable to suffer national humiliation any longer, will
want to vent their wrath. They will take to violence.
So far as I know, they must perish without delivering
themselves or their country from the wrong. If India
takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain
momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the
pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe
my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a
mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe

blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

Meanwhile, I urge those who distrust me, not to disturb the even working of the struggle that has just commenced, by inciting to violence in the belief that I want violence. I detest secrecy as a sin. Let them give Non-violent Non-co-operation a trial and they will find that I had no men taj ^reservation whatsoever.

Young India : Aug, 11, 1920.

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I WOULD rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour, Young India : Aug. 11, 1920.

THE spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility. Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock

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of Ages. If we would seek His aid, we must approach Him with a humble and a contrite heart.

Young India : Jan. 12, 1921*

I STILL believe that man, not having been given the power of creation, does not possess the right of destroying the meanest creature that lives. The prerogative of destruction belongs solely to the creator of all that lives. I accept the interpretation of Ahimsa

namely that it is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love, the active state of Ahimsa requires you to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physically. Thus if my son lives a life of shame, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him; on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him although it may mean even his death. And the same love imposes on me the obligation of welcoming him to my bosom when he repents. But I may not by physical force compel my son to become good* That, in my opinion, is the moral of the story of the Prodigal Son. Young India : Jan. 19, 1921.

INDIA'S past training for ages I mean the training of the masses, has been against violence. Human nature in India has advanced so far that* the doctrine of Non-violence is more natural for the people at large than that of violence.

Young India : Jan, 26, 1922.

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IT has been my belief and practice for over forty years deliberately to practise the doctrine of Non-resistance to evil, not to retaliate. There are more instances than one in my public life when, with the ability to retaliate, I have refrained from doing so and advised friends to do like wise. My life is dedicated to the spread of that doctrine. I read it in the teaching of all the greatest teachers of the world, Zoroaster, Mahavir, Daniel, Jesus, Mahomed, Nanak and a host others. Indeed, I am not sure that we do justice to Moses when we impute to him the doctrine of retaliation

in the sense that he made it obligatory on his followers to exact an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It may be my wish that is father to the thought. But I do think that in an age when people were unrestrained in their appetite for the enemy's blood, Moses restricted retaliation to equal measure and no more.

Toung India : Feb 9, 1922,

THE only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence, I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow beings wear, and am therefore as liable to err as any. Toung India : Feb. 16, 1922.

FOR me, I am positive that neither in the Koran nor in the Mahabharata there is any sanction for and approval of the triumph of violence. Though there is repulsion enough in Nature she lives by attraction. Mutual love enables Nature to persist. Man does not live by destruction. Self-love compels regard for others. Nations cohere, because there is mutual regard among

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the individuals composing them. Some day we must extend the national law to the universe, even as we have extended the family law to form nations a larger family. God has ordained that India should be such a nation. For so far as reason can perceive, India cannot become free by armed rebellion for generations. India can become free by refraining from national violence. India has now become tired of rule based upon violence. That to me is the message of the plains. The people of the plains do not know what it is to put up an organised armed fight. And they must become free, for they want freedom. They have realised that power seized by violence will only result in their greater

grinding.

Young India : March 2, 1922.

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I AM sorry that I find a nervous fear among some Hindus and Mahomedans that I am undermining their faith and that I am even doing irreparable harm to India by my uncompromising preaching of non-violence. They seem almost to imply that violence is their creed. I touch a tender spot if I talk about extreme non-violence in their presence. They confound me with texts from the Mahabharata and the Koran eulogising or permitting violence. Of the Mahabharata I can write without restraint, but the most devout Mahomedan will not, I hope, deny me the privilege of understanding the message of the Prophet. I make bold to say that violence is the creed of no religion and that, whereas non-violence in most cases is obligatory in all, violence is merely permissible in some cases.

Young India : March 2, 1924.

^o ^k ^

MY interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means, for their fruit will be not freedom but slavery in disguise.

Young India : April 3, 1924.

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VIOLENT means will give violent Swaraj. That would be a menace to the world and to India herself.

-Young India .-July 17, 1924

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IT would be a calamity if by my obstinacy I stand in the way of the country's progress by other means, so long as they are not positively mischievous and harmful. I should for instance rise, even if I was alone against methods of actual violence. But I have recognised that the nation has the right, if it so wills,

to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence. Only then, India ceases to be the land of my love even^ though she be the land of my birth, even as I should* take no pride in my mother if she went astray.

Toung India : Nov. 20, 1924.

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MY religion is based on Truth and Non-violence. Truth is my God. Non-violence is the means of realising*

Hicr. Toung India : Jan. 8, 1925.

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AHIMSA and Truth are as my two lungs. I cannot live without them. Toting India : Oct. 21, 1926..

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ANGER is the enemy of Ahimsa ; and pride is a monster that swallows it up. Toung India : Oct. 21, 1926.

<S> \$> <\$>

HE who trifles with truth cuts at the root of Ahimsa. He who is angry is guilty of Ahimsa.

Toung India : Oct. 21. 1926 V

<\$><\$> 3>

AHIMSA is the religion of a Kshatriya. Mahavir was Kshatriya, Buddha was a Kshatriya, Rama and Krishna were Kshatriyas and all of them were votaries of Ahimsa*

We want to propagate Ahimsa in their name. But to-day Ahimsa has become the monopoly of timid Vaishyas and that is why it has been besmirched. Ahimsa is the extreme

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limit of forgiveness. But forgiveness is the quality of the brave. Ahimsa is impossible without fearlessness.

Young India : Oct. 21, 1926.

AHIMSA is a weapon of matchless potency. It is the summum bonum of life. It is an attribute of the brave, in fact it is their all. It does not come within the reach of the coward. It is no wooden or life-less dogma, but a living and a life-giving force. It is the special attribute of the soul. That is why it has been described as the highest dharma (law).

Ill-will cannot stand in its presence. The sun of Ahimsa carries all the hosts of darkness such as hatred, anger and malice before himself. Young India : Sept. 6, 1928.

AHIMSA is not mere non-killing. A person who remains smugly satisfied with the non-killing of noxious life but has no love in his heart for all that lives will be counted as least in the Kingdom of Heaven. True love is boundless like the ocean and rising and swelling within one spreads itself out and crossing all boundries and frontiers envelops the whole world.

- Young India : Sept. 20, 1928.

AHIMSA is not the way of the timid or the cowardly. It is the way of the brave ready to face death. He who perishes sword in hand is no doubt brave, but he who faces death without raising his little finger and without flinching is braver. For fear of being beaten is a coward and no votary of Ahimsa. He is innocent of Ahimsa. He, who for fear of being beaten, suffers the women of his house- hold to be insulted, is not manly but just the reverse. He is fit neither to be a husband nor a father, nor a brother. Such people have no right to complain.

He, who cannot protect himself or his nearest and dearest or their honour by non-violently facing death,

may

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and ought to do so by violently facing death, may and ought to do so by violently dealing with the oppressor. He who can do neither of the two is a burden. He has no business to be the head of a family. He must either hide himself, or must rest content to live for ever in help-

lessness and be prepared to crawl like a worm at the bidding of a bully. Young India : Oct. 11, 1928-

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TO me it is one of the most active forces in the world. It is like the sun that rises upon us unflinchingly from day to day. Only if we would but understand it, it is infinitely greater than a million suns put together. It radiates life and light and peace and happiness.

Young India : April 18, 1929.

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IT is infinitely greater than the gems and the diamonds people prize so much. It can become, if you will make wise use of it, your own saving and the saving of mankind.

Young India: April 18, 1929.

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WHERE the Law of Ahimsa reigns supreme, there should be no jealousy, no unworthy ambition, no crime.

Young India : April 18, 1929.

NON-VIOLENCE and cowardice are contradictory terms. Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice^ the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Perfect non-violence is the highest

bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralising,
cowardice always is. Young India : Oct. 31, 1929.

^^ ^s ^^

NON-VIOLENCE cannot be taught to a person who
fears to die and has no power of resistance. A
helpless,
mouse is not non-violent because he is always eaten by
pussy. He would gladly eat the murderess if he could,
but

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he ever tries to flee from her. We do not call him a
coward,
because he is made by nature to behave no better than
he
does. But a man who, when faced by danger, behaves like
a mouse, is rightly called a coward. He harbours
violence
and hatred in his heart and would kill his enemy if he
could
without being hurt himself. He is a stranger to non-
violence.
A sermonizing on it will be lost on him. Bravery is
foreign to his nature. Before he can understand non-
vio-
lence he has to be taught to stand his ground and even
suffer death in the attempt" to defend himself against
the
aggressor who bids fair to overwhelm him. To do
otherwise
would be to confirm his cowardice and take him further
away from non-violence. Whilst I may not actually help
anyone to retaliate, I must not let a coward seek
shelter
behind non-violence so-called. Not knowing the stuff of
which non-violence is made many have honestly believed
that running away from danger every time was a virtue
compared to offering resistance especially when it is
fraught
with danger to one's life. As a teacher of non-violence
I
must so far as it is possible for me, guard against
such an

unmanly belief.

Non-violence is^ the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely only by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity.

But I see quite clearly that this truth about non-violence cannot be delivered to the helpless. They must be taught to defend themselves.

The sceptic then argues : " You cannot teach non-violence to the weak and you dare not take it to the powerful. Why not admit that it is a futile creed ? r " The answer

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is, non-violence can be effectively taught only by living it. When there is an unmistakable demonstration of its power and efficacy the weak will shed 'their weakness and the mighty will quickly realize the valuelessness of might and becoming meek acknowledge the sovereignty of non-violence. It is my humble effort to show that this is no unattainable goal even in mass action. Harijan : July 20, 1935

NON-VIOLENCE is not a quality to be evolved or expressed to order. It is an inward growth depending for sustenance upon intense individual effort.

Toting India : April 23, 1938.

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SHOULD India take to the sword, she would cease to be the India of my dreams and I should like to betake me to the Himalayas to seek rest for my anguished soul.

Harijan : Oct. 15, 1938.

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NO N- VIOLENCE is a quality not of the body but of the soul. Once its central meaning sinks into your being, all the rest by itself follows. -Harijan : Nov. 5, 1938.

^N ^N ^s

THIS non-violence is not a mere passive quality. It is the mightiest force God had endowed man with. Indeed, possession of non-violence distinguishes man from the brute creation. It is inherent in every human being, but in most it lies dormant. Perhaps the word non-violence is an inadequate rendering of ahimsa which itself was an incomplete connotation of all lies was used for conveying. A better rendering would be love or goodwill. Violence was to be met by goodwill. And goodwill came into play only when there was ill-will matched against it. To be good to the good is an .exchange at par. A rupee against a rupee gives no index to its quality. It does when it is matched

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against an anna. Similarly a man of goodwill is known only when he matches himself against one of ill-will.

Harijan : Nov. 19, 1938.

