

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

**LETTERS TO
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL**

These are some of the important letters which Gandhiji wrote to the Sardar from 1921 to 1947.

Pages vi, 250

Price Rs. 2.50

Postage etc. Re. 1

**ASHRAM OBSERVANCES
IN ACTION**

A history of Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, dealing with its observances and activities, written in Yeravda prison.

Pages viii, 151

Price Re. 1

Postage etc. as. 5



Library IAS, Shimla



00000803

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY

BOOK II

VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI

G 082
D 451.2



NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY
BOOK II

Compiled by
VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI



NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD

First edition, 3,000 copies, July 1958

Eight annas



Copyright by the Navajivan Trust

G 082
DL51.2



Library IAS, Shimla



00000803

Printed & Published by Jivanji D. Desai
Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 14

CONTENTS .

	PAGE
KHADI	3
PROHIBITION	6
BASIC EDUCATION	7
REBUILDING THE VILLAGE	12
GOVERNMENT'S DUTY TO RURAL INDIA	16
VILLAGE SANITATION	19
THE VILLAGE WORKER	25
HARIJAN SERVICE	29
OPTIMISM: LONG LIFE	31
<u>SATYAGRAHA</u>	33
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME	39
NON-VIOLENT SOLDIER	41
STRIKES	48
VANASPATI	50
ISHOPANISHAD	50
RAMANAMA	52
TRUTH	54

GURUS	56
MEN AND WOMEN	56
HARIJAN QUARTERS AND RASHTRAPATI	
BHAVAN	57
MACHINERY	60
SPINNING	62
COW-SLAUGHTER: DHARMA	66
<u>NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE</u>	69
EQUAL WAGES	70
PLANNING	71
THE AIM OF LIFE	71
STUDENTS AND POLITICS	74
SAVING THE COW	74
INDIAN GOVERNOR	75
IMPORTANT SAYINGS	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	90
INDEX	92

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY

BOOK II

I

‘दिन गणतां मास गया, वर्षे आंतरियां ।

सूरत भूली, साहेबा, नामे वीसरियां ॥ ’

‘As I counted the days of my eternal separation from you, not only months but even years have passed. O my master, I am forgetting not only your face but even your very name.’

On September 2, 1946, the Congress ministers took office in New Delhi. The day, being Monday, was the day of silence for Gandhiji. He therefore wrote down on a piece of paper what he expected of Congressmen in power:

‘Abolish the Salt Tax. Remember the Dandi March. Unite Hindus and Muslims. Remove untouchability. *Make Khadi your own.*’ (The italics are mine.)

On October 2, 1946, when Gandhiji completed his seventy-seventh year, he received greetings from all over the world. One of these was from Lady Pethick-Lawrence, and replying to her Gandhiji wrote that his ball ‘was

an unending ball of cotton thread which could become there and then the gateway to heaven if the billions of the earth could but spin the beautiful white ball of the slender and unbreakable thread.'

Another message was from Lord Wavell, whom Gandhiji reminded that his birthday was significant only in so far as it was identified with the revival of the spinning wheel as the symbol of freedom for the country (Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase I*, pp. 6-7).

Gandhiji's idea was that the rural population should be induced to spin and weave cloth for themselves, even as they prepared their daily bread in their own homes. He held that 'to supply India with cloth manufactured either outside or inside through gigantic mills is an economic blunder of the first magnitude, just as it would be to supply cheap bread through huge bakeries established in the chief centres in India and to destroy the family stove' (*A Gandhi Anthology I*, p. 38). 'Millions [of villagers] are living in enforced idleness for at least four months in the year. The restoration therefore of the spinning wheel solves the economic problem at a stroke.'

Gandhiji identified Khadi with non-violence. 'Khadi is the chief village handicraft.

Kill Khadi and you must kill the villages and with them non-violence' (*Ibid.*, p.35). 'If pestilence, poverty and bloodshed are to be avoided, there is no remedy but Khadi and other village industries.'

In Gandhiji's opinion, 'Khadi involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Everyone who has any connection with the mill industry knows that the women working in the mills are exposed to temptations and risks to which they ought not to be exposed. Many women for want of home employment accept road repair labour. And only those who know what this labour is understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning wheel, and no women need ever seek any other employment than sitting at the spinning wheel.' (*Ibid.*, p. 36)

If the villages in India produced their own cloth as they easily could, they would be earning about one hundred crores of rupees every year.

On account of all these considerations Gandhiji thought that 'the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and moral regeneration of India.' (*Ibid.*, p. 37)

On the other hand Gandhiji was dead against importing from abroad 'fine fabrics which have literally killed millions of our brothers and sisters and delivered thousands of our sisters to a life of shame' (*Ibid.*, p. 36). 'India being a cotton producing country, it must be considered a crime to import a single yard of yarn [or cloth] from outside.' (*Ibid.*, p. 41)

And yet since independence we have purchased from foreign countries cotton and other textiles worth hundreds of crores of rupees.

II

Addressing a conference of the representatives of the local bodies in Madhyapradesh in October 1939, Gandhiji observed that 'he had placed the simplest things before the people of India—simplest things calculated to bring about revolutionary changes—for example, Khadi, prohibition, revival of handicrafts, education through crafts' (*Basic Education*, Navajivan, 1955, p. 82).

Khadi was dealt with in the first section. As regards prohibition, Gandhiji once said

that if he was appointed dictator for one hour for all India, the *first thing* he would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops. . . . and compel factory-owners to produce humane conditions for their workers and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements (*A Gandhi Anthology* I, p. 27). (The italics are mine.)

In 1937 Gandhiji suggested that the Congress ministers, who had just then taken up office in most of the provinces, must resolve to sacrifice the drink revenue first : 'Make the beginning by taking the big step' (*Basic Education*, p.34). As many as nineteen years have since rolled by, and it is only now that Delhi Darbar have awakened to the necessity of placing some slight check on the deadly river of drink that threatens to overwhelm the nation's capital. And the record of most of the provincial Governments is hardly better.

The last of the simple but revolutionary things Gandhiji mentioned in October 1939 was education through crafts.

The fundamentals of this system were summarized as follows by Gandhiji only

about three months before his martyrdom (*Basic Education*, p. 53):

'1. All education to be true must be self-supporting; that is to say, in the end it will pay its expenses excepting the capital which will remain intact.

'2. In it the cunning of the hand will be utilized even up to the final stage, that is to say, the hands of the pupils will be skilfully working at some industry for some period during the day.

'3. All education must be imparted through the medium of the provincial language.

'4. In this there is no room for giving sectional religious training. Fundamental universal ethics will have full scope.

'5. This education, whether it is confined to children or (extended to) adults male or female, will find its way to the homes of the pupils.

'6. Since these students will consider themselves as of the whole of India, they must learn an interprovincial language. This can only be Hindustani (i.e. the basic language understood by all the common people in North India) written in Nagari or Urdu script. Therefore pupils have to master both the scripts.'

The handicraft picked up by Gandhiji for basic education was spinning and weaving, as he knew of no better all-round village industry. He felt that if all spun for one hour daily, India would be able to produce all her requirements in cloth. 'The West made mills because it had to exploit us. We do not want to exploit any one. We do not therefore need mills, but we must know the science of the *takli* and the loom. If India were to copy Europe in these, it will mean destruction for India and the world'. (*Ibid.*, p. 96)

III

In April 1947 Gandhiji warned the Basic Education Association against the tendency to lean on Governments (*Basic Education*, p. 94). 'If they depended on them, that would mean the end of New Education. The budget presented was for three years. They must become entirely self-supporting at the end of that period. . . . And if at the end of the period they were not able to succeed, they would have to declare their bankruptcy before the country.'

Gandhiji desired that we should with basic education replace the system of education

established under the British rule which only creates an army of unemployable unemployed. 'Today the youth educated in our universities either run after Government jobs or fall into devious ways and seek an outlet for their frustration by promoting unrest. They are not ashamed even to beg or sponge upon others' (*Ibid.*, p. 107).

Gandhiji loved the English tongue in its own place but he was its inveterate opponent if it usurped a place which did not belong to it. 'English today was admittedly the world language. He would therefore accord it a place as a second optional language not in the school but in the university course.' (*Ibid.*, p. 91)

When Gandhiji met the basic teachers in 1944, he explained to them what part they should play in the rural community (*The Last Phase I*, p. 59):

'We must penetrate the homes of the children. We must educate their parents. The scope of education must be extended. It should include education for everybody at every stage of life.

'As soon as a basic teacher comes in contact with anybody, man or woman, young or old, he should ask himself, "What can I give to this person?"' . . .

‘Supposing I come across an old man who is dirty and ignorant, . . . it will be my job to teach him cleanliness, to remove his ignorance and widen his mental horizon. . . . I will establish a living contact with him and win his confidence. . . . Once that is achieved, the rest must follow.

‘And I must have my eyes on the children right from their birth and even before. . . . The woman teacher will tell the expecting mother, “I am a mother as you will be. I can tell you what you should do to ensure the health of your unborn baby and your own.” She will tell the husband also what his duty towards his wife is and about his share in the care of their expected baby. Thus the basic school teacher will cover the entire span of life. Naturally his activity will cover adult education.

‘Adult education of my conception must make men and women better citizens all round. . . .

‘Much information will be given orally. There will be books—more for the teacher than for the taught. We must teach the majority how to behave towards the minority and *vice versa*. The right type of adult education should cut at the very root of untouchability and communalism.’

And this is Gandhiji's description of a basic school-leaving-certificated boy:

'Boys of fourteen (who have been at a basic school for seven years) should be truthful, pure and healthy. They should be village-minded. Their brains and hands should have been equally developed. There would be no guile in them. Their intelligence should be keen, but they would not be worried about earning money. They would be able to turn their hand to any honest task that came their way. They would not want to go into the cities. Having learnt the lessons of co-operation and service in the school, they would infect their surroundings with the same spirit. They would never be beggars or parasites.' (*Basic Education*, p. 87)

IV

Gandhiji emphatically suggested that there should be not more than one worker in each village or group of villages (*The Last Phase I*, p. 60). 'This worker would be provided with initial capital equipment and maintenance expenses to start with but would be expected to become wholly self-sufficient at the end of

a specific period — say 3 years — after which he should carry on without outside help. If even after three years, he fails to demonstrate his worth to the villagers by effecting an all round economic, social and moral amelioration of his surroundings so that they would look upon him as a labourer worthy of his hire and take upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining him and his activities, he must be set down as a failure.'

In July 1942 Gandhiji, drawing his picture of an ideal village, said, 'It is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its vital needs, and yet interdependent for others in which dependence is a necessity. Its first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, and recreation and playground for adults and children. Then if more land is available, it will grow *useful* money crops, thus excluding *ganja*, tobacco, opium and the like. It will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own waterworks. . . . Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. Every activity will be conducted on a co-operative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability. Non-violence with its

technique of Satyagraha and non-co-operation will be the sanction of the rural community. There will be a compulsory service of village guards selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village. Its government will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. . . . The individual villager and his village are able to defy the might of a world; for the law governing every villager is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour.

'Any lover of true democracy and village life can take up a village, treat it as his world and sole work, and he will obtain good results. He begins by being the village scavenger, spinner, watchman, medicine-man and school-master all at once. If nobody comes near him, he will be satisfied with scavenging and spinning' (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, Navajivan, pp. 5-6).

Dwelling on the same subject in July 1946, Gandhiji added, 'In this there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. . . . I hope you will have no cinema house. You have your indigenous

games. You should banish intoxicating drinks and drugs from your midst.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-9)

Early in 1937 he wrote : 'An ideal village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of materials obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have courtyards, enabling householders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The lanes and streets will be free from all avoidable dirt. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a common land for grazing its cattle, a co-operative dairy, schools in which industrial education will be mainly imparted, and it will have Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruit, and its own Khadi. . . . Given co-operation among the people, almost the whole of the programme other than model cottages can be worked out at an expenditure within the means of the villagers without Government assistance. With that assistance there is no limit to the possibility of village re-construction. But my task just now is to discover what the villages can do to help themselves if they have mutual co-operation and

contribute voluntary labour for the common good. I am convinced, that they can, under intelligent guidance, double the village income as distinguished from individual income. There are in villages inexhaustible resources... for local purposes in almost every case. The greatest tragedy is the helplessness and unwillingness of the villagers to better their lot.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 84-5)

V

Gandhiji had his expectations of the governments as well as of the constructive workers in connection with village uplift: 'The governments should notify the villagers that they would be expected to manufacture Khadi for the needs of their villages within a fixed time after which no cloth would be supplied to them. The governments in their turn would supply the villagers with cotton seed or cotton, wherever required, at cost price and the tools of manufacture also at cost to be recovered in easy instalments payable in, say, five years or more. They would supply them with instructors where necessary and undertake to buy surplus stock of Khadi, provided the

villagers in question had their cloth requirements supplied from their own manufacture.

'The villages would be surveyed and a list prepared of things that could be manufactured for village use or for sale outside, such for instance as *ghani*-pressed oil and cakes, burning oil prepared through *ghanis*, hand-pounded rice, *tadgud*, honey, toys, mats, hand-made paper, village soap etc. If enough care was thus taken, villages, most of them as good as dead or dying, would hum with life and exhibit the immense possibilities they had of supplying most of their wants. . . . and of the cities and towns of India.

'Then there was the limitless cattle wealth of India suffering from criminal neglect. Goseva Sangh . . . could . . . supply valuable aid.

'Without the basic training the villages were being starved for education. This could be supplied by the Talimi Sangh.' (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, pp. 100-101)

His expectations of the village worker were neatly summarized in his Last Will and Testament for the Congress written just before he was assassinated:

'1. He must be a habitual wearer of Khadi made from self-spun yarn or certified by the

A. I. S. A. and must be a teetotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person and in his family, and must be a believer in the ideal of communal unity, equal respect for all religions, and equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

5. He shall organise the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through agriculture and handicrafts.

6. He shall educate the village folk in sanitation and hygiene, and take all measures for prevention of ill health and disease among them.

7. He shall organize the education of the village folk from birth to death along the lines of *Nai Talim.*' (*Ibid.*, p. 99)

VI

Gandhiji held that attention to sanitation and hygiene was 'undoubtedly the first step to village reconstruction'. (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, p. 11)

'The worker should clean tanks and wells and keep them clean, getting rid of dung heaps. If he begins the work himself, working like a paid *bhangi* from day to day and always letting the villagers know they are expected to join him so as ultimately to do the whole work themselves, he may be sure he will find that the villagers will sooner or later co-operate.

'Lanes and streets have to be cleansed of all the rubbish, which should be classified. There are portions which can be turned into manure, portions which have simply to be buried and portions which can be directly turned into wealth. Every bone picked up is valuable raw material from which useful articles can be made or which can be crushed into rich manure. Rags and waste-paper can be turned into paper, and excreta picked up are golden manure for the village fields. The way to treat the excreta is to mix them, liquid as

well as solid, with superficial earth in soil dug no deeper than one foot at the most. In his book on rural hygiene Dr Poore says that excreta should be buried in earth no deeper than nine to twelve inches. He contends that the superficial earth is charged with minute life, which together with light and air which easily penetrate it, turns the excreta into good, soft, sweet-smelling soil within a week. Any villager can test this for himself. The way to do it is either to have fixed latrines with earthen or iron buckets, and empty the contents in properly prepared places from day to day, or to perform the functions directly on to the ground dug up in squares. The excreta can either be buried in a village common or in individual fields. This can only be done with the co-operation of the villagers. At the worst, an enterprising farmer can collect the excreta and turn them into wealth for himself. At present this manure, valued at lakhs of rupees, runs to waste, fouls the air and brings disease into the bargain.

‘Village tanks are promiscuously used for bathing, washing clothes and drinking and cooking purposes. Many of them are also used by cattle. Buffaloes are often to be seen wallowing in them. The wonder is that in spite of

this sinful misuse of tanks, villages have not been destroyed by epidemics. . . . This neglect to ensure purity of the water supply in villages is responsible for many of the diseases suffered by the villagers.

‘This is a gloriously interesting and instructive service, fraught with incalculable benefit to the suffering humanity of India. I hope I have made it clear that the question of expense is almost wholly eliminated. All that is needed is a broom, a basket, a shovel and a pick-axe and possibly some disinfectant. Dry ashes are perhaps as effective a disinfectant as any that a chemist can supply. But here let philanthropic chemists tell us what is the most effective and cheap village disinfectant that villagers can improvise in their villages.’ (*Ibid.*, pp. 9-11)

VII

Gandhiji attached so great an importance to village sanitation that he gave detailed instructions for the guidance of the village worker:

‘1. The worker should collect excreta in his basket with the shovel and cover up the

place with dry clean earth. He should similarly collect earth wet with urine and scatter earth on the spot. Excreta thus collected must then be buried in some villager's field with his permission, and if such permission is not granted, in the village common. The place where excreta are buried should be protected with thorny bushes in order to keep pariah dogs away.

'The worker will then tackle the other rubbish. Some of this, such as residues of food, grass and the rejected portion of vegetables, should be separately buried, so as to become manure for the fields. Pieces of glass and of tinsplate should be buried elsewhere deep in the earth.

'The village will thus become clean, and people walking barefooted can walk about in safety.

'No one, not even little children, should be allowed to perform the functions on roads. Therefore cheap latrines should be put up in every village at some suitable place. Every user of them should throw dry clean earth on his own evacuations.

'Besides these common latrines there should be a private latrine attached to each house for the use of the sick and of little

children. Adults who will not use the common latrines but insist on going out in the open should be asked to go to a place which is not trodden by man, one mile away from the village, dig a hole for the excreta and cover it up after they have done with it.

‘Then again it should be considered a sin to use any and every place for attending to the minor need of nature. For this villagers should be taught to use earthen pots filled up with lots of dry earth. This earth also should be converted into manure.

‘If these two rules are observed, the villagers will not only preserve their health, but they will also get richer crops from their fields.

‘2. No one should spit or clean his nose on the roads. This evil practice is looked upon as a crime in some countries, as it helps to propagate the germs of diseases such as tuberculosis. Sputum etc. should also be covered with earth.

‘3. There should be no leaves in a well or a tank whose water is used for drinking purposes. None should use it to bathe himself or his cattle or to wash his clothes or pots and pans. A piece of thick and clean cloth should be used as a filter for drinking water.

'A low wall or fence should be built around the tank so as to prevent cattle from entering it, and near the tank there should be a trough for the cattle which may be filled by every villager pouring into it a pitcherful of water from the tank. Clothes and pots and pans may either be washed at home, or else there should be a second trough near the tank for the purpose to be filled in the same manner. There should be no slush near a trough or a well.

'Pots used for taking water from the tank should be so arranged that the person who fills the water pot has not to enter the tank, thus soiling the water with his feet.

'4. If there are more tanks than one in a village, one of them should be reserved for drinking purposes.

'Refuse should not be thrown on to the streets. Pieces of wood, and tooth-sticks dried in the sun may be used as fuel.

'5. There should be no hollows in or about a village in which stagnant water may serve as a breeding ground for mosquitoes.'

(*Gandhi-ni Vahare*, pp. 12-15, 21-23, 37-40)

VIII

‘The worker, besides thus attending to the sanitation of his village, should ensure to villagers a balanced diet. He should find out the simplest and cheapest foods that would enable them to regain lost health. For instance the addition of fresh green leaves to their meals would help them to avoid many diseases from which they suffer. Then again milk is an essential article of diet. Therefore the worker should learn cow-keeping himself and encourage cow-keeping among villagers’ (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, p. 27). ‘They should also produce enough vegetables and fruits, which constitute an essential element in nature cure.’ (*Ibid.*, p. 21)

‘The worker must never think of rendering medical aid. He must only teach villagers how to prevent disease. But if he must stock drugs, castor oil, quinine, boiling water, clean salt and soda answer most purposes. Castor oil may be locally procurable. *Senna* leaves may serve the same purpose. Quinine I should use sparingly. Every fever does not require

quinine treatment. Most fevers will disappear after a fast or a semifast [+hip-bath and sun-bath]. A semifast means abstention from cereals, pulses and milk and taking fruit juices or boiling raisin water, or even boiling *gud* water with fresh lemon juice or tamarind. Boiling water is a most powerful medical agent. It may move the bowels, it will induce perspiration and thus abate fever; it is the safest and cheapest disinfectant. In every case where it is to be drunk, the water must be allowed to cool till it is fairly bearable to the skin. Boiling does not mean mere heating. The water begins to bubble and evaporate after it is on the boil.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17).

'If the worker does not know for certain what to do, he must allow the local *vaidya* to have full sway.

'The practice of nature cure does not require high academical qualifications. . . . Simplicity is the essence of universality. Nothing that is for the benefit of the millions requires much erudition. This latter can be acquired only by the few and therefore can benefit the rich only. But India lives in her villages. I would like to go and settle down in some such village. That is real India, my India, for which I live. You cannot take there

the paraphernalia of highly qualified doctors and hospital equipment. In simple natural remedies and *Ramanama* lies their only hope' (*Ibid.*, p. 20).

There may be a hospital or a dispensary for a large group of villages. But Gandhiji did not think it of much consequence. The village school must serve as the village dispensary as well as the village library – cum – reading-room (*Gamdān-ni Vahare*, p. 20).

'Then the worker will interest himself in the welfare of the village Harijans. His home will be open to them. In fact they will turn to him naturally for help in their troubles and difficulties. If the village folk will not suffer him to have the Harijan friends in his house situated in their midst, he must take up his residence in the Harijan quarters.' (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, p. 68)

'He should induce the cultivators to use cow-dung as manure and to turn to wood for fuel. He should with their help try to make *pukka* roads, so that the dust no more injures the health of the people, lighter and therefore cheaper carts come into use, and the bullocks are able to lift a double load' (*Gāmdān-ni Vahare*, p. 25).

‘The centre of the worker’s life will be the spinning wheel,’ said Gandhiji. ‘He will not only be spinning regularly but will be working for his bread with the adze or the spade or the last as the case may be. All his hours minus the eight hours of sleep and rest will be fully occupied with some work. He will have no time to waste. He will allow himself no laziness and allow others none. His life will be a constant lesson to his neighbours in ceaseless and joy-giving industry. Our compulsory or voluntary idleness has to go. If it does not go, no panacea will be of any avail, and semi-starvation will remain the eternal problem that it is. He who eats two grains must produce four. Unless this law is accepted as universal, no amount of reduction in population will serve to solve the problem. If the law is accepted and observed, we have room enough to accomodate millions more to come’ (*Rebuilding Our Villages*, p. 66).

IX

After his release from prison on May 6, 1944, Gandhiji suggested that those who spin should wear Khadi and those who wear Khadi should spin. Khadi should be consumed in the place where it was produced, and only the surplus should be sent to cities (*The Last Phase I*, p.56). Khadi Bhandars should be converted into schools for teaching the various techniques related to spinning and the ancillary processes (*Ibid.*, p. 142).

His advice to the basic educationists has already been dealt with.

At a meeting of the Harijan Sevak Sangh he asked whether its members could truthfully claim to have eradicated the last trace of untouchability from their own hearts. Was their practice in harmony with their profession?

A member put a counter-question: 'What is your criterion in this respect?'

Gandhiji asked him if he was married.

'I happen to be.'

'Then have you an unmarried son or daughter? If you have one, get him or her a Harijan for a bride or bridegroom, as the

case may be, in the spirit of a sacrament, and I will send you a wire of congratulations at my expense' (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

Shortly after this the marriage of a Brahman professor's daughter with a Harijan disciple of his was arranged by Gandhiji, and he then declared that thereafter his blessings would not be available to any wedding couple unless one of them was a Harijan.

Both the professor and his disciple called themselves atheists, but Gandhiji told them that the fellow-feeling which makes one feel miserable because of one's brother's misery is godliness and therefore he looked upon them as theists (*Ibid.*, p. 62).

Harijan service, according to Gandhiji, consists in

1. Promotion of cleanliness and hygiene :
2. Improved methods of carrying on what are known as unclean occupations, e.g. scavenging and tanning :
3. Inducing Harijans to give up carrion and beef, if not meat altogether :
4. Inducing them to give up drink :
5. Inducing parents to send their children to day-schools, and to attend night-schools : and

6. Abolition of untouchability among themselves. (*The Removal of Untouchability*, p. 240)

There is a general tendency to place the golden age in a remote period of the history of humanity, and to think that at present we are living in the iron age. But Gandhiji believed that 'human nature is ever working upward. I can therefore never take a pessimistic view of the future of humanity' (*The Last Phase I*, p. 119).

And for the service of humanity, Gandhiji held, every one of us should desire to live 125 years. The only condition necessary for the realisation of that desire is 'service in a spirit of detachment, which means complete independence of the fruit of action' (*Harijan*, vol. x, no. 3, 24 February 1946, p. 19; *The Last Phase I*, p. 148). 'Living up to that age must never mean a mere life unto death, like that of an animated corpse, a burden on one's relations and society. In such circumstances one's supreme duty would be to pray to God for early release and not for prolongation of life anyhow.

'The human body is meant solely for service, never for indulgence. The secret of a happy life lies in renunciation, which is

life, while indulgence spells death. Life must be dedicated to service. Renunciation made for the sake of such service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive us, because that nectar springs from within and sustains life. In this there is no room for worry or impatience. Without this joy, long life is impossible and would not be worth while even if possible.'

Such long life can be attained even if a man's past conduct does not warrant the full span of life. For the effect of past mistakes can be counteracted by complete detachment between the mind and the body. 'By detachment I mean that one must not worry whether the desired result follows from your action or not, so long as your motive is pure, your means correct.' 'Detachment enables one to overcome the effects of past faulty practice as well as handicaps of heredity and environment. Every deviation from the rule of nature, e.g. anger, . . . impatience, errors in conjugal life, exacts its toll, but . . . if you have arrived at complete detachment, you can rub out all these. . . . You can turn over a new leaf and begin life anew here and now : the past will not disturb its tenor provided you have completely severed yourself from

it and its legacy by the axe of detachment' (*Harijan*, vol. X, no. 9, April 7, 1946, p. 72).

X

In February 1946 there were riots in Bombay. Referring to them in a leading article in *Harijan* of March 3, 1946 (vol. X, no. 4), Gandhiji wrote :

'I am unable to think that the incendiarism, the looting and the insults heaped upon Englishmen [and now by one section of Hindus upon another section—V.G.D.] are, or were, acts of hooligans. Who are hooligans? Will there be none when English rule is no more? The fashion of blaming the hooligan ought to be given up. We are the makers of the brand. They respond to the air about them' (p. 28, col. 1).

A correspondent asked him what a Satyagrahi should do to prevent looting by hooligans. Gandhiji replied (*Harijan*, vol. X, no. 6, March 17, 1946, p. 45) :

'To lay down one's life, even alone, for what one considers to be right, is the very core of Satyagraha. More no man can do. If

a man is armed with a sword, he might chop off a few heads, but ultimately must surrender to superior force, or else die fighting. The sword of the Satyagrahi is love and the unshakable firmness that comes from it. He will regard as brothers the hundreds of hooligans that confront him and instead of trying to kill them, he will choose to die at their hands and thereby live.

‘But, asks the correspondent, how can a solitary Satyagrahi succeed in the midst of hundreds of hooligans? . . . My reply is that a Satyagrahi may never run away from danger, whether he is alone or in the company of many. He will have fully performed his duty if he dies fighting. The same holds good in armed warfare. It applies with greater force in Satyagraha. Moreover the sacrifice of one will evoke the sacrifice of many and may possibly produce big results. But one must scrupulously avoid the temptation of a desire for results.

‘I believe that every man and woman should learn the art of self-defence in this age. This is done through arms in the West. Adults are conscripted for training for a certain period. The training for Satyagraha is meant for all, irrespective of age or sex. The more

important part of the training is mental, not physical. There can be no compulsion in mental training.

‘It follows that shopkeepers, . . . labourers, farmers, clerks, in short, everyone ought to consider it his or her duty to get the training in Satyagraha.

‘Satyagraha is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be proved by demonstration, not argument. It is the weapon that adorns the strong, never the weak. By weak is meant weak in mind and spirit, not in body. That limitation is a quality to be prized, and not a defect to be deplored.

‘There is one more limitation. It can never be used to defend a wrong cause.

‘Satyagraha brigades can be organized in every village and in every block of buildings in the cities. Each brigade should be composed of persons well known to the organizers. In this respect Satyagraha differs from armed defence. For the latter the State impresses the services of everybody. For a Satyagraha brigade only those are eligible who believe in *ahimsa* and *satya*. Therefore an intimate knowledge of the persons enlisted is necessary for the organizers.’

XI

A Satyagrahi cannot be picked up from the street or engaged on a daily wage of a rupee or two. He should have previous training like the violent soldier, but of a different kind.

‘The violent soldier will be trained by being taught to shoot. But the Satyagrahi will get all his training through serving the sick, saving those in danger at the risk of his own life, patrolling places which may be in fear of thieves and dacoits, and laying down his life, if necessary, in dissuading them from their purpose’ (*Satyagraha*, Navajivan, p. 92). ‘The soldier’s protection will be his arms, but the first and last shield and buckler of the Satyagrahi will be his unwavering faith in God.

‘The minds of the two will be as poles asunder. The soldier will always be casting about for plans to work the destruction of his enemy and pray to God to fulfil his purpose. On the other hand, in the dictionary of the Satyagrahi there is no such word as an external enemy. And even for the supposed

enemy he will have nothing but compassion in his heart. He will believe that no man is intentionally wicked, that there is no man but is gifted with the faculty to discriminate between right and wrong, and that if that faculty were to be fully developed, it would surely mature into non-violence. He will therefore pray to God that He may give the supposed enemy a sense of right and bless him. His prayer for himself will always be that the spring of compassion in him may ever be flowing and that he may ever grow in moral strength so that he may face death fearlessly.

‘Since the minds of both differ as the poles, their physical training will also differ in the same degree.

‘If the Satyagrahi is not healthy in mind and body, he may perhaps fail in mustering complete fearlessness. He should have the capacity to stand guard at a single spot day and night; he must not fall ill even if he has to bear cold and heat and rain; he must have the strength to go to places of peril, to rush to scenes of fire, and the courage to wander about alone in desolate jungles and haunts of death; he will bear without a grumble severe beatings, starvation and worse, and

will keep to his post of duty without flinching; he will have the resourcefulness and capacity to plunge into a seemingly impenetrable scene of rioting ; he will have the longing and the capacity to run, with the name of God on his lips, to the rescue of men living on the top floors of buildings enveloped in flames; he will have the fearlessness to plunge into a flood in order to rescue people being carried off by it, or to jump into a well to save a drowning person.'

This list, says Gandhiji, can be extended *ad libitum*. The substance of it all is that we should cultivate the capacity to run to the rescue of people in danger and distress, and to suffer cheerfully any amount of hardship that may be inflicted on us.

Gandhiji had a firm conviction that the very foundation of this training is 'faith in God'. If that is absent, all the training one has received is likely to fail at the critical moment.

And in Gandhiji's opinion *brahmacharya* is essential in a Satyagrahi no less than faith in God ; for without it he will have no lustre, no inner strength to stand unarmed against the whole world. 'He who lusts with the thought will ever remain unsated and

will end his life as a moral wreck and a burden on the earth. Such a one can never be a full Satyagrahi. Nor can one who hankers after wealth and fame.'

XII

The constructive programme of the Congress was designed by Gandhiji as the basis of the training for the non-violence of the brave (*Satyagraha*, p. 101). Among other things it includes 'the exercise of active goodwill which was to be tested through (1) communal unity [and now also linguistic unity—V.G.D.], (2) shedding of untouchability by Hindus, (3) Khadi, a sure symbol of oneness with the millions, (4) prohibition and (5) sanitation, hygiene and simple medical relief in the villages' (Pyarelal, *A Pilgrimage for Peace*, p. 125). These five items were always mentioned by Gandhiji in his talks to the Khudai Khidmatgars in the Frontier Province in 1938. The rest of the programme comprises (6) other village industries such as for instance hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning and oil-pressing, (7) basic education,

(8) adult education, (9) service of women who have been suppressed under man-made custom and law, (10) education in the fundamental laws of health, some of which are :

- (a) Breathe the freshest air day and night.
- (b) Establish a balance between bodily and mental work.
- (c) Stand erect, sit erect, and be neat and clean in all your acts and let these be an expression of your inner condition.
- (d) Eat to live for the service of fellow-men, not for self-indulgence. Therefore your food must be just enough to keep your mind and body in good order, for man becomes what he eats.
- (e) Your water, food and air must be clean, and you will not be satisfied with mere personal cleanliness, but you will infect your surroundings with the same threefold cleanliness that you desire for yourselves (M.K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, Navajivan, 1948, p.19).

(11) enriching the provincial languages, (12) learning the national language, (13) economic equality, which is the master-key to non-violent independence (*Ibid.*, p. 20) and

means the levelling down of the few rich and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions, (14) work among and for the peasantry, on the lines of the movements in Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad, (15) work among the labourers, for which Gandhiji held up the Ahmedabad Labour Union as a model for all India to copy, (16) service of *adivasis*, (17) service of lepers, (18) work among students, who, as Gandhiji believed, must not take part in party politics (p. 26), and (19) improvement of cattle (p.30).

Speaking to the officers of the Red Shirts, Gandhiji said, 'If you have understood the power of non-violence, you ought to feel the stronger for having put away your arms. But if you have not understood the secret of its strength, if as a result of renouncing arms you feel weak instead of stronger than before, it would be better for you to give up the profession of non-violence. I cannot bear to see a single Pathan turn weak or cowardly under my influence. Rather than that, I would that you returned to your arms with a vengeance' (Pyarelal, *A Pilgrimage for Peace*, Nava-jivan, p. 58).

'What is the meaning of eradicating violence from the heart?' Gandhiji asked, and

answering his own question, he said, 'If a dacoit inspires anger or fear in my heart, it means that I have not yet purged myself of violence. To realize non-violence means to feel within you its strength, otherwise known as soul force, in short, to know God. One who has known Him is incapable of feeling or harbouring anger or fear within him, no matter how overpowering the cause for it may be' (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

XIII

Leaders of recent movements who claim to call them by the name of Satyagraha would do well to ponder over the following words addressed by Gandhiji to the Khudai Khidmatgars in the Frontier Province (*A Pilgrimage for Peace*, p. 68):

'The *crucial test* by which I will judge you is this. *Have you befriended and won the confidence of each and all in your locality? Do the people regard you with love or with fear? So long as a single individual is afraid of you, you are no true Khudai Khidmatgar. A Khudai Khidmatgar will be gentle in his speech and manner; the light of purity will shine forth from his eyes, so that even a stranger, woman,*

or even a child would instinctively feel that here was a friend who could be implicitly trusted. He will command the co-operation of all sections of the community, not the obedience a Hitler can command through coercion, but the willing and spontaneous obedience which is yielded to love alone. This power can be acquired only through ceaseless, loving service, and waiting upon God. When I find that under your influence people are giving up insanitary habits, the drunkard is being weaned from drink, and the criminal from crime, and the Khudai Khidmatgars are *welcomed everywhere* by the people *as their natural protectors* and friends in need, I shall know that at last we have got in our midst a body of men who have really assimilated the spirit of non-violence. . . .

‘It is not the going to prison by itself but the moral qualification that lies behind it which constitutes the real sanction in Satyagraha. . . . Even thieves go to prison but their prison-going has no merit. *It is the suffering of the pure and innocent that tells*’ (pp. 69-70).

‘A Satyagrahi always regards the enemy as a potential friend’ (*Ibid.*, p.121).

‘In Satyagraha civil disobedience is the end, not the beginning. It is the last step, not

the first. Although it is included in the programme of non-violence, its essence is the *moral right or fitness it presupposes in the civil resister and which accrues to one who trains himself in the practice of non-violence*' (*Ibid.*, p. 85).

Here are other important extracts from Gandhiji's writings dealing with the same subject :

'It is the *acid test* of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind and in the end *the enemies are converted into friends*' (*Ibid.*, p. 198).

'(A Satyagrahi) is never afraid of trusting the opponents. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an *implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed*' (*Ibid.*, p. 202).

'*Civil disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal disobedience can lead to it. Every State puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not*' (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

'The first *indispensable condition precedent* to civil resistance is that there should be *surety against any outbreak of violence on the part of those who are identified with civil resistance or on the part of the general public*. It would be

no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resisters.'

'In Satyagraha it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality. . . .'

'Indeed one perfect civil resister is enough to win the battle of right against wrong' (Ibid., p. 206).

(The italics are mine throughout.)

XIV

As regards the Satyagrahi's absolute responsibility for all outbreaks of violence in connection with his movement, Gandhiji said on other occasions :

'The art of dying, for a Satyagrahi, consists in facing death cheerfully in the performance of his duty. . . . It is not enough not to want to hurt your enemy. You are no Satyagrahis if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands learnt that art, no one (could say) that (our) non-violence (was) a cloak for weakness. We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings

on the hooligans. We would convert and control the hooligans as well' (*Harijan* X, 9, April 7, 1946, p. 74, last but one paragraph of 'Satyagraha' etc.).

'It has become the fashion these days to ascribe all such ugly manifestations to the activities of hooligans. It hardly becomes us to take refuge in that moral alibi. Who are the hooligans after all? They are our own countrymen, and so long as any countryman of ours indulges in such acts, we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people. . . . In my opinion to remain a passive spectator of the kind of crimes that Bombay has witnessed of late is cowardice' (*Ibid.*, second paragraph of 'For Shame!').

He deprecated [on November 4, 1946] the snug habit of exonerating themselves by blaming it all on the goondas. 'We always put the blame on the hooligans. But it is we who make the hooligans and give them encouragement. It is not correct to say that all the wrong that has been done is the work of the hooligans' (*The Last Phase I*, p. 360).

As we have already seen, economic equality is one of the items in Gandhiji's

constructive programme. It is at the same time an important objective of the socialist and the communist parties. Gandhiji was asked what was the difference between his technique and that of the Leftists for reaching the goal of economic equality. He replied, '[The Leftists] say they can do nothing to bring it about today. They will carry out propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say: when they get control over the State, they will enforce equality. But under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them. . . . I shall bring about equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love against hatred. I will not wait until I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightaway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have reduced myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost

communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me, and I can shed them at a moment's notice if the interests of the masses demand it' (*Harijan*, X, 8, March 31, 1946, page 64, column one).

XV

Gandhiji believed that Socialism cannot be reached by any other means than Satyagraha. Satyagraha, according to him, can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral (*Satyagraha*, p. 353).

In April 1946, there was a sweepers' strike in Bombay, and Gandhiji took the opportunity to express his opinion that 'a Bhangi may not give up his work even for a day' (*Harijan*, X, 11, April 21, 1946, p. 96). 'There are certain matters in which strikes would be wrong. Sweepers' grievances come in this category. . . . My opinion against sweepers' strikes dates back to about 1897 when I was in Durban.'

Gandhiji considered himself an 'expert in successful strikes of an absolutely peaceful nature' (*Harijan*, X, 27, August 11, 1946,

page 256). 'There should be no strike,' he said, 'which is not justifiable on merits. No unjust strike should succeed.'

'The public has no means of judging the merits of a strike, unless it is backed by impartial persons enjoying public confidence. Interested men cannot judge the merits of their own case. Hence there must be an arbitration accepted by the parties or a judicial adjudication. . . . Strikes for economic betterment should never have a political end as an ulterior motive. . . . They can take place only when every other legitimate means has been adopted and failed.'

How should a strike be conducted so that violence is avoided? Answering this question Gandhiji wrote (*Harijan*, X-17, June 2, 1946, p. 158) : 'A strike should be spontaneous and not manipulated. If it is organized without any compulsion, there would be no chance for goondaism and looting. Such a strike would be characterized by perfect co-operation amongst the strikers. It should be peaceful and there should be no show of force. The strikers should take up some work either singly or in co-operation with one another in order to earn their bread.' The nature of such work should have been thought out beforehand. In a peaceful,

effective and firm strike of this character there will be no room for rowdyism or looting. I have known of such strikes. I have not presented a Utopian picture.'

It is interesting to recall that April 1946 also found Gandhiji writing as follows about *Vanaspati* :

'*Vanaspati* is wholly superfluous. Oils may be refined of injurious property, but they do not need to be solidified, nor need they be made to look like ghee. An honest manufacturer will not stoop to counterfeits. The market is flooded with them. Counterfeit coins are heavily punishable. Why not counterfeit ghee, since the genuine article is much more precious than coins?' (*Harijan*, X-10, April 14, 1946, p. 79, column 2).

Reverting to the same subject in October Gandhiji wrote : 'To sell vegetable oil or butter in the form and name of ghee is to deceive the Indian public. It is thoroughly dishonest. . . . Any one who deceives people in this regard or countenances the fraud is an enemy of India' (*Harijan*, X-36, October 13, 1946, p. 348).

Gandhiji was of the opinion that 'the first verse of Ishopanishad is all that undiluted

Hinduism,—in other words for him, religion — can have to give' and that 'the Gita is a commentary' on it (*Harijan*, X-20, June 23, 1946, p. 189). He translated it as follows : 'Recognize that everything you fancy you have is God's and from God and take only what you really need for life,' and held that 'it teaches the doctrine of uttermost detachment.' On another occasion he dealt with the *mantra* at somewhat greater length (*Harijan*, X-14, May 12, 1946, p. 130) :

'It is man's duty to surrender his all to God in the first instance. There is nothing he can call his own. Having made the surrender, man is to take out of it what he may require for his legitimate needs but not a jot more. He must not covet what belongs to others. . . . Tolstoy in an inimitable parable has answered the question — How much land does a man require? The devil tempts a man by granting him a boon that all the land he can circumscribe by running around before sunset shall be his. The man runs and runs, goaded by his greed, and in the end when the sun is just sinking below the horizon, he reaches back the starting point only to drop down dead. Six feet of the earth is all that he requires for his burial. . . . Only a perverse nature can interpret

the verse to mean that after making a ceremony of offering everything to God, one can indulge oneself in the good things of life to an unlimited extent. That would be a travesty of its true meaning. I would rather like to see a man dressed in old, mended clothes than in gaudy new ones. If some one gives me Rs. 25,000 and I spend it on my own person, I am a robber and a thief. I can use only enough for my bare needs.'

XVI

Gandhiji 'prescribed Ramanama (the name of God) as the infallible remedy for all ailments, whether mental, spiritual or physical' (*Harijan*, X-17, June 2, 1946, p. 167, col. 2). By Rama he meant God, by taking Whose name devotees attain purity and peace. 'God is not a person. He is the all-pervading, all-powerful spirit. Any one who bears Him in his heart has accession of a marvellous force of energy comparable in its results to physical forces like steam or electricity but much more subtle. The name has to be taken with all that it symbolizes. Mere mechanical repetition of the name cannot give strength. For that one has to

understand and live up to the conditions attaching to its recitation. To take God's name one must live a godly life' (*Harijan*, X-23, July 14, 1946, p. 217, col. 2). The first condition is that it should come from the heart (p. 167). One who believed in Ramanama would not make a fetish of the body but would regard it as a means of serving God (p. 168). 'And for making it a fit instrument of service Ramanama is the sovereign means. Ramanama cannot come from the heart unless one has cultivated the virtues of truth, honesty, and purity within and without. Every evening in the Ashram some Gita verses are repeated as part of the prayer. Every one of us can become *sthitaprajna* as described in those verses if he keeps his senses under discipline, eats, drinks and allows himself enjoyment and recreation only to sustain life for service. If one has no control over one's thoughts, if for instance one does not mind sleeping in a hole of a room with all doors and windows shut and breathing foul air or drinking dirty water, his recitation of Ramanama is in vain. That does not mean that one should give up the recitation of the name on the ground that one has not the requisite purity; for the recitation is also a means of attaining purity. In the case of a man who

repeats it from the heart, discipline and self-control will come easy. Observance of the laws of health will become his second nature. He will never want to hurt any one. To suffer in order to relieve others' suffering will become a part of his being and fill him with an ineffable and perennial joy.'

'Ramanama enables one to become one's own doctor and to find the elixir of healing within oneself. For a believer it is the first and the last remedy. Even if the ailment cannot be cured, Ramanama enables one to endure it with equanimity' (p. 167).

'Assuming that millions of people daily recite the name of Rama thousands of times but the reciters are not free from drunkenness, debauchery, gambling on the market or in gambling dens, blackmarketing etc., the recitation is a vain and inglorious effort' (*Harijan*, XI-22, 29 June, 1947, p. 209, col. 2, last paragraph).

Gandhiji's search after Truth began about the year 1896. And he came to the conclusion that God is Truth. But later on he went a step further and said that Truth is God (*Harijan*, X-28, August 18, 1946, p. 268, col. 2). And in his opinion truth-telling admits of no

exceptions (*Ibid.*, X-18, June 9, 1946, p. 171). On being asked what he thought of the following from Bertrand Russell,

‘I saw a tired fox still forcing himself to run. A few minutes afterwards I saw the hunt. They asked me if I had seen the fox and I said I had. They asked me which way he had gone, and I lied to them. I do not think I should have been a better man if I had told the truth.’ Gandhiji said, ‘I dissent from the view attributed to the great philosopher who made the initial mistake of admitting that he had seen the fox. He was not bound to answer the first question unless he deliberately wanted to put the hunt off the track. I have always maintained that nobody is bound always to answer questions that are put to him. Truth-telling admits of no exceptions.’

I wonder what Gandhiji would have thought of white lies told to ailing patients, or to the audience in a theatre on fire, who would otherwise crush one another to death in panic.

XVII

Gandhiji did not acknowledge any human being as his *guru*. His *gurus* (spiritual guides) were three Japanese monkeys. 'One of them is shutting his mouth with his hands, the second is shutting his ears and the third is shutting his eyes. The lesson taught by the first is not to speak unless absolutely necessary, and then too to weigh every word before speaking. The message of the second is not to hear evil things, and of the third not to let one's eyes wander here, there and everywhere' (*Harijan*, X-19, June 16, 1946, p. 183, col. 2, line 6).

Gandhiji had made a woman of himself in order to be able to serve the fair sex and always pleaded for a revision of our ideas about the relations between men and women with a view to their being mutually serviceable in case of need. But as he so lucidly put it in the middle of 1947, 'He or she who has not conquered lust should not turn the eyes even towards a sister or a brother or a daughter or a son. This advice I have given to my friends who have profited by it' (*Harijan*, XI-20, June 15, 1947, p. 192, col. 1, para 4 in leading article).

Reverting to the same subject in July, he wrote, 'Every one should learn how to measure his own weakness. He who, knowing his own weakness, imitates the strong, is bound to fail. Hence I have contended that every one should construct his own restraints' (*Harijan*, XI-26, July 27, 1947, p. 252, col. 1, first paragraph in big type).

The same idea was put by him in other words in *Ashram Observances in Action* (p. 52); 'Woman for a *brahmachari* is not "the door-keeper of hell" but is an incarnation of the Mother Who is in Heaven. He is no *brahmachari* at all whose mind is disturbed if he happens to see a woman or if he has to touch her in order to render service. A *brahmachari*'s reaction to a living image and a bronze statue is one and the same. But a man who is perturbed at the very mention of woman and who is desirous of observing *brahmacharya* must fly even from a figurine made of metal.'

In the middle of 1946, a correspondent asked Gandhiji what he would do if he was made a dictator for one day. He replied he would not accept it in the first place, but if he did become a dictator for one day, he would spend it in cleaning the stables of the Viceroy's House that the hovels of the Harijans in Delhi

are [or were?]. It was disgraceful that under the very nose of the Viceroy such poverty and squalor should exist as there was [is?] in Harijan quarters. And why did the Viceroy need such a big house? If Gandhiji had his way he would turn it into a hospital. Having said this he gave the instance of President Kruger whose residence was not even as good as Birla House in which he was staying (*Harijan*, X-20, June 23, 1946, p. 199, col. 1).

We invite the Information Ministry in Delhi to let the public know what change for the better the Harijan quarters in Delhi have undergone since independence. And as it is never too late to mend, Rashtrapati Bhavan may even now be converted into a hospital.

XVIII

Some one asked Gandhiji whether the adoption of the flush system was not the means of eradicating untouchability and whether he would oppose it on account of his dislike of machinery. He replied:

‘Where there is ample supply of water and modern sanitation can be introduced without any hardship on the poor, I have no objection to it. My opposition to machinery

is much misunderstood. I am not opposed to machinery as such. I am opposed to machinery which displaces labour and leaves it idle. Whether the flush system will remove the curse of untouchability is open to grave doubt. This latter has to go from our hearts. It will not disappear through such means as has been suggested. Not until we all become *bhangis* and realize the dignity of the labour of scavenging and latrine-cleaning will untouchability really be exorcized' (*Harijan*, X-32, September 15, 1946, p. 310, col. 2).

Meanwhile Gandhiji suggested 'municipal bye-laws, requiring authorized receptacles, brooms, etc., which would avoid physical handling of dirt and would also prescribe a simple working costume. Overseers will be trained for this humane and sanitary work instead of being expected to exact work anyhow. The result of the present system is maximum of insanitation and minimum of work plus corruption and bad manners' (*Harijan*, X-35, October 6, 1946, p. 340, 'Scavengers' Lot').

In the course of an address to the Provincial Ministers for Industries in Poona on July 31, 1946 (*Harijan*, X-29, August 25,

1946, p. 281), Gandhiji observed : 'Ours has been described as the machine age, machine being used in the sense of an appliance that tends to displace human or animal labour instead of supplementing it or increasing its efficiency. There is no limit to its growth or evolution. That cannot be said of human labour. There is a limit beyond which its capacity cannot go. Therefore the machine seems to be possessed of a will of its own. It is antagonistic to human labour and tends to displace man, one machine doing the work of a hundred, if not a thousand, who go to swell the army of the unemployed and under-employed, not because it is desirable but because that is its law. I was opposed to the machine even before 1908 when I was in South Africa surrounded by machines. Their onward march did not only not impress me but repelled me. It dawned on me that to suppress and exploit the millions, the machine was the device *par excellence*. It has no place in man's economy if all men are to be equal. I hold that the machine has not added to man's stature and it won't serve the world but disrupt it, unless it is put in its proper place. I then read Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and saw that if mankind was to realize the ideal of

brotherhood, it must act on the principle of "unto this last"; it must take along with it the dumb, the halt and the lame. Did not Yudhishthira, the Prince of Righteousness, refuse to enter heaven without his faithful dog?

'In the machine age these have no place. Under it the fittest survive to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak. That is not my picture of independence in which there is room for the weakest. That means *we must utilize all available human labour before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power*' (The italics are mine).

XIX

On September 2, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal took office as the head of the Interim Government. At the evening prayers the same day Gandhiji referred to the tasks before the new ministers such as (1) abolition of the salt tax, (2) communal unity and (3) the eradication of untouchability. He then continued :

'Lastly there was the pledge of khadi to be redeemed to provide clothing to the poor villagers. The Congress by a resolution in

1920 had resolved that all of India's inhabitants must be clothed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth to the exclusion of all other. The Congress was still pledged to it. But they had not yet carried out that resolution. . . . It was the solemn duty of the members of the Interim Government to redeem the pledge about khadi and to see that nothing but khadi was used in their homes or in their offices' (*Harijan*, X-31, September 8, 1946, p. 307, col. 2, paragraph 2).

One day in August the same year, when Gandhiji was in Sevagram, the day's spinning by the Ashram inmates was recorded as usual after the evening prayer. Referring to this he said, 'The reason why this account is given is that spinning has become a part and parcel of the Ashram prayer. The conception of spinning as sacrifice has been linked with the idea of God, because we believe that in the charkha and what it stands for lies the only hope of salvation of the poor' (*Harijan*, X-28, August 18, 1946, p. 263, col. 1, last paragraph).

Referring to the unthinking admiration of visitors to his Ashram, he said, 'True admiration consists in carrying out the wishes of the person admired, not merely staring at

him and thus wasting his time and one's own' (*Ibid.*, col. 2, paragraph 2).

It is well known that during the last phase Gandhiji brought about a change in the policy of the A.I.S.A. so that emphasis was transferred from the commercial to the self-help aspect of khadi. 'So far it [khadi] was spun and woven by the masses. Now it must still be by the masses, but for their own use' (*Harijan*, X-29, August 25, 1946, p. 277, col. 2). Will the Khadi Board inform the public how much khadi it produces and how much of it is consumed by the masses?

Shri Kanu Gandhi started a spinning class in New Delhi in September, 1946. Gandhiji sent it a written message on Monday, September 16 :

'Before this class, all else appears lifeless to me. For I behold my Rama dancing in every thread drawn. I find Swaraj in it. When I contemplate the strength of the yarn drawn by 40 crores of hands my heart is filled with an ecstasy of joy' (*Harijan*, X-33, September 22, 1946, p. 322, last paragraph).

Shri Prakasam, the Madras premier, had undertaken a scheme about khadi. Before approving it Gandhiji asked for an assurance that no more mills would be established, for

he was of the opinion that 'khadi schemes would be a shame and an eye-wash if at the same time the ministers went on planting fresh textile mills in their respective provinces' (*Harijan*, X-35, October 6, 1946, p. 342, col. 2, paragraph 1). He thought textile mills were as poison for village India and therefore to be avoided. He even hoped to eliminate the existing ones as soon as the khadi spirit prevailed (paragraph 2).

XX

In the same strain, addressing the annual meeting of the A.I.S.A. in the second week of October 1946, Gandhiji observed, 'I would not shed a single tear if all the mills were to close. If mills flourish, khadi must die' (*Harijan*, X-37, October 20, 1946, p. 365, col. 2).

In Gandhiji's view the universalization of khadi among the masses was a sine qua non of non-violent Swaraj. 'Therefore all who love peace will forget neither the wheel nor khadi. They may omit their meals but not spinning' (*Harijan*, X-32, September 15, 1946, p. 310, col. 1, note 2).

Finally, when Mr Andrew Freeman of the *New York Post* asked him if the spinning wheel had a message for America, he replied : 'I do feel that it has a message for the U.S. and the whole world. I have not the slightest doubt that the saving of India and of the world lies in the wheel. If India becomes the slave of the machine then, I say, heaven save the world' (*Harijan*, X-41, November 17, 1946, p. 404, col. 2, paragraph 3).

In his post-prayer address on June 20, 1947, Gandhiji said, 'If khadi goes, there is no Swadeshi. The manufactures in Indian mills do not constitute Swadeshi. To that belief I cling even today' (*Harijan*, XI-22, June 29, 1947, p. 211, col. 2).

In view of the fact that planners are trying to enlist the support of *sadhus* in carrying out their plans, it is interesting to recall that Gandhiji had grave doubts as regards the correctness or advisability of such a step. He would welcome the assistance of true *sadhus* if available. But he confessed he looked in vain in the country for *sadhus* of his conception. Such *sadhus* as he saw disappointed him. There might be honourable exceptions, but he was frankly sceptical of the possibility of utilizing *sadhus* as a body

for their work (*Harijan*, X-25, July 28, 1946, p. 234, col. 2, paragraph 4).

When some one asked whether cow-slaughter should be forbidden by law, Gandhiji replied, 'It can never be stopped by law; knowledge, education and the spirit of kindness towards her alone can put an end to it. It will not be possible to save those animals that are a burden on the land or perhaps even man if he is a burden' (*Harijan*, X-32, September 15, 1946, p. 310, col. 1).

Dealing with the same subject in July 1947, Gandhiji said, 'Hinduism prohibits cow-slaughter for Hindus, not for the world. Religious prohibition comes from within. Any imposition from without means compulsion. Such compulsion is repugnant to religion. India is the land not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and all others who claim to be of India and are loyal to the Union. If they can prohibit cow-slaughter in India on religious grounds, why cannot the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol-worship in Pakistan on similar grounds? I am not a temple-goer, but if I was prohibited from temple-going in Pakistan I would make it a point to go there even at the risk of losing

my head. Just as *shariat* cannot be imposed on non-Muslims, Hindu law cannot be imposed on non-Hindus. Many Hindus are guilty of cow-slaughter by slow torture. It is Hindus who export cows, knowing that they will be slaughtered for beef extract which comes to India and which orthodox Hindus eat without compunction under medical advice. Are they not co-partners in cow-slaughter?' (*Harijan*, XI-28, August 10, 1947, p. 273, col. 2)

The 'spate of visitors to foreign countries at various conferences' had already started even in 1946. Some of these had the temerity to ask Gandhiji for his blessings. To one of them he replied,

'I dislike this craze for the West. What this army of men and women will bring I shall watch. Only do not ask my blessings for what I dislike. My opinion you know' (*Harijan*, X-35, October 6, 1946, p. 343, last paragraph of Weekly Letter).

Gandhiji believed in a future life and the continuity of *karma* through successive births : 'What we sow here we must reap elsewhere ; there is no escape. But if one repents even on his death-bed, the repentance will burn away sin and sterilize it of consequences'

(*Harijan*, X-37, October 20, 1946, p. 367, col. 1, 'Death-bed Repentance').

Referring to the use of fireworks to celebrate *Divali* Gandhiji wrote: 'I wrote against this practice in *Navajivan*. . . . It is sinful to have fireworks of joy or illuminations or parties consuming sweets and the like, while millions are starving' (*Harijan*, X-38, October 27, 1946, p. 370, col. 2).

Paraphrasing a Sanskrit definition of *dharma* (duty) Gandhiji said, 'That is *dharma* which is enjoined by the holy books, followed by the sages, interpreted by the learned, and which appeals to the heart. The first three conditions must be fulfilled before the fourth comes into operation. Thus one has no right to follow the precepts of an ignorant man or even a rascal even though they recommend themselves to one. Religious observance of *ahimsa*, non-enmity and renunciation is the first requisite for a person to entitle him to lay down the law, i.e. *dharma* (*Harijan*, X-41, November 17, 1946, p. 401, col. 1, 'A Dilemma').

XXI

On November 6, 1946 a correspondent of the Associated Press of America asked Gandhiji what one should do in his day-to-day life—i.e., what is the minimum programme—so that he could acquire the non-violence of the brave (*Harijan*, X-41, November 17, 1946, p. 404). Gandhiji replied,

‘The minimum . . . is to clear one’s thought of cowardice and in the light of the clearance regulate his conduct in every activity, great or small. Thus the votary must refuse to be cowed down by his superior without being angry. He must however be ready to sacrifice his post, however remunerative it may be. Whilst sacrificing all, if the votary has no sense of irritation against his employer, he has the *ahimsa* of the brave in him. Assume that a fellow-passenger threatens my son with assault and I reason with the would-be assailant who then turns upon me. If then I take his blow with grace and dignity, without harbouring any ill-will against him, I exhibit the *ahimsa* of the brave. Such instances are of every day occurrence, and

can be easily multiplied. If I succeed in curbing my temper every time, and though able to give blow for blow I refrain, I shall develop the *ahimsa* of the brave which will never fail me and which will compel recognition from the most confirmed adversaries.'

How are we to dismiss all fear from our mind? 'When we learn to fear our Maker alone we will cease to fear our fellows. We will find that there are no people to frighten us if we are not afraid ourselves. This has been my uniform experience in the course of the last sixty years of my life' (*Harijan*, XI-4, February 23, 1947, p. 38, under January 30).

As regards religious education Gandhiji held that the State could not concern itself or cope with it. It must be the sole concern of religious associations. 'Do not mix up religion and ethics. I believe that fundamental ethics is common to all religions. Teaching of such ethics is undoubtedly a function of the State. By religion I have not in mind fundamental ethics but denominationalism' (*Harijan*, XI-8, March 23, 1947, p. 76, col. 1, paragraph 3).

On February 25, 1947, Gandhiji said, 'he insisted on equality of wages. The lawyer,

the doctor or the teacher was entitled to no more than the *bhangi*. . . . There was no other royal road to true civilization or happiness' (*Ibid.*, p. 78, col. 1, para. 6). Thus a ratio of thirty to one would hardly have satisfied him.

On the 27th he endorsed the proposition that any plan which exploited the raw materials of a country and neglected the potentially more powerful man-power was lop-sided and could never tend to establish human equality. 'Real planning consists in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India and the distribution of the raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and rebuying finished articles at fabulous prices' (*Ibid.*, p. 79, col. 1, paragraphs 5 and 7).

During the same speech, he said, 'Cowards are ever exposed to the enmity of all. The way to the attainment of courage lies not in the possession of the sword and efficiency in killing one's opponent but in the refusal to recognize in any other human being an enemy, along with the determination to lay down one's life and yet not surrender at the point of the sword' (*Ibid.*, col. 2, line 2).

In his after-prayer message on March 23, 1947, Gandhiji said, 'The aim of life is

that we should serve the Power, that has created us and on whose mercy depends our very breath, by heartily serving its creation. That means love, not hate which one sees everywhere' (*Ibid.*, XI-10, April 6, 1947, p. 99, col. 1, line 1).

XXII

Gandhiji had realized early in life that God had created him to serve his fellow-beings. In that service lay the service of God. That was the lesson of the first verse of Ishopanishad : 'That which is yours is not yours, it is God's ; and that which belongs to others is certainly not yours.' What was one to fight for? (*Harijan*, XI-19, June 8, 1947, p. 181, col. 2, line 5). 'No one has a right to live at all unless it is a life of service. And a man without detachment in terms of the Gita cannot render full service' (*Ibid.*, XI-22, June 29, 1947, p. 213, col. 1, para. last but one).

With reference to the police strike in Bihar, Gandhiji observed on March 27, 1947 that the police, like the scavengers, should never go on strike. Theirs was an essential service, and they should render that service

irrespective of pay (*Harijan*, XI-11, April 13, 1947, p. 107, col. 1, paragraph 3).

On April 3, 1947 he said that prayer was for remembering God and purifying the heart and could be offered even when observing silence (*Ibid.*, XI-12, April 20, 1947, p. 118, col. 1, paragraph last but one).

On April 8 the same year he explained the Gita verse

यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।

तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि ॥ ६-३० ॥

as follows : 'He who sees God everywhere and in everything, i.e. in every scripture and in every person of every religion and sees all in God—God is always for that person. God is never tired of him and he is always with God' (*Ibid.*, XI-13, April 27, 1947, p. 123, col. 2, last paragraph).

Here are some more important sayings of Gandhiji in 1947-48 :

'In order to be truly useful, self-sacrifice has to be combined with purity of motive and true knowledge. Sacrifice without these two has been known to prove ruinous to society' (*Harijan*, XI-35, September 28, 1947, p. 349, col. 1, under 'Only Sacrifice' etc.).

‘Agitation is only for those who have completed their studies. While studying, the only occupation of students must be to increase their knowledge’ (*Harijan*, XI-32, September 7, 1947, p. 312, col. 1, line 4 from below).

‘A student’s duty is to study the various problems that require solution. His time for action comes after he finishes his studies’ (*Harijan*, XI-29, August 17, 1947, p. 280, col. 1, end of para 3).

‘How to save the cow?

‘1. By the Hindus performing their duty towards the cow and her progeny. If they did so, our cattle would be the pride of the nation and the world. The contrary is the case today.

‘2. By learning the science of cattle-breeding. Today there is perfect anarchy in this work.

‘3. By replacing the present cruel method of castration by the humane method practised in the West.

‘4. By thorough reform of *panjrapoles* which are today as a rule managed ignorantly and without any plan by men who do not know their work.

'5. When these primary things are done, it will be found that the Muslims will, of their own accord, recognize the necessity, if only for the sake of their Hindu brethren, of not slaughtering cattle for beef or otherwise' (*Harijan*, XI-31, August 31, 1947, p. 300, col. 1, line 6 from below).

XXIII

An Indian Governor

'1. He should, in his own person and in his surroundings, be a teetotaller. . . .

'2. He and his surroundings should represent hand-spinning as a visible token of identification with the dumb millions. . . .

'3. He must dwell in a cottage accessible to all, though easily shaded from gaze if he is to do efficient work. . . . For him, no expensive furniture, foreign or indigenous. Plain living and high thinking must be his motto. . . .

'4. For him there can be no untouchability, . . . no caste or colour or creed distinction. . . .

'5. . . . He will speak the language of the province of which he is the Governor

and Hindustani, the *lingua franca*' (*Harijan*, XI-30, August 24, 1947, p. 289).

'It looks as if prohibition is coming. I am quite sure that if the Congress forsakes the ideals adopted in 1920, it will commit suicide' (*Harijan*, XI-29, August 17, 1947, p. 280, last line).

'True defence lies along the path of non-retaliation. . . . Some one might say, "If through such non-violent resistance, the defender is likely to lose his life, how can it be called self-defence? Jesus lost his life on the Cross and Pilate won." I do not agree. Jesus has won as the world's history has abundantly shown. What does it matter if the body was dissolved in the process, so long as by Christ's act of non-resistance, the forces of good were released in society?'

'[X said] that compulsory military training for the youth of India would go far to inculcate the virtues of discipline and unity. I agree that discipline and unity are absolutely necessary if India is to stand on its own legs. The distinctions of high and low must disappear. But is it so in the ranks of the military? I do not know that military training is responsible for social virtue. . . . The less said about military training the better' (*Harijan*, XI-26, July 27, 1947, p. 252, col. 2).

'Harbour impurity of mind or body and you have untruth and violence in you' (*Harijan*, XI-24, July 13, 1947, p. 232, col. 1, line 4 from below).

'Man never loses by trusting and the deceiver ever loses' (*Harijan*, XI-31, August 31, 1947, p. 304, col. 1, line 7 from below of 'Shaheed Saheb').

'The next day [August 15, 1947] is the fixed day of deliverance from the foreign yoke. . . . I invite every one to have 24 hours' fast and prayer during the day . . . and pass it in spinning as much as possible, for hand-spinning has knit the rich and poor together and has given occupation to countless men and women who were [out of employment]' (*Harijan*, XI-30, August 24, 1947, p. 295, col. 2, end of para. 1 of 'Beliaghata').

'Why should the director get say Rs 2,000 a month and the *chaprasi* Rs 20 a month? It certainly sounds odd. Under ideal conditions the barrister and the *bhanghi* should both get the same payment' (*Harijan*, XI-28, August 10, 1947, p. 274, col. 1, line 13 from below).

'The leaders have told us that the meaning of the two flags is the same. The new one is also to be of pure khadi' (*Ibid.*, p. 276, col. 2, last paragraph).

XXIV

'In this age of the atom bomb unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks put together of violence (*Harijan*, XI-42, November 16, 1947, p. 412, col. 2 'Outside His Field').

A governor in India gets Rs. 5,500 upon 4 a month but his master the tax-payer has an average annual income of Rs. 275 only. Thus the servant's income is $20 \times 12 \div 4 = 60$ times as large as that of the master. V.G.D.

In the U.S.A. the income of the governor is not more than 20 times the average income of the American citizen. T. K. Bang

In New Zealand the highest pay is about 5 times as large as the lowest. D. B. Khurody

'[I have] no hesitation in endorsing his remarks about the high salaries and the gross disparity between the highest and the lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Government—Gandhiji (*Ibid.*, XI-41, November 9, 1947, p. 398, col. 1, paragraph 1).

'If I had my way, I would not buy a grain of foodstuff from outside India. It is my

firm belief that even today there is enough foodstuff in the country' (*Ibid.*, XI-40, November 2, 1947, p. 389, col. 2, line 14).

'It is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities. If the people want them, they will supply the funds' (*Ibid.*, p. 392, col. 1, last paragraph).

'There is a stage in life when a man does not need even to proclaim his thoughts, much less to show them by outward action. Mere thoughts act. *They attain that power*' (*Ibid.*, XI-39, October 26, 1947, p. 381, col. 1 under 'Action . . .').

'Is it not the lot of us mortals that the innocent suffer for the guilty? It is as well that they do. The world is the richer and better for the sufferings of the innocent' (*Ibid.*, XI-38, October 19, 1947, p. 376, col. 1, last line).

'Had it [his love] been unselfish, death of life's partner would have enriched life, for the memory of the disembodied partner would have resulted in greater dedication to the service of down-trodden humanity' (*Ibid.*, p. 374, col. 1, end of paragraph 2).

XXV

'The art of dying bravely and with honour does not need any special training, save a living faith in God. Then there will be no abductions and no forcible conversions' (*Delhi Diary*, September 23, 1947, p. 33).

'Public confession made in sincerity purifies the confessor and protects him from repetition of the wrong' (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

'Those who are anxious to serve must have endless patience and tolerance. One must never seek to impose one's views on others' (*Ibid.*, September 21, 1947, p. 27).

'Good alone can beget good. Love breeds love. As for revenge, it behoves man to leave the evil-doer in God's hands' (*Ibid.*, September 20, 1947, p. 26).

'No one can protect you other than God. No man can protect another' (*Ibid.*, p. 24).

'Death is a blessing bestowed by the creator on all life, human and sub-human. . . . Right conduct is the only right way of life which makes it bearable and even lovely' (*Ibid.*, September 11, 1947, p. 6).

'That tractors and chemical fertilizers will spell our ruin, I have not a shadow of doubt' (*Harijan*, XII-1, February 1, 1948, p. 5, col. 2, paragraph 5).

'It is the devotee's devotion that makes a temple a living shrine. The deity in the temple is only a reflection of the devotee's spirit' (*Ibid.*, p. 1, col. 2, paragraph 1).

'How can one justify the import of foreign cloth because foreign rule has ended? . . . Pure khadi alone has place in Swaraj' [and not even Indian mill-made cloth, much less foreign cloth on which a hundred crores have been spent since independence] (*Harijan*, XI-50, January 11, 1948, p. 504, col. 2, paragraphs 3 and 4).

'The teaching of the laws of health should be obligatory in all schools and colleges' (*Ibid.*, XI-48, December 28, 1947, p. 484, col. 1, paragraph 4).

'Through khadi we were struggling to establish the supremacy of man in the place of power-driven machinery. Through khadi we were striving for equality of all men and women in the place of the gross inequality to be witnessed today. And we were striving to attain subservience of capital under labour

in the place of the insolent triumph of capital over labour' (*Ibid.*, XI-47, December 21, 1947, p. 476, col. 2, 'Spinning Still!').

'The conservation of grain in the villages is needed as an insurance against scarcity. The condition always must be that the growers and dealers must not be greedy or unscrupulous' (*Ibid.*, p. 481, col. 1, paragraph 2).

'Searching of self ennobles, searching of others debases' (*Ibid.*, XI-46, December 14, 1947, p. 465, col. 1, last paragraph).

'Man does not live but to escape death. He is advised to learn to love death as well as life, if not more so. . . . Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy' (*Ibid.*, XI-44, November 30, 1947, p. 437, col. 1, para. 2).

'A worthy enterprise carries its own blessing. On the other hand if an unworthy project receives any blessing from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a curse' (*Ibid.*, XI-43, November 23, 1947, p. 420, 'When Blessing' etc.).

XXVI

'Pakistan can never destroy Hinduism. The Hindus alone can destroy themselves and their faith. Similarly, if Islam is destroyed, it will be destroyed by the Muslims in Pakistan, not by the Hindus in Hindustan' (*Delhi Diary*, September 26, 1947, p. 41).

'He who has Rama installed in the heart requires no other aid. Even earth and water treatment is unnecessary for one possessed by Rama, for He is the curer for all ills, physical, mental and moral (*Ibid.*, September 27, 1947, p. 42).

'We cannot secure justice by copying the evil ways of one another. If two men go out riding and one falls down, is the other to follow suit? That will merely result in breaking the bones of both' (*Ibid.*, October 1, 1947, p. 54).

'If the people followed my advice and produced their own food and cloth, they would gain economic independence also, and that would be felt by every villager' (*Ibid.*, October 10, 1947, p. 78).

'Conditions for successful Satyagraha are that the cause must be just and the means

fully non-violent' (*Ibid.*, October 11, 1947, p. 88).

'If we want to see God, the first requisite is self-introspection. We have to magnify our faults a thousandfold and shut our eyes to the faults of our neighbours' (*Ibid.*, October 19, 1947, p. 98).

'Man has not the power to create life; hence he has no right to take it' (*Ibid.*, October 21, 1947, p. 102).

'I consider those entertaining unclean thoughts worse lepers than those who are suffering physically' (*Ibid.*, October 23, 1947, p. 108).

'All criminals should be treated as patients and the jails should be hospitals admitting this class of patients for treatment and cure' (*Ibid.*, October 25, 1947, p. 113).

'All men commit offences big or small. Some are caught and put in jail. Others manage to escape detection' (*Ibid.*, October 25, 1947, p. 112).

'All men are equal before God. Therefore to look down upon a man because he is not of our faith is to sin before God and man' (*Ibid.*, October 26, 1947, p. 116).

'The mind of the devotee is like a temple wherein pure love resides permanently and

illuminates the heart. The heart being illumined, the vision becomes clear' (*Ibid.*, October 31, 1947, p. 126).

'Khadi economics is the only sound economics for India' (*Ibid.*, November 6, 1947, p. 148).

'If the Governments, Central and Provincial, were true to the Congress requirements, there would be no spirituous liquors or drugs such as opium, *ganja* and the like to be had' (*Ibid.*, November 7, 1947, p. 150).

XXVII

Our survey of Gandhiji's writings and speeches reported in *Harijan* from February 1946 to February 1948, which was undertaken under the inspiration of Shri Pyarelal's *Mahatma Gandhi — The Last Phase* Volume I will be completed with the last instalment of his sayings which follows :

'Crowds go to see man-made illuminations, but the light we need today is the light of love in our hearts' (*Delhi Diary*, November 12, 1947, p. 165).

'A asks whether a person whose right is in danger cannot defend it violently. My answer

is that violence in reality defends no right and no one' (*Ibid.*, November 23, 1947, p. 200).

'A free India need not keep a huge standing army. Voluntary home guards will protect their homes and contribute to the defence of the country' (*Ibid.*, November 29, 1947, p. 219).

'The only way to live is to let live' (*Ibid.*, December 10, 1947, p. 247).

'Our bodies are the real temples rather than buildings of stone. The best place for worship . . . is in the open with the sky above as the canopy and mother earth below for the floor' (*Ibid.*, December 24, 1947, p. 282).

'He who works for the ruin of another is bound to ruin himself' (*Ibid.*, December 26, 1947, p. 286).

'It is the Hindus who kill the cattle by inches through ill-treatment. Slow death by torture is far worse than outright killing' (*Ibid.*, December 27, 1947, p. 289).

'I hope you will have no cinema-house' (*Ibid.*, p. 290).

'It is the duty of a Government to ensure bread labour for all unemployed men and women, no matter how many they are' (*Ibid.*, December 29, 1947, p. 296).

'So long as a single Hindu . . . is excluded from a temple, it is an inert, lifeless shrine. The real *pranapratishta* is performed when it is thrown open to all including the Harijans' (*Ibid.*, December 30, 1947, p. 299).

'Liquor is worse than poison, for while the latter kills the body, the former destroys the awareness of the spirit and all that is noble in man including the sovereign quality of self-control. I advise the Government to convert liquor dens into restaurants . . . and to provide instructive literature and other recreation to wean the addicts. . . . Now that freedom has been won, the Government should proceed to redeem the pledge [of 1920] and renounce the tainted revenue. In the end there will be no loss of revenue and the gain to individuals will be very great. That way lies the path of progress for our nation' (*Ibid.*, January 1, 1948, pp. 303-4).

'India should limit her imports so that they are a little less than her exports' (*Ibid.*, January 6, 1948, p. 315).

'For the students there should be no party politics. There should be no Socialist, Communist, Congress or other groups among students. They should be all students first and

last, determined to gather as much knowledge as possible and that for the sake of the service of the people, not for the sake of getting jobs' (*Ibid.*, January 8, 1948, pp. 320-1).

'My main object in staying in Delhi is to give to the Muslims whatever comfort and aid I can' (*Ibid.*, January 9, 1948, pp. 323-4).

'In such a paradise there will be neither paupers nor beggars, nor high nor low; neither millionaire employers and half-starved employees, nor intoxicating drinks or drugs. There will be the same respect for women as vouchsafed to men, and the chastity and purity of men and women will be jealously guarded. . . . Where there will be no untouchability, and where there will be equal respect for all faiths. Where they will be all proudly, joyously, and voluntarily bread labourers' (*Ibid.*, January 14, 1948, p. 342).

'I am not an idolater in the accepted sense, but I cannot despise the idol-worshipper because he sees God in the stone image. God is omnipresent. If it is wrong to seek God in a stone, how it is right to seek Him in a book? Is not that also idol-worship?' (*Ibid.*, January 18, 1948, p. 355).

'I would deserve a certificate only if I fell as a result of such an explosion and yet retained a smile on my face and harboured no malice against the bomb-thrower. No one should look down upon the misguided youth' (*Ibid.* January 21, 1948, p. 365).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Pyarelal: *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. I (Navajivan)
- Pyarelal: *A Pilgrimage for Peace*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Basic Education* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Rebuilding Our Villages*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *The Removal of Untouchability*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Satyagraha* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Satyagraha in South Africa*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Constructive Programme*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Ashram Observances in Action*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Delhi Diary* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Khadi, Why and How*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Drink, Drugs and Gambling*
(Navajivan)

- M. K. Gandhi: *Ramanama* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Truth is God* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Unto This Last—A Paraphrase*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Cent Per Cent Swadeshi*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *How to Serve the Cow*
(Navajivan)
- Valji Desai: *A Gandhi Anthology*, Book I
(Navajivan)
- Valji Desai: *Cow Protection* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *My Religion* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Hindu Dharma* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Non-violence in Peace and War*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *To the Students* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Self-restraint v. Self-indulgence*
(Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Nature Cure* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Key to Health* (Navajivan)
- M. K. Gandhi: *Communal Unity* (Navajivan)
- Valji Desai : *Glances at Islam* (Navajivan)

INDEX

Admiration, true, 62

Aim of life, 71-72

Atom bomb, 78

Brahmacharya, 57

Cinema, 86

Confession, public, 80

Constructive programme, 39-41

Courage, 71

Cow-slaughter, 66, 74-75, 86

Criminals as patients, 86

Death, 79, 80, 82

Deathbed repentance, 67

Defence, 76, 85-86

Dharma, 68

Divali, 68

Economic equality, 46-48

Education, basic, 7-12, religious, 70

Equality of wages, 70, 77-78

Fear, discarding, 70

Fertilizers, chemical, 81

Foreign countries, visits to, 67

Gandhiji's object in staying in Delhi in 1948, 88; his vision of an earthly paradise, 88; his last words, 89

Golden age, the, 31

Government's duty to ensure bread labour for the unemployed, 86

Governor, Indian, 75-76

Guru, 56

Harijan quarters in Delhi, 57

Idolatry, 88

Imports and exports, 87

Ishopanishad, 50-52, 72

Jails as hospitals, 84

Karma, 67

Khadi, 3-6, 29, 61-65, 77, 81, 85

Light of love, 85

Long life, 31-33

Machinery, 61

Men and women, 56

Military training, 76

Municipalities, 59

National flag, the, 77

Non-violence of the brave, 69

- Planning, real, 71
Prayer, 73, 86
Prohibition, 6, 76, 85, 87

Rama, the physician, 84
Ramanama, 52-54.
Rashtrapati Bhavan, 57
Reincarnation, 67
Revenge, 80

Sacrifice, 73
Sadhus, 65
Satyagraha, 34-46, 48, 83
Seeing God everywhere, 73
Self-introspection, 84
Spinning, part of prayer, 62, 64
Standing army, 86
Sthitaprajna, 53
Strikes, 48, 72
Students and politics, 41, 74, 87
Swadeshi, 65

Tell the truth, 54-55
Textile mills, 63-64
Thought, power of, 79
Thoughts, unclean, 84
Tractors, 81
Truth is God, 54

Universities, 79

Unto This Last, 61

Untouchability, removal of, 29-31, 58-59, 87

Vanaspati, 50

Villages, work in, 12-28

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY

BOOK I

CONTENTS

I DEATH AND IMMORTALITY. II DEATH AND REBIRTH. III 'MY STATUE!'. IV MARTYRDOM. V THE NATIONAL WEEK. VI HOW WE CELEBRATED THE WEEK IN 1926. VII THE FEAR OF DEATH. VIII THE DRINK EVIL. IX 'I HAVE A HORROR OF SMOKING'. X A PROGRAMME FOR PROHIBITION. XI RACES, BETTING AND GAMBLING. XII SPIRITUALISM. XIII THE IDEAL LAWYER. XIV ANIMAL SACRIFICES. XV VIVISECTION. XVI VEGETARIANISM. XVII MY MISSION. XVIII NON-VIOLENCE AND KHADI. XIX KHADI IN VARIOUS ASPECTS. XX THE NATIONAL FLAG. XXI NON-VIOLENCE IN VARIOUS ASPECTS. XXII NON-VIOLENCE AGAIN.

Pages 56

Price As. 8

Postage etc. As. 3

